

EAST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES, 450-1450

EAST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES, 450-1450

Domus Bolezlai

*Values and social identity in
dynastic traditions of medieval Poland
(c. 966-1138)*



Przemysław Wiszewski



BRILL

Domus Bolezlai

East Central and Eastern
Europe in the Middle Ages,
450–1450

General Editor
Florin Curta

VOLUME 9

Domus Boleslai

Values and social identity in dynastic traditions
of medieval Poland (c. 966–1138)

By

Przemysław Wiszewski



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2010

Cover illustration: copy of miniature depicting Duchess Matylda giving Mieszko II a liturgical book. With kind permission of the National Library in Kórnik, Poland.

Translation: Paul Barford
Index: Agnieszka Wiszewska

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Wiszewski, Przemyslaw.

Domus Boleslai : values and social identity in dynastic traditions of medieval Poland (c. 966–1138) / by Przemyslaw Wiszewski.

p. cm. — (East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450 ; v. 9)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-18142-7 (hbk. : alk. paper) 1. Boleslaw I, King of Poland, 966 or 7–1025—Influence. 2. Boleslaw II, King of Poland, 1043–1081—Influence. 3. Boleslaw III, King of Poland, 1085–1138—Influence. 4. Poland—Kings and rulers—History. 5. Royal houses—Poland—History—To 1500. 6. Social values—Poland—History—To 1500. 7. Group identity—Poland—History—To 1500. 8. Collective memory—Poland—History—To 1500. 9. Community life—Poland—History—To 1500. 10. Poland—History—Piast period, 960–1386 I. Title.

DK4213.W57 2010
943.8'0220922—dc22

2009049475

ISSN 1872-8103
ISBN 978 90 04 18142 7

Copyright 2010 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints BRILL, Hoteli Publishing,
IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Introduction	xiii
Acknowledgements	xxxv
Explanatory Tables	xxxvii
Chronological Table	xxxvii
Legendary Ancestors of the Piasts Dynasty	xlii
Descendants of Mieszko I	xliii
Descendants of Kazimierz I the Restorer	xliv

PART ONE

ON THE TRAIL OF TRADITION

Chapter One. Fragments—Scattered Evidence	3
1. The Starting Point—“Dagome Iudex”	3
2. The Lives and Passions of St Wojciech	11
The “Vita prior” and the “Vita Brunonis”	12
The Passion of Tegernsee	19
3. St Bruno of Querfurt’s “Life of the Five Brothers” and Letter to Henry II	22
4. Thietmar of Merseburg—The Echo of a Tradition	28
Three Ladies	28
Domus Boleszlai	44
Bolesław in Kiev	50
One or Many Piast Traditions in the “Chronicon” of Thietmar	53
5. The Epitaph of Bolesław the Brave	55
The Genesis of the Monument	55
The Dynastic Tradition embedded in the “Epitaph”	62
6. The Codex of Matylda	66
7. Gertrude’s Prayer Book	76
8. Letter of Władysław Herman to the Cathedral Chapter in Bamberg	83
9. Document of the Legate Gilles, Cardinal of Tusculum	88

Chapter Two. Annalistic Records	93
1. The Written Sources	94
2. Two Models of the Beginnings of Polish Annalistic Writing	97
3. Stages of the Recording of Tradition	99
4. Hypothetical Shape of the Tradition	107

PART TWO

THE TIME OF THE GREAT NARRATIVE

Chapter Three. The Shadow of the Great Bolesław. The “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymous on the Descendants of Piast	121
1. The Genesis and Structure of the “Chronicle”	124
The aim of writing the “Chronicle”—only the glorification of Bolesław Wrymouth?	125
A “Chronicle”, about what or whom?	127
The Problem of the Authorship of the “Chronicle”	140
Gallus’ Sources—Written Sources and Oral Tradition	150
The Complex Structure of the “Chronicle”	156
2. Gallus Anonymous’ Presentation of the Dynastic Tradition of the Piasts	157
In the hut of Piast	157
Siemowit and the accession to power	168
Pagans and Piasts	174
An Omen of the Passage—the second feast	178
Mieszko	181
Bolesław the Brave	185
Mieszko II	215
Kazimierz the Restorer	217
Bolesław II the Bold	225
Fall	234
Mieszko, son of Bolesław	241
Władysław Herman and the Shadow of Bolesław Wrymouth	244
Chapter Four. The Embodiment of Tradition? Bolesław III Wrymouth in the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymous	257

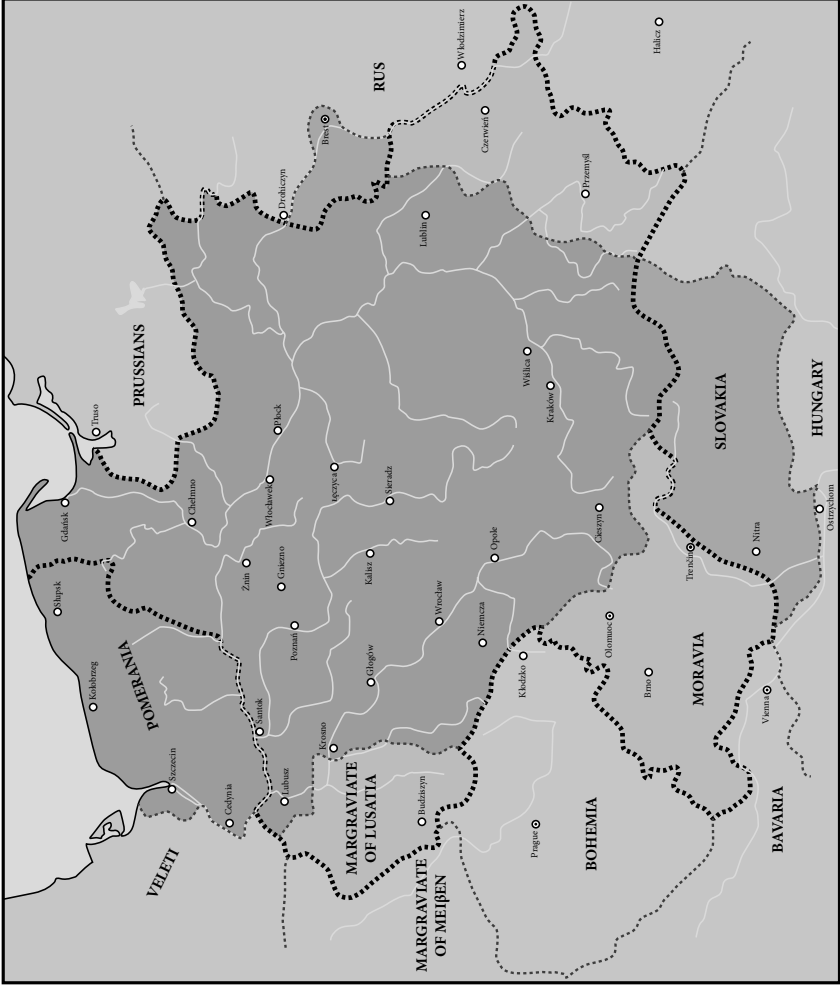
1. The Fruitful Branch of the Piast Family Tree	258
Bolesław and Zbigniew	258
Bolesław's Sole Rule	301
2. The Tradition of the Family of the Descendants of Piast in Gallus Anonymous	333
Chapter Five. After Gallus Anonymous... The Traditions of Bolesław and the Lives of Bishop Otto of Bamberg	343
1. Duke Bolesław and Christ's Church	344
2. Bolesław III as a Warrior and Initiator of the Pomeranian Mission	349

PART THREE

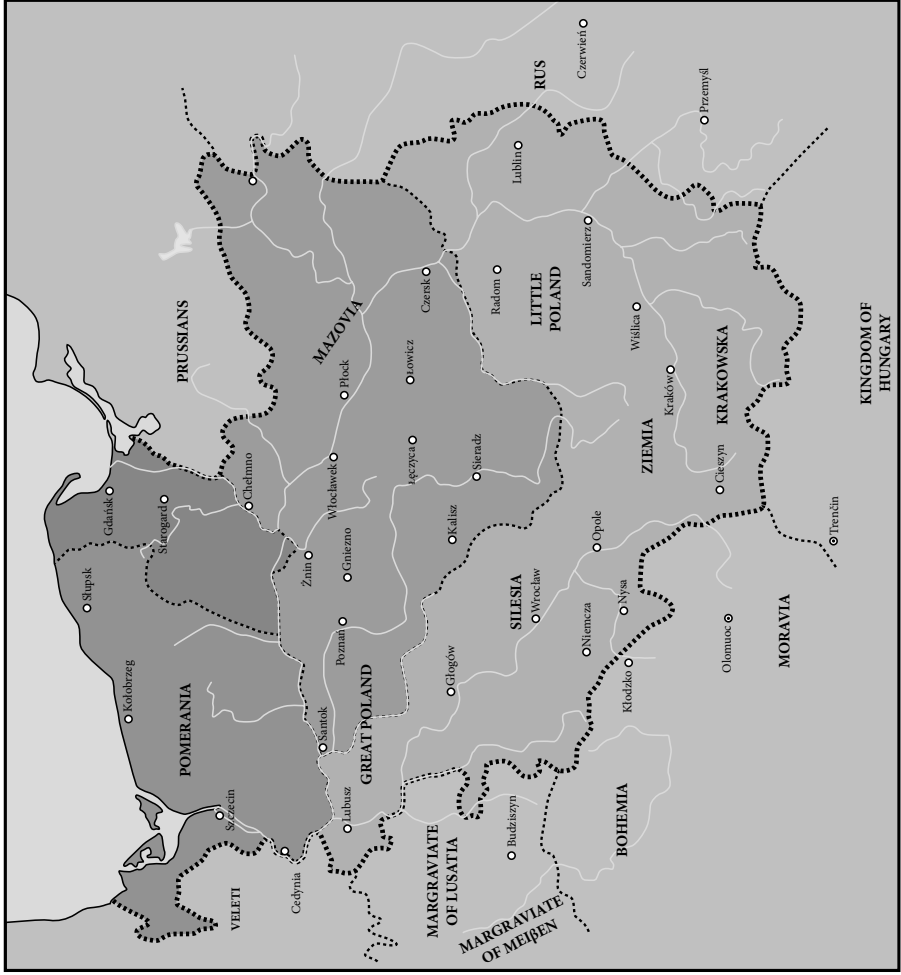
TRADITION IN ACTION

Introduction	361
Chapter Six. Family Life and Family Tradition	365
1. The Child Brought into the Tradition—The Problem of Naming	365
2. Dynastic Policies—Marriages	375
3. The Cult of Saints in the Rule of the Piasts—Dynastic Religious Traditions?	379
4. The Living and the Dead—Władysław Herman and Bolesław Wrymouth	391
Chapter Seven. The Piast Gesture—A Sign of Power	401
1. Under a Saint's Protection	403
2. Taking Power—Inheriting the Copy of the Spear of St Maurice	409
3. Power Defined by Gesture and Commentary	419
Bolesław the Brave and Mieszko II	421
Bolesław the Bold—Władysław Herman—Bolesław Wrymouth	426
Problematic Bullae—from Bolesław the Bold to Bolesław the Curly?	430
The Piast Tradition of the Iconography of Power	433
4. Places of Power—Places of Tradition?	435

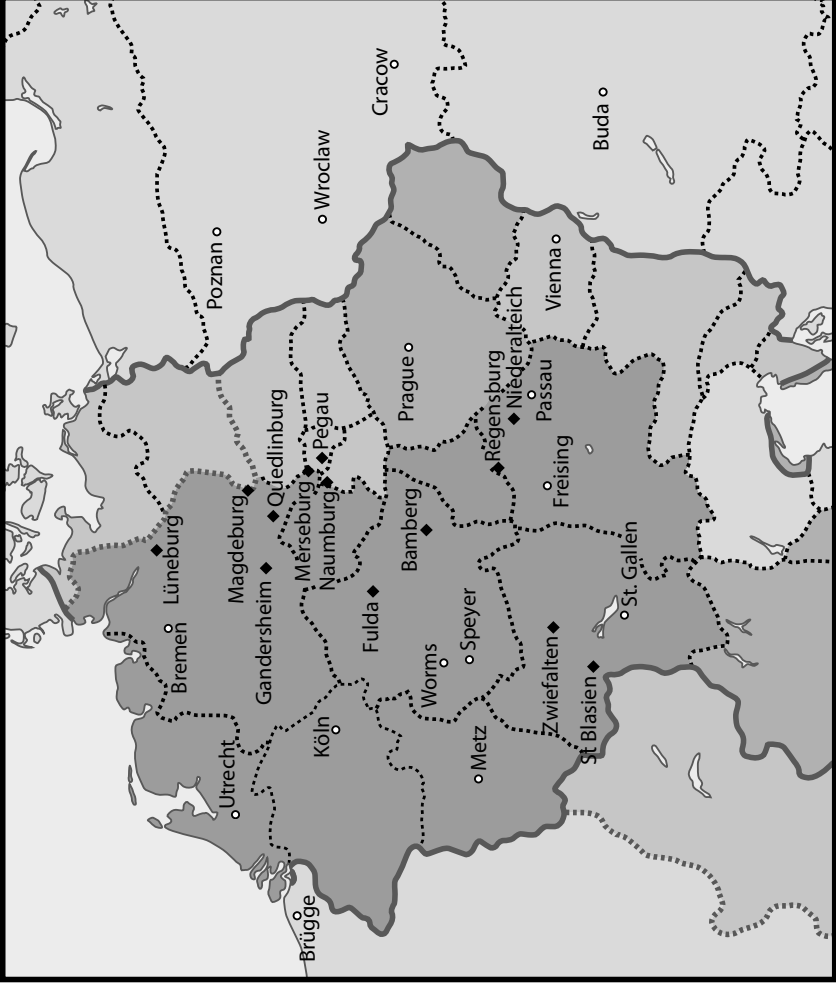
Chapter Eight. Tradition: Foundations and Memory	451
1. Poland	453
Foundations for the Diocesan Clergy	453
Monasteries	456
Movable Goods	461
In the Face of Death	463
2. The Reich	477
Fulda	478
Magdeburg	480
Lüneburg	483
Naumburg	484
Bamberg	486
Merseburg	492
Niederlalteich	494
Brauweiler	497
Regensburg	503
Pegau	509
Quedlinburg and Gandersheim	510
Zwiefalten	512
The Monastery of St Blaise (Sankt Blasien/Schwarzwald) ...	516
3. The Abbey of Saint-Gilles	520
4. A Piast Commemorative Tradition?	522
Conclusion	525
Bibliography	539
Index	583



Map 1. Poland during the reign of Bolesław I the Brave (992-1025)



Map 2. Poland during the reign of Bolesław III the Wrymouth (1102–1138)



Map 3. Sites of liturgical memory of the Piasts family (up to c. 1138)

INTRODUCTION

In 1124, Bishop Otto of Bamberg, the Apostle of the Pomeranians, arrived in Gniezno, the main seat of the Polish ruler Bolesław III Wrymouth. Ebo, the author of the “Life” of the holy bishop describes the meeting between the churchman and ruler at the gates of the city in some detail. We are told that, at the news of the approach of the bishop, Bolesław: “advanced with the whole of the clergy and the people, running towards the beloved father barefoot, and he so honoured him that he even ordered that his sons who were not yet weaned be brought to the bishop so they could kiss his footsteps. With tears in his eyes he waited for his holy blessing through the placing of hands [on the head of the blessed P.W.]”.¹

Approaching his guest barefooted, sending his sons to kiss his footsteps and humbly waiting for a blessing were signs of especial humility, humbling himself before the religious authority of the bishop and even acknowledging his holiness.² Lest it should be suspected that this was merely an ostentatious gesture of royal piety, we may note that Wrymouth behaved in a less deferential manner towards other members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.³

The description of the greeting Otto of Bamberg received at the gates of Gniezno recalls that recounted in the brief description of the greeting of the German emperor Otto III by Bolesław I the Brave in

¹ *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis episcopi Babembergensis*, Jan Wikarjak ed., introduction and commentary by Kazimierz Liman, Warszawa 1969 (=MPH, n.s., vol. 7, part 2), II,4, p. 62; Ebo von Michelsberg, *Das Leben des Bischofs und Bekenners Otto*, [in:] *Heiligenleben zur deutsch-slawischen Geschichte. Adalbert von Prag und Otto von Bamberg*, Lorenz Weinrich ed., collaboration with Jerzy Strzelczyk, Darmstadt 2005 (=Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe, vol. 23), pp. 224–225. Addendum—P.W. All translations from the Latin used in this text are derived from those of the author unless otherwise indicated.

² Cf. Klaus Schreiner, “*Nudis pedibus*”. *Barfüßigkeit als religiöses und politisches Ritual*, [in:] *Formen und Funktionen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, Gerd Althoff ed., Stuttgart 2001 (=Vorträge und Forschungen/Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für Mittelalterliche Geschichte, vol. 51), pp. 53–56, 65–68, 99–109, and references.

³ Bishop Bernard, the first missionary of the Pomeranians was supposed to have been by Bolesław: “honorifice ut servus Dei excipitur”, *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis*, II,1, p. 50; Ebo von Michelsberg, *Das Leben*, p. 212.

the year 1000 which is contained in the chronicle written in Bolesław Wrymouth's reign by the writer known to historiographers as Gallus Anonymous. He writes that Bolesław: "had prepared for the Emperor's arrival most marvellous wonders, first ranks of various kinds of troops, then the nobles set out, like choirs, across the wide plain, and each of the groups standing apart and clearly discernable by the different colour of their costumes".⁴ We are led to ask whether in the form of greeting which Otto of Bamberg received, Bolesław III Wrymouth was following a pattern of behaviour preserved in the Piast family tradition from the times of his great grandfather Bolesław I the Brave when he welcomed Emperor Otto III during his pilgrimage to Gniezno 124 years earlier.⁵

The coincidences between these two greetings in Gniezno include the names of the two participants in both cases, the location of the event and its type. Both involved the high respect with which the guest was treated before the gate of the city, in the company of the elite of society over which the ruler reigned. This is not much, but we do not know of any other case of Bolesław Wrymouth mounting such an exalted ceremonial greeting as the one he staged for Otto of Bamberg. Also later meetings between Wrymouth and the missionary which took place away from Gniezno did not take on such an ostentatious form.

Are we therefore suggesting that in Otto of Bamberg Bolesław III saw somebody who could have fulfilled the same sort of function for him as Emperor Otto III fulfilled for his great grandfather in 1000 AD? No, we are not. Let us observe what happened next in the description of the visit of the bishop of Bamberg to Gniezno. The Polish ruler did not wish to allow him to continue on his journey until he had heard his teachings. Gallus Anonymous writes in the same way of the arrival of Wojciech Slavnik the future apostle of the Prussians and Saint. "when Saint Wojciech came to him [...] he [Bolesław the Brave—P.W.]

⁴ Gallus Anonymous, *Kronika polska*, translated by Roman Grodecki, editing, introduction and footnotes, Marian Plezia, Wrocław 1982 [fifth edition] (=Biblioteka Narodowa, Seria I, nr 59), p. 19.

⁵ In the opinion of Daniel Bagi, *Die Darstellung der Zusammenkunft von Otto III. und Boleslaw dem Tapferen in Gnesen im Jahre 1000 beim Gallus Anonymus*, [in:] *Die ungarische Staatsbildung und Ostmitteleuropa. Studien und Vorträge*, Ferenc Glatz ed., Budapest 2002 (=Begegnungen. Schriftenreihe des Europa Institutes Budapest, vol. 15), p. 181, this was specially created for him by Gallus Anonymous.

treated him with great respect and faithfully followed his admonitions and commands”,⁶ which were to give the Polish church an appropriate form. Wrymouth’s behaviour could be connected with two aspects of the situation in which both he and his guest found themselves. The coincidence of the place and the names of the people involved would have recalled a specific time, the central political event at the dawn of the state and the Polish church. But the functions of the two parties meeting would involve Bolesław III fulfilling the role of being a protector of the Church, thirsty above all for its teachings.

This one event and group of gestures creating parallels to local occurrences which contemporaries would have seen as located in the heroic past of Poland would allow the Polish ruler to reveal his own irreplaceable position in the order of things, or at least the world of his subjects. The presence of a descendant of Bolesław the Brave on the throne guaranteed the permanence and repetition of not only gestures, but the meanings lying behind them. It seems that at the moment of the arrival of Otto of Bamberg to Gniezno, Bolesław III deliberately and innovatively made reference to the behaviour of his ancestor known to contemporaries through stories, repeated from generation to generation and only recently committed to writing.⁷ In other words he made reference to tradition.

OF WHAT ‘TRADITION’ ARE WE SPEAKING?

The aim of this work is to seek traces of, and if at all possible define the form of, the traditions of the Piast ruling house. Tradition understood as communication, the aim of which is to preserve and transmit values defining the manner of perceiving the world by those people accepting this tradition as their own. The realization of this aim would be assured by: 1) referring to the past as a factor authenticating the

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 18.

⁷ Medieval people had a tendency to seek innovative resolutions of political problems with the aid of known behavioural patterns (rituals) and with deep deliberation on their use in these situations and giving them a significance adequate to a specific historical context. On this see Gerd Althoff, *Beratungen über die Gestaltung zeremonieller und ritueller Verfahren im Mittelalter*, [in:] *Vormoderne politische Verfahren*, Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger ed., Berlin 2001 (=Zeitschrift für historische Forschung, Beiheft 25), pp. 54–55, 58–59, 71.

communication, and 2) its repetition.⁸ Tradition defined in this way has a social and historical dimension, and not therefore a fictional or mythical one,⁹ thus the studies presented here are studies of social history and not the “history of man”.¹⁰

DEFINITION OF TRADITION

The definition of tradition presented above, of fundamental importance for this work results from an observation of the character of the relationship between tradition and the form of narrative about the past—“social memory”—which is characteristic for a given community. Tradition has the function of giving sense to the pictures of the past which are a component of the “social memory”.¹¹ We may consider the reasons for tradition having such a significance, especially since it must influence two different types of phenomena which comprise the common social memory. The first is “communicative/everyday” or in other words living memory, not having a fixed form, and concerning events taking place up to about 80 years ago, and the second is “cultural memory”, which is ceremonially presented by specialists, making

⁸ A competent introduction to the topic of the various definitions, so often intuitive, which have been applied to the concept of tradition is given by Pascal Boyer, *Tradition as Truth and Communication. A cognitive description of traditional discourse*, Cambridge/New York/Port Chester/Melbourne/Sydney 1990 (=Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology, vol. 68), pp. 1–23.

⁹ Thus our reflections do not aim to verify or falsify the original concepts of Jacek Banaszekiewicz, for whom dynastic traditions are inevitably shaped by a narrative, the skeleton of which is older than all the manners in which it is realised in the framework of specific cultures (see his *Tradycje dynastyczno-plemienne Słowiańszczyzny północnej*, [in:] *Ziemia polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy*, Henryk Samsonowicz ed., Cracow 2000, p. 277). The subject of his research and its results seem to be situated beyond historical time. Therefore we will only polemise with this type of research when the results concern historical reality itself, especially the interpretation of the written sources. The conclusions of Jacek Banaszekiewicz discussing traditions in the perspective of cultural patterns common to mankind as a whole ultimately concern another dimension of reality than that examined in the present work.

¹⁰ Michel Foucault (*Słowa i rzeczy. Archeologia nauk humanistycznych*, translated by Tadeusz Komendant, Gdańsk 2006 (=Słowo—obraz—terytoria. Klasyka światowej humanistyki), pp. 330–332) contrasts this history of “man” with the history of things, phenomena connected with man, a “positive” history.

¹¹ See Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, second edition, corrected and expanded, Paris 1968 (=Bibliothèque de Sociologie Contemporaine), pp. 28–29.

use of particular means of communication and based on the use of specific events presented as turning points in history.¹²

No clear mechanisms that would regulate the shape of these two forms of memory have been presented. With regard to the second (cultural) type of memory, the historical conditions have been accented in discussions, above all the fundamental necessity for the functioning of law, which must be based on the self-identification of a community, a representation of history in the form of a representation of a series of disobedience and punishments.¹³ This is fundamentally a pragmatic approach: only that which in a given moment is important for society¹⁴ is remembered. But this invokes questions about the factor defining the aim in relation to which these memories were/are useful. There may be a tendency either towards the preservation of the social status quo, or alternatively causing significant social changes. Both of these, as well as other phenomena defining the aim of social activity, are on a single plane. They create the common values for all members of the group, without accepting which one cannot become one of its members, and which there should be continual efforts to embody in specific historical realities.

Very close to this seems to be the category of the “senses” (*Sinne*), which are regarded as transmitting “cultural memory” by their manifestations.¹⁵ Such an approach places emphasis above all on the explanatory role of “cultural memory” for communities. In order to accept this, we would have to determine that all human societies wish to „understand” the world surrounding them on the basis of the authority of the past and base their identity on the foundation of such an understanding.¹⁶ It seems that the attitude which places emphasis on understanding the world through participation in culture and absorbing the “senses” transmitted by it is only one of several possible ones. Its significance depends on regarding it at a given moment as a value on the embodiment of which the existence of the community is dependent. But seeking the sense of the world can be placed alongside—if not resulting from—other values decisive for the definition of the form

¹² Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München 1992, pp. 48–65.

¹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 296–297.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 297.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

¹⁶ See Jan Assmann, *Ägypten. Eine Sinngeschichte*, München/Wien 1996, pp. 9–11.

of life of individuals or groups, such as biological survival, and later increasing personal or group welfare. In this situation it is precisely this category of “values” which seems to be the more primary and more universal in the description of the functioning of society than “understanding”.¹⁷ It is that which we also regard as a factor regulating the shape of “social memory” as well as its occasional representation comprising part of the culture of a given group.

More than 80 years ago, it was written that from the social point of view, the essence of culture is a group of values accepted by members of a given group.¹⁸ Today we are inclined to see culture as “life according to certain values”.¹⁹ If the quintessence of culture is the learning of values, the role of tradition as part of it is passing them on. Tradition as a carrier persuading its recipient to accept values (whether aware of them or not) is passed on as an element which determines the identity, and therefore the persistence of the group. It is through replication that the latter is linked with the world (created by the tradition which defines its shape) of the ancestors, that part of the society which belongs to the past. Values as the essence of tradition are a factor deciding which of the events and patterns of behaviour will be retained or forgotten by a society and determining their mutual arrangements and significances within the group of narratives, picture and gestures carrying that tradition.²⁰ Even within a group which feels strongly related to its ancestors, seeking an example of one tradition which has lasted over the space of many centuries is therefore only an uncertain test of the hypothesis. Even when within a narrative the same event remains recalled, any change in the structure, the isolation of details which differ from those of previous versions can serve

¹⁷ See Jack Goody, *The Theft of History*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 244–247.

¹⁸ In doing so, the researcher in this context (in accordance with his differentiation of “material” and “spiritual”) mentions “spiritual culture”, see Florian Znaniecki, *Socjologia wychowania*, vol. 1: *Wychowujące społeczeństwo*, introduction by Jan Szczepański, Warszawa 1973 (=Biblioteka socjologiczna; republication of the edition of 1928), p. 305.

¹⁹ See Stanisław Pietraszko, *Studia o kulturze*, Warszawa 1992.

²⁰ A close correlate of that manner of seeing the phenomenon is the fact that values and especially a “system of social values” defined on the basis of sociological reflection were regarded by Gerd Althoff and Ludwig Siep as the basis for the definition of the significance of Medieval and early modern symbolic communication (Gerd Althoff, Ludwig Siep, *Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme vom Mittelalter bis zur französischen Revolution. Der neue Münsterer Sonderforschungsbe- reich 496*, “Frühmittelalterliche Studien”, 34 (2000), pp. 394–396).

to transmit other values. Tradition, the same as individual memory and communal memory, has many colours, changes together with the society that is both defined by it, but also creates it for itself and posterity.²¹

Such an understanding of tradition is inspired to a significant degree by modern reflections on culture. In formulating it however an attempt has been made to relate it to the specific character of the Medieval approach to “memory”. Mary Carruthers describes the significance of memory for the people of the Early and High Middle Ages in the following terms: “The matters memory represents are used to persuade and motivate, to create emotions and stir the will. And the ‘accuracy’ or ‘authenticity’ of these memories—their honest simulation of the past—is of far less importance (indeed it is hardly an issue at all), than their use to motivate the present and to affect the future”.²² For tradition it is not facts that were the most important, but their significance, their effect on the recipient, especially those directed towards the maintenance of the communal links of the group which cultivated the tradition.²³ Such statements have at first sight a controversial character, if we contrast them with the basic form of expression of family tradition in the period under discussion—genealogical memory. A component of it of fundamental significance comprises facts, names and relationships. In this period, however, genealogy (or more precisely the shape and content of a broader genealogical tradition) fulfilled not only the function of a universal pattern of the order

²¹ Not even the recording of them in writing could guarantee the halting of the process of transmutation of repeated recollections in the Middle Ages (and of course not just in that period), see Johannes Fried, *Der Schleier der Erinnerung. Grundzüge einer historischen Memorik*, München 2004, pp. 218–222, 289–292.

²² Mary Carruthers, *Boncompagno at the Cutting-edge of Rhetoric: Rhetorical “Memoria” and the Craft of Memory*, “The Journal of Medieval Latin. A Publication of the North American Association of Medieval Latin”, 6 (1996), p. 52.

²³ An interesting example of this is the “longue durée” of the myths of the Irish populations settling Wales, Scotland and Ireland. Their stories concerning their genesis differed from each other in the facts recited and changed between the seventh/eighth and thirteenth/fourteenth centuries when they were written down, and their content. Always, however, at their center was the primary concept, the need to “preserve”—that is to repeat with changes that reflect the changes in contemporary culture—the stories of the earliest beginnings of the folk or clan, whatever they were. This differentiated them at least from their powerful English neighbours who made survival itself their prime aim, see R.R. Davies, *The Peoples of Britain and Ireland, 1100–1400: IV. Language and Historical Mythology*, “Transactions of the Royal Historical Society”, series 6, 7 (1997), pp. 16–19.

of the world, but had equally (or perhaps above all) a pragmatic significance. It transmitted a specific perception of the surrounding reality, appropriate to a specific social group situated in a specific time, strengthened both the feeling of differentiation from other contemporaries, as well as aspirations to attain or permanently maintain a certain social position.²⁴ Bernd Schneidmüller writing his monograph on the Welf family (the House of Welf) emphasized that the accepted picture of the form of a given clan, about its past, was never stable, but underwent fundamental changes according to current aims and needs.²⁵ Genealogical facts fulfilled an auxiliary role as elements signifying certain contents, while it was the “senses” and values that were components of that content which were the defining and commemorating elements. If they undergo change, the shape of the transmitted information concerning genealogical links also changes.²⁶

WHOSE TRADITION?

Whose tradition are we intending to discover—that of the whole Piast family, the family of the ruler reigning at a given moment, or that of the whole community of his subjects? Let us try to define whose world view may be accessible to our searches. Karl Schmid referring to the reflections of Gerd Tellenbach showed that for the maintenance of the community of a clan or dynasty in the Middle Ages a key role was played not so much by real genealogical connections, as an awareness of a community of kinship.²⁷ In the case of a “clan” this took the

²⁴ See Beate Kellner, *Ursprung und Kontinuität. Studien zum genealogischen Wissen im Mittelalter*, München 2004, pp. 13–15, who is inclined to emphasis on the one hand the universal role played by the idea of “genealogicality” in the culture and mentality of the Middle Ages (pp. 31–46), and on the other the need to take into account the variety of the manners in which family relationships were perceived by contemporaries (pp. 16–29). See also R.R. Davies, *The Peoples*, pp. 22–23 on the close relationship in the Irish genealogical traditions with the broader historical and mythological contents.

²⁵ Bernd Schneidmüller, *Die Welfen. Herrschaft und Erinnerung (819–1252)*, Stuttgart 2000, p. 39.

²⁶ B. Kellner, *Ursprung*, pp. 392–393.

²⁷ “Not genealogy in a biological sense, but to a greater extent an awareness of one’s own traditions is that (...), which gives the clan its historicity”, Karl Schmid, *Zur Problematik von Familie, Sippe und Geschlecht, Haus und Dynastie beim mittelalterlichen Adel*, “Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins”, 105/N.F. 66 (1957), p. 57; see also *ibidem*, p. 50.

form of historical traditions the contents of which transcended a single generation of the community.²⁸ This train of thought was developed and applied to the investigation of specific families both in the context of the history of Germany as well as in other societies, including in Poland.²⁹ Its acceptance would give us the possibility of investigating the “traditions of the Piasts”, their “self-identification of the family”. With the passing of the years however this theory has met with serious criticism.³⁰ These critics have pointed to an overemphasis of genealogical awareness as the ideological motor linking members of aristocratic communities,³¹ but also they have drawn attention to problems with precisely defining the authorship of the stories of the past of the analysed family groups. Gerd Althoff notes that it was most frequently assumed that what clerics and monks wrote about the families of the aristocracy was an expression of their own self-awareness, but this was not the case. The creators of the written records themselves in many different ways altered and created that which scholars treat as an expression of the “self-awareness” of the people about whom or in whose name the historiographic communications were written.³²

We accept these reservations. In order to be able to more precisely define the theme of our work, let us refer to the results of the deliberations of Paul Ricoeur. Concerning memory, the philosopher, starting from sociological thought on the polarization of memory into “individual” and “collective”, emphasised the importance of attribution: to oneself or outsiders, and between these two poles: to those close, to “these close relations, these people, who count for us and for whom

²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 56–57.

²⁹ Cf. For example the introduction to Jacek Banaszkiwicz’s article, *Tradycje dynastyczno-plemienne*, p. 261.

³⁰ This was concisely presented by John B. Freed, *The Counts of Falkenstein: Noble Self-Consciousness in Twelfth-Century Germany*, Philadelphia 1984 (=Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 74, part 6, 1984), pp. 5–9.

³¹ Karl Leyser has steadfastly maintained such a position. Among his many works, it is worth citing his synthetic article *Ibid.*, *The German Aristocracy from the Ninth to the Early Twelfth Century: A Historical and Cultural Sketch*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours. 900–1250*, London 1982 (=The Hambledon Press, History Series vol. 12), pp. 168–170.

³² Gerd Althoff, *Anlässe zur schriftlichen Fixierung adligen Selbstverständnisses*, “Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins”, 134/N.F. 95 (1986): *Staufer—Welfen—Zähringer. Ihr Selbstverständnis und seine Ausdrucksformen*, Karl Schmid ed., pp. 34–35, 45–46.

we count”.³³ It is this latter aspect of tradition as memory directed to the close milieu and participating in the links with them that define the boundaries of the topic of our deliberations. Accepting the existence of memory directed towards “those nearest” makes it possible to perceive the links creating the community. Without the functioning of this link, in turn, tradition as a carrier of values could not exist. We do not observe such a mutual relationship in the case of “collective memory”. This could function without the need for the participant to deliberately turn to members of the group with whom they share memories. The existence of tradition requires its direction to people sharing its content.

As a result, we may set aside deliberations on the reception of the deeds of the Piasts and their image in traditions which treat them as “outsiders”. This is why in our research presented here, we have taken into account above all sources which arose in the milieu of the elite closely associated with the ruler’s authority, treating just this milieu of the political and social elite of the state as a group for whom the past of the ruling family was the past of people “close” to them. We took into account additional sources only when, while looking at the Piasts “from the outside”, they could contain traces of tradition which was alive in the milieu of interest to us. We are interested in traditions which in the narrative or symbolic layers were concentrated directly and exclusively on the members of the Polish ruling family. Without such a restriction, every story about the history of Poland and the Poles would have to be analysed here, without producing a broader or more coherent picture of the presence of the dynasty of interest in the past.

In the final analysis, however, the results of the investigations presented here do not allow us to gain a full picture of the dynastic tradition which would have belonged to the Piasts and the whole ruling elite, not to mention the other inhabitants of Poland. Our search concerns the “dynastic tradition” which was alive among those groups associated with the ruling family, the members of which may be identified as the co-creators of the written sources we have at our disposal.³⁴ It

³³ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, transl. by Kathleen Blamey, David Pellauer, Chicago 2004, p. 131.

³⁴ We are well aware of the lack of precision of the term “elite”, it seems however more appropriate than “society”. This is not because of the disapproval of the use

is of course impossible to define precise and permanent boundaries of such a group. We can only indicate that it would include people from the lay and sacral spheres, people of the elite, members of the world of power and authority. At the same time we cannot ignore the fact that the differentiation in the tenth century of the Piasts as the ruling dynasty from the rest of the Poles in general as the starting point of our deliberations has its counterpoint in the writing of the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymus in the reign of Bolesław III Wrymouth with its presentation of “their history” as “our history”—and thus the history of the Poles or rather Poland. It was no accident that in writing of the “national historiography” of the Middle Ages, Norbert Kersken refers to precisely the “Chronicles” of Gallus Anonymus as its first expression in Poland.³⁵ Janusz Bieniak in turn links the creation of the most important monuments of Polish historiography with the persons of specific members of the aristocracy and the traditions of the families to which they belonged.³⁶ The tradition of the ruling dynasty became in this way overshadowed by the influence of other stories circulating among the aristocracy. Although we do not share this extreme view, it indicates that scholars accept a circle of people linked by the tradition of interest to us which is similar to that which is the subject of this study.

of this term of some scholars (see Michael Borgolte, *Mittelalterforschung und Postmoderne. Aspekte einer Herausforderung*, “Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft”, 43 (1995), fasc. 7, pp. 624–625), but because of the inherent elite nature of the written sources we will be using. Not only do we know very little about their broader social foundations (commonly-held views, stories etc.), but also the context of creation concerning their communications is located in the narrow field of the specialists of that time. Despite the lack of precision of the term “elite”, or maybe “power elite”, seems more appropriate.

³⁵ Norbert Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung im Europa der “nationes”. Nationalgeschichtliche Gesamtdarstellungen im Mittelalter*, Köln/Weimar/Wien 1995 (=Münstersche Historische Forschungen, vol. 8), pp. 491–499 and making a more precise definition of this type of literature in an article, *Ibid.*, *Mittelalterliche Nationalgeschichtsschreibung im östlichen Mitteleuropa*, “Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica”, 4 (1995), pp. 152–163. It is necessary to add that in the opinion of Gerard Labuda, *Tworzenie się państw narodowych w Europie średniowiecznej*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 100 (1993), no 4, p. 45, it is possible to see the beginnings of Poland as a “national state” as early as the times of Mieszko I.

³⁶ See Janusz Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku (część IV A. Dwa możnowładztwa—wobec jednośc państwa) (I)*, [in:] *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów*, Stefan K. Kuczyński ed., vol. 10, Warszawa 2004, p. 44, where also the earlier literature is to be found.

We will be feeling our way towards tracking down a certain cultural construct through an analysis of the communications which are its expression. They are linked to the ruling dynasty through their subject matter, and focus on it, but only to a certain degree (though to what degree is a question of further analysis) reflect the notions of the Piasts of their past. Or rather, their view of what people, including other members of the family, should think about them. This, it seems, reflects not only the state of the sources, but also social reality. The dynasty could, after all, create a certain vision of the past, including the recent past, but that vision was upheld by the milieu around it—and shaped by the values it embodied.³⁷ Certainly, however, we do not intend to accept the assumption of the existence of a “dynastic self-awareness” of the Piasts, or of the “sacral solemnity of family ties”,³⁸ or the permanent maintenance of a Piast tradition in the ruler’s court.³⁹ We wish to allow the written sources to speak for themselves, or rather the people who influenced their creation, each time modelling the shape of an interesting tradition.⁴⁰

Presenting a synthetic overview of the relations between the family (clan) of the ruler and the creation and functioning of a Medieval society at the time of the construction of the structures of a state, Henryk Samsonowicz emphasises: “the next area of questions concerning this factor, without the existence of which no community had (or has) permanence was memory of its past. If we look at the oldest records, ‘Memoria’ was based on the names of rulers and predecessors of the ruler”.⁴¹ This remark is especially important in the case of the histori-

³⁷ Henryk Łowmiański drew attention to the dynamic character of the relationships between the ruling family and aristocracy around it from the point of view of the functioning of the dynasty as a symbol unifying a community, *Ibid.*, *Dynastia Piastów we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Początki państwa polskiego. Księga tysiąclecia*, Kazimierz Tymieniecki, Gerard Labuda, Henryk Łowmiański eds, Poznań 1962, vol. 1: *Organizacja polityczna*, pp. 160–161.

³⁸ See Brygida Kürbis, *O życiu religijnym w Polsce X–XII wieku*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii. Prace wybrane*, Poznań 1994, p. 387.

³⁹ See, for example, Juliusz Bardach, *L'état polonais du haut Moyen Age*, “Acta Poloniae Historica”, 5 (1962), pp. 20–21.

⁴⁰ Michel Despland, *Tradition*, [in:] *Historicizing “Tradition” in the Study of Religion*, Steven Engler, Gregory P. Grieve (eds), Berlin/New York 2005 (=Religion and Society, vol. 43), p. 23, while not denying the existence of “communal memory” showed that there is a varying degree of participation in it, and different possibilities of its shaping.

⁴¹ Henryk Samsonowicz, *Dynastia, czyli od społecznej struktury plemiennej do państwowej*, [in:] *Przemysłidzi i Piastowie—twórcy i gospodarze średniowiecznych*

ography of the Polish Middle Ages where (until the beginning of the thirteenth century and the “Chronicle of the Poles” of Master Wincenty Kadłubek) we do not know of any examples of a narrative which is deliberately directed towards creating a description of the common past of the Poles. Theoretically however, such a narrative concerning this topic should have existed, if the subjects of the Piasts were to have formed a community.⁴² Meanwhile, what the sources written in the country they ruled have to impart to us mainly concerns the history of its rulers within a specific timeframe.⁴³ This means that defining the manner in which the past of the rulers was remembered gives the only possibility of an insight into the ideological foundations of the perpetuation of Polish society at the moment when it emerges.⁴⁴

CHRONOLOGICAL SCOPE OF THIS WORK

This work attempts to trace the dynastic traditions of the Piasts until c. 1138, the year of the death of Bolesław III Wrymouth. This is no accident. This ruler had a considerable impact on the writing by Gallus Anonymous of the first complete version of the dynastic tradition of the Piasts set in the wider context of the history of the Polish people. The chronological framework of our discussions is not defined however by rather random events from the history of historiography. Medieval historiography does not here rule history, does not impose its shape on us.⁴⁵ The writing down of just one of a number of (we

monarchii. Materiały z konferencji naukowej, Gniezno 5–7 maja 2004 roku, Józef Dobosz (ed.), Poznań 2006, p. 19.

⁴² See Walter Pohl, *Identität und Widerspruch: Gedanken zu einer Sinngeschichte des Frühmittelalters*, [in:] *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen. Von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters*, Walter Pohl (ed.), Wien 2004 (=Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften, vol. 322, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 8), pp. 31–32.

⁴³ To a certain degree also the Church, through the introduction into chronicles of information connected with the taking up of office by bishops.

⁴⁴ Tradition created around a series of heroes and rulers (the older the better, as therefore not contaminated by involvement in current problems) might have been an option easier to accept by a multi-tribal society as the unifying factor of a future nation than a narrative about one victorious people (see below on the problem of “origo et religio”, and the comments of Joachim Ehlers, *Schriftkultur, Ethnogenese und Nationsbildung in ottonischer Zeit*, “Frühmittelalterliche Studien”, 23 (1989), pp. 304, 308, 310).

⁴⁵ See—with regard to the hagiographic records concerning the conversion of the Saxons by Charlemagne and our knowledge and evaluation of these events—Helmut

may hypothesise) many stories about the past of Poland and its rulers that were circulating in society could have significant consequences for the functioning of the whole culture. Society was presented with a *fait accompli*; its own story, previously only the domain of the spoken word, now had taken on a single coherent form. Aleida and Jan Assmann write of groups becoming aware of a tradition which had previously been part of everyday life, which then leads to the eternal replication of elements comprising that “tradition” (ancient Egypt) or building an identity around a permanent criticism of “tradition” and the search for novelty (Greek philosophy).⁴⁶ In the case of Polish culture, the changes do not seem particularly great. Nevertheless the times of Bolesław III Wrymouth see a somewhat radical, which does not mean sudden and unexpected, change in the manner of perception of both the history of the ruler, and as a consequence the country and people subject to him.

The chronological caesurae are not defined only by two unrelated facts, but socio-cultural changes of wider significance. On the one hand they relate to the change in the relationship between the spoken and written word, which in the west is observable in both monastic and lay communities. The twelfth century is the period of the recording in writing of tales which are either normative nature (in the case of monastic movements), or a literate one (and this would include historiographic works, the world beyond the monastic walls). This is the time when the ruler “lives” by the text, directed by the norms which it contains.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the changes within the field of notions of the past of the Piast dynasty runs parallel to the changes occurring in aristocratic societies both in France and—which is more important for us—in the German Reich (Holy Roman Empire). In France the period from the tenth to twelfth centuries is the dawn of the period of the consolidation of the aristocratic elite referring to Carolingian patterns as a model (including ideologically) as a source of its power.

Beumann, *Die Hagiographie “bewältigt”. Unterwerfung und Christianisierung der Sachsen durch Karl den Großen*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1966–1986. Festgabe zu seinem 75. Geburtstag*, Jürgen Petersohn, Roderich Schmidt, eds. Sigmaringen 1987, pp. 289–323.

⁴⁶ Aleida Assmann, Jan Assmann, *Schrift, Tradition und Kultur*, [in:] *Zwischen Festtag und Alltag. Zehn Beiträge zum Thema “Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit”*, Wolfgang Raible ed., Tübingen 1988 (= *ScriptOralia* 6), pp. 41–47.

⁴⁷ See Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy. Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century*, Princeton 1983, p. 4.

Later we see the growth of importance of the middle nobility and the homogenisation of its structure, increasing emphasis on the patrilineal character of the family, together with the increase in the density of these links resulting from the increase in the number of people regarded as members of the family. All this contributed to the phenomenon of the “vulgarisation of cultural models” among the elite. This also concerns the royal family.⁴⁸ In about the tenth century in the Reich occurred the formation of the great clans, the “houses”, including that of the rulers, within which in the middle of the twelfth century independent minor lines were to develop.⁴⁹ The period of interest to us here was one of extreme importance with reference to changes in the way family ties and links with the ancestors were being seen in the societies of the elite in the West, including in Poland.⁵⁰ We may suggest then that the chronological caesurae accompanying this work do not have an artificial (historiographic) and entirely regional character.

WHY STUDY DYNASTIC TRADITION?

The dynastic tradition is only one of the components of the changes taking place in Poland between the tenth and mid-twelfth centuries.

⁴⁸ See Georg Duby, *Lignage, noblesse et chevalerie au XII^e siècle dans la région mâconnaise*, “Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations”, 27 (1972), nr 4–5, pp. 807–812, 816–817, 820–822; *Ibid.*, *Remarques sur la littérature généalogique en France aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Hommes et structures du moyen âge. Recueil d’articles*, Paris 1973 (=Le savoir historique, vol. 1), p. 297; *Ibid.*, *La vulgarisation des modèles culturels dans la société féodale*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Hommes et structures*, pp. 305–308.

⁴⁹ See Karl Schmid, *Zur Entstehung und Erforschung von Geschlechterbewusstsein*, “Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins”, 134/N.F. 95 (1986): *Staufer—Welfen—Zähringer. Ihr Selbstverständnis und seine Ausdrucksformen*, Karl Schmid ed., pp. 29–30.

⁵⁰ Jan Wroniszewski, *Szlachta ziemi sandomierskiej w średniowieczu. Zagadnienia społeczne i gospodarcze*, Poznań–Wrocław 2001 (=Badania z Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych, vol. 60), p. 190, observed here—following Sławomir Gawlas (*ibidem*, footnotes 914 and 915)—the dissimilarity in development of genealogical awareness of the Polish aristocracy compared with that in lands of western Europe, and connected that with the lesser degree of development in our country of the process of territorialisation and the advance of feudal structures. Januszz Kurtyka polemised with these views (*Ibid.*, *Szlachta sandomierska—szlachta europejska [Kilka uwag na marginesie pracy Jana Wroniszewskiego, Szlachta ziemi sandomierskiej w średniowieczu (...)]*, Poznań—Wrocław 2001 (...)), “Roczniki Historyczne”, 68 (2002), pp. 225–228, demonstrating the far-reaching similarities between the conditions defining the development of genealogical awareness among the aristocracy of the Reich (mainly, though he did also invoke French examples) and Poland.

We may consider why in such a situation it should be the focus of the researcher's attention. The attempt to define the form and genesis of the dynastic tradition is at the same time a question about the manner in which the group who were the culture-creating and political elite of their society saw the contemporary and past world. This is because of the theoretical function which tradition fulfils within the framework of culture (see above) as well as from the point of view of the uniting of the vision of the dynastic tradition with the picture of the past of Poland, and also due to the specific nature of the recipients, the owners of the tradition. Although therefore within these reflections the broader political and cultural issues will appear only marginally, it is after all the problem of the tradition of the ruling family which is crucial to the understanding of the world of the earlier and full Middle Ages. Especially, as Henryk Samsonowicz noted, as it concerned the construction of a group identity for our distant forebears.⁵¹

Participation in a tradition which is alive within a certain group was and is still treated as the bonds between the individual across chronological borders with the "imagined community",⁵² which includes the nation. Including the tradition of the Piasts in the framework of the "national tradition" of the Poles means that investigating the dynastic traditions of the ruling family has its roots in, as well as consequences for, the identity of Poles today. In a situation where awareness of identity tends to be treated as a luxury decoration or a tool of the demagoguery of elites (sadly not just political ones), besides language and political frontiers, the Poles are linked by just a few symbols. Among them images from the history of the first ruling dynasty, and the whole family occupy significant places as symbols. When many years ago Pierre Nora coordinated the monumental French project *Les lieux de mémoire*, [Places of Memory], a description of the national mythology of France in the second half of the twentieth century he was directed not by the desire to demask it but presenting the mechanisms of its continuity and effects based on symbols embodying and strengthening memory and cementing the bonds of group identity of the community

⁵¹ Henryk Samsonowicz, *Więzi społeczne we wczesnym średniowieczu polskim*, [in:] *Spółczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, vol. 10, pp. 57–58.

⁵² See Gregory P. Grieve, Richard Weiss, *Illuminating the Half-Life of tradition: Legitimation, Agency, and Counter-Hegemonies*, [in:] *Historicizing "Tradition"*, p. 3.

which feels associated with it.⁵³ We would like in this work to refer to this great exemplar in a manner appropriate to our situation.⁵⁴

In an awareness of the modest and traditional dimensions of the work undertaken here, also in terms of methodology,⁵⁵ we are guided by a feeling of responsibility both towards the communicators of the messages analysed here, whose lives in an unavoidable manner we make use of, but also the receivers of the message today. The latter also lies heavily on us. Undertaking a problem which lies at the roots of the whole national mythology of the Poles and thus which moulds with great strength the cultural space of Poland, we would not like to subject it to trivialisation by the mere application of current scientific fashions, or our own methodological, or worse—ideological, convictions. Our task is only to attempt to make available to contemporary readers such meanings of the surviving fragments of the rich cultural past of the Poles as they may have had for the people of the times when they were created. The role of the historian is a responsible one, but also a modest one—it is similar to the work of a translator who does society a service, but is never sure of the exactness of their translation.⁵⁶

⁵³ See Pierre Nora, *Présentation*, [in:] *Les lieux de mémoire*, Pierre Nora ed., vol. 1: *La République*, Paris 1984, pp. VII–VIII; *Ibid.*, *L'ère de la commémoration*, [in:] *Les lieux de mémoire*, Pierre Nora ed., vol. 3: *Les France, cz. 3: De l'archive à l'emblème*, Paris 1992, pp. 977, 1009–1012.

⁵⁴ The construction of contemporary political concepts on false, sometimes too simplistic, pictures of the past is most often associated with the use of facts-as-symbols from recent history. Attempts have been made however to utilise Early Medieval history in this way too, especially the attempts to link the politics of Bolesław I (and especially the Gniezno Summit of 1000 AD) with the European Union and the attempts to “Europeanise” peoples in the eastern part of the continent (see the remarks of Przemysław Urbańczyk, “Europe” *Around the Year 1000 as Seen from the Papal, Imperial and Central-European Perspectives*, [in:] *The European Frontier. Clashes and Compromises in the Middle Ages. International symposium of the Culture Clash or Compromise (CCC) project and the Department of Archeology, Lund University, held in Lund, October 13–15 2000*, Jörn Staecker ed., Lund 2004 (=Lund Studies in Medieval Archeology, vol. 33; CCC papers, vol. 7), pp. 38–39.

⁵⁵ We do not by any means negate the achievements of methodological reflection of the end of the last century, including those generally labelled post-modern, let us remember the words of Aleksander Brückner: “A new sieve on the peg, but the old one under the counter. This is the maxim, it seems, of the newest historical methods (...)” (*Ibid.*, *Historia a filologia*, “Przegląd Historyczny”, 4 (1907), p. 265).

⁵⁶ See Johannes Fried, *Wissenschaft und Phantasie. Das Beispiel der Geschichte*, “Jahrbuch des Historischen Kollegs”, 1996, p. 36.

METHODS

By these means we aim to contribute to the broad current of the history of culture,⁵⁷ without any aspiration to enrich social or political history by means of our deliberations.⁵⁸ We consider the historical research presented here in terms of an attempt to access the information about fragments of the past which are accessible to our research due to the survival to our times of communicative entities preserving the structure given them in the period of time and historical context of interest to us. These communications can contain a whole range of older layers of information. Of importance for us will only be those which, after being taken from the later carrier still form a coherent narrative and the genesis of which we can still define precisely enough to relate them to a specific moment in history.

While striving to maintain the primacy of the sources in our investigations attempting to answer questions on the form of the traditions we are seeking, we would like to address first the internal logic of the written source treated as a communication set in as specific a social universe as possible. As a result of this, we do not assume the existence in each period of a narrative defining the past of the ruler and his clan,⁵⁹ nor the continuance of a single dynastic tradition of the Piasts.

⁵⁷ See the dispute on the history of culture in the earlier research of Polish medievalists, Gerard Labuda, *Polskie wczesne średniowiecze w historiografii lat 1937–1987*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 94 (1987), nr 1, pp. 61–62, the author takes the view that “the history of culture is the history of human creativity” (*ibidem*, p. 61), or the history of “human innovation”, the creator and his work, and the spread of new ideas (*Ibid.*, *Historia kultury jako historia twórczych innowacji*, “Nauka Polska. Czasopismo poświęcone rozwojowi nauki w Polsce”, 1991, nr 5–6, p. 27; *Ibid.*, *Historia kultury historią cywilizacji*, Poznań 1993 (=Wykłady inauguracyjne, nr 13), *passim*). In the present work we are closer to the view that the concept of “history of culture” should above all define investigations of past systems of values and the manner in which they were manifested (Cf. Stefan Bednarek, *Pojmowanie kultury i jej historii we współczesnych syntezach dziejów kultury polskiej*, Wrocław 1995, pp. 155–161).

⁵⁸ It seems that with a certain distaste Jan de Vries wrote that in Scandinavian heroic epic “political history was simplified to [the form] of family chronicles” (*Ibid.*, *Altnordische Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 1: *Vorbemerkungen. Die heidnische Zeit. Die Zeit nach der Bekehrung bis zur Mitte des zwölften Jahrhunderts*, 2nd edn, amended, Berlin 1964 (=Grundriß der germanischen Philologie, vol. 15), p. 91). Though the tone of this statement would perhaps today attract wide criticism, we agree with one aspect, stories intended to transmit a certain tradition were not intended to narrate political events, though they may have participated in the creation of the political sphere.

⁵⁹ Or such a one that would contain a narrative about the beginnings of a people, or more precisely would contain in its structure or be based on the story of a community

It is possible that the elements available to us, fragments of tradition, comprise part make a single coherent whole.⁶⁰ We also however have to accept the possibility that it may turn out that the multiplicity of narratives and deeds cannot be correlated with each other in a narrative form nor even by constructing a theoretical series of transmission of values.

This imposes on us the need precisely to define the context of the functioning of the communications analysed here both from the chronological point of view as well as the milieu in which they were created and received, in order not only to be able to place their meaning in as close a historical framework as possible but also indicate the character of the description in relation to reality (direct relation of an eyewitness, recollection, repetition of somebody else's statement etc.).⁶¹ Such a procedure seems to guarantee the possibility of verification of the results obtained and realisation of the postulate of respecting the integrity of the historical source. We assume that a communication gained a meaning at the moment of its creation in a specific social milieu and not at the moment of its reading by a modern researcher. As a result, we would like to concentrate on the relationship between on the one hand the creator(s) of the communication and on the other the intended recipients, and see this as the point of reference for the determination of the senses of the analysed statements and behaviour.

We are aware that the conservatism and eclecticism of the investigative principles presented here might meet the opposition of the advocates of a much more theoretical approach to history as a cognitive discipline. To a considerable degree in the construction of these

in the process of coming into being—whether tribal, or ethnic—about its beginnings. See as an introduction to this topic Herwig Wolfram, *Origo et religio. Ethnic traditions and literature in early medieval texts*, "Early Medieval Europe", 3 (1994), fasc. 1, pp. 19–38.

⁶⁰ Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Welfische Memoria. Zugleich ein Beitrag über adlige Hausüberlieferung und die Kriterien ihrer Erforschung*, [in:] *Die Welfen und ihr Braunschweiger Hof im hohen Mittelalter*, Bernd Schneidmüller ed., Wiesbaden 1995 (=Wolfenbüttler Mittelalter-Studien, vol. 7), p. 71, showed that the tradition ("Traditionsgut") of a clan woven around a few dominant personalities and their deeds with the passing of time may—and even must—take on different forms and manners of realization which however derive from common roots.

⁶¹ See Johannes Fried, *The Veil of Memory. Anthropological Problems When Considering the Past*, trans. Jane Rafferty, London 1998 (=German Historical Institute London. The 1997 Annual Lecture), p. 19.

principles we were led by considerations of the need to avoid a situation where the acceptance of one of the methods proposed by the methodology (philosophy) of history meant that the form and to a certain extent the boundaries of the answers obtained would be defined even before the research had begun.⁶² We have placed higher value on voices from the past, coded in different ways and resistant to the use of a single method, than on abstract methodological standpoints.

SOURCES, LITERATURE

Among all the records in which the Piasts appear in the period of interest to us, we have regarded as the ones fundamental to our purpose those which could contain traces of the tradition concerning the past of the family or clan which arose or were functioning in the circle of the ducal and royal court. The rest have been incorporated only as secondary aids in the course of the analyses of the basic corpus of sources. In the unavoidable process of selection of the literature quoted in the references, we have been guided by the basic principle that the introduction of a mention of a work should be economical, both with regards to the size of this book and usefulness to the reader. This work does not pretend to be a broad comparative study, it concentrates on the local situation. Therefore in our reading of works concerning the situation in other regions we paid most attention to phenomena affecting the Reich and to a certain degree Bohemia. This is because we have attempted to place our considerations of the culture of the Poland of the Piasts in a related cultural context, and at least that to which the Piasts aspired.

THE STRUCTURE OF THIS WORK

Apart from the introductory chapter setting the background and the concluding one which summarizes what has been determined, the internal structure of the rest of this work has been defined by three main aims and principles. Firstly determining the state of, and as far

⁶² Cf. The development of the thesis: "Science is an essentially anarchic enterprise: theoretical anarchism is more humanitarian and more likely to encourage progress than its law-and-order alternatives", Paul K. Feyerabend, *Against Method*, London/New York 1993, pp. 3, 9–13.

as is possible changes in, the traditions which are the object of our interest at specific moments in history (thus the diachronic layout of the chapters within the two first parts of the book). Secondly emphasis on the primacy of the written sources as the basic evidence available to us about the functioning of the investigated phenomenon (therefore defining the division of the contents in parts 1 and 2 into points corresponding to individual sources or their categories). The third is the necessity of defining the degree to which the individuals who are the main subjects, the members of the Piast dynasty could have internalized the principles according to which both the past and the place of the dynasty within society was communicated to the external milieu (which determines the creation of the third part of this text).

The first part of this book therefore is devoted to the presentation of the problem of the functioning or the absence of the Piast tradition in the period before the writing of the “great narrative”—the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymous which cover the whole of the history of the dynasty to the beginning of the twelfth century. The elements of the discussion necessarily have a fragmentary character. It is no exaggeration to say that they cannot confirm the existence of any complex form of communication. The evidential value of the annals deserve especial attention from this point of view.

The second part of the book is above all an analysis of the traditions recorded in the Chronicle of Gallus Anonymous. The accompanying chapter discusses the possible continuation of this tradition contained in the records concerning St Otto of Bamberg and discussing the histories of the Polish rulers Władysław Herman and Bolesław III Wrymouth.

The third part of the present book is divided into chapters containing discussions on the manifestation of tradition in the behaviour of the Piasts beginning from those closely connected with the family life (naming of children, marriage unions, but also the family cults of saints) through those having connections with power and the manifestation of majesty in the person of the ruler, and finally a separate topic concerned with the commemoration of the memory of the Piasts, all conducted of course from the point of view of their being the manifestation of some form of tradition.

The state of the sources for the earlier part of the Medieval period mean that the results of our studies here can only be regarded as a voice in the discussion, and not a homogeneous series of statements with pretence to exclusiveness in the re-creation of the past. We do

not regard that as a weakness, rather an immanent characteristic connected with the functioning within the European cultural circle of such a discipline as history.⁶³ History lives due to the exchange of views which create a community between the readers and not only an author describing their research, but also with all scholars whose investigations have had an influence on this research. We regard this discursive character of history as its real strength, its rational core and by the same token the interdisciplinary intellectual space of European culture. Without agreeing to this kind of discussion, we do not see any chance on the one hand of understanding different manners of “remembering” those same events by different nations, and on the other for an acquiescence to such a variety of visions of the past set within the social conditions in which history functions and the biological memory of humans.⁶⁴

⁶³ Cf. Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Geschichtswissenschaft in einer sich ständig verändernden Welt*, [in:] *Wissenschaften 2001. Diagnosen und Prognosen*, Göttingen 2001, pp. 114–116, on the awareness of participants in scientific discourse, especially historians, of their own limitations and the impossibility of reaching final conclusions in the perspective of the contemporary world of “multiple meanings”.

⁶⁴ See Johannes Fried, *Erinnerung und Vergessen. Die Gegenwart stiftet die Einheit der Vergangenheit*, “Historische Zeitschrift”, 273 (2001), pp. 587–593.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book could not have arisen without the support of the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, whose stipendia allowed the author to spend several exceptionally valuable months in the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte in Gottingen (now unfortunately no longer in existence). For the help and goodwill and friendliness I would like to express my great thanks to Leszek Zygmier, the director of the Polish Historical Mission there, as well as my supervisors from the Institute, Nathalie Kruppa and Caspar Ehlers. The bibliographic searches were made possible by an internal grant awarded by the Rector of the University of Wrocław.

It is impossible for me to express how much I owe to the patience of my beloved wife Agnieszka.

EXPLANATORY TABLES

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

920–940	The first strongholds of the type characteristic for the administrative system of the later Piast state built in Great Poland (Grzybowo, Gniezno)
Circa 950–960	Mieszko I gained power in Great Poland, Kuyavia, Mazovia
963–965	Wars between Mieszko I and the Reich. Mieszko I was defeated by Margrave Gero and pledged allegiance to Emperor Otto I
965	Dobrawa, the Christian daughter of the Czech duke Bolesław I, married Mieszko I, who was still pagan
966	Mieszko I baptized. The beginning of the christianization of Poland
967	Mieszko I captured Pomerania (northern province on the Baltic Sea)
972	Hodo, margrave of the Lausitz March, defeated by the Piast duke at the battle of Cedynia
up to 990	Mieszko I obtained the southern provinces: Silesia and Little Poland held by the Czech dukes; the duke together with his wife and their sons donated the dukedom to St Peter (the “Dagome iudex” charter)
992	After the death of Mieszko I, his oldest son Bolesław I banished his stepbrothers (Mieszko, Lambert, Otto) and stepmother Oda gaining sole power
997, Apr 23	Wojciech (Adalbert) Slavnik, bishop of Prague and missionary killed by Prussians
1000	The pilgrimage of Emperor Otto III to Gniezno, the place of St Wojciech’s burial. During the meeting with Bolesław I the creation of the Polish archbishopric with the capital in Gniezno was announced (with 4 subordinated bishoprics in Kołobrzeg for Pomerania, in Poznań for Great Poland, in Wrocław for Silesia and in Cracow for Little Poland). The emperor elevated Bolesław from the rank of imperial <i>tributarius</i> to the position of <i>dominus</i> and gave him the copy of St Mauritius’ (the Holy) Lance

- 1003–1018 Series of wars between Bolesław I and Emperor Henry II. The Polish duke conquered Bohemia (temporarily) and Moravia and maintained his power over a major part of the Lausitz province
- 1018 Bolesław I defeated the duke of Kiev and gained temporary control over his capital and state
- 1025 Royal coronation of Bolesław I and his death shortly after. His son, Mieszko II, ruled the state as the king
- 1027–1031 A war between Mieszko II and Emperor Conrad II. The Polish king was expelled from the state, the emperor gave it as his fief to Mieszko's brothers Bezprym and Otto (the son of Bolesław I and Oda) and Dietrich (the grandson of Mieszko I and Oda)
- 1032 Mieszko regained power after the sudden death of Bezprym but only as a duke subordinated to the emperor. The Polish state lost several provinces, among them Silesia (captured by the Bohemian duke) and Pomerania
- 1034 After the death of Mieszko II, his minor son Kazimierz I succeeded to the throne. Because of a rebellion of the magnates he had to flee the country and stay first at the court of Hungarian king and then in the Reich (his mother, Rycheza, had been there since 1031–1032)
- 1034–1038 Pagan uprising in Poland, the Polish Church administrative structure was destroyed
- 1038 A Czech invasion plundered the country, the Bohemian duke Břetyslav I took the relics of St Wojciech from Gniezno to Prague
- 1039 Kazimierz I with the help of the emperor recaptured Greater and Little Poland. Cracow became the capital of the state and the local bishop Aaron was temporary head of the Polish Church
- 1047–1048 The duke with the help of the Rus' forces conquered Mazovia, Silesia and the eastern part of Pomerania. Kazimierz was forced by the emperor to pay a yearly tribute to the Czech duke as compensation for Silesia
- 1058 After the death of Kazimierz I the Restorer, his oldest son Bolesław II succeeded to the throne. The younger one, Władysław I Herman reigned Mazovia province subordinated to his brother

- 1060–1077 A series of wars and interventions in Kievan Rus (1069, 1077), Bohemia (1068–1071) and Hungary (1060, 1063). Bolesław II refused to pay tribute to the Czech duke. The Polish ruler supported enemies of the German king Henry IV and imposed rulers dependant on himself. In the meantime he lost control over the Pomeranian province
- 1075 Re-establishing of the archbishopric in Gniezno and (probably) bishoprics in Poznań and Wrocław, creation of the new bishopric in Płock (capital of Mazovia)
- 1076, Dec 25 The royal coronation of Bolesław II
- 1079 A controversy aroused between king Bolesław and Bishop Stanisław of Cracow. The bishop was accused of treachery and sentenced to death. Soon after this a magnates' rebellion removed Bolesław II from the throne and he had to escape to Hungary. His brother Władysław took over power but as a duke only
- 1080 Władysław pledged alliance with the Czech duke, the future king, Wratysław II, renewed paying tribute to him and took his daughter, Judith, as a wife
- 1081 The Polish king died in exile in Hungary
- 1085–1086 Bolesław II's son, Mieszko was recalled to Poland by his uncle, Władysław Herman. The duke gave the nephew a Rus' princess in marriage
- 1086 Bolesław III was born
- 1088 Mieszko, son of Bolesław II, was killed
- 1090 Władysław Herman and his palatine Sieciech regained power over Pomerania. They lost it in the same year
- 1092 The duke ceased paying tribute for Silesia
- 1093 Rebellion against Władysław supported by the Czech duke Brětyslav II. Władysław's natural son, Zbigniew with the help of rebels and the Czechs gained control over Silesia. In the end he was defeated by his father, but in the meantime Władysław had to accept the renewal of the tribute to the Czech duke
- 1097 Zbigniew and his stepbrother Bolesław III started a fight against their father and his closest advisor, palatine Sieciech. Władysław was forced to divide the dukedom between himself and his sons. Zbigniew was established as ruler in Great Poland, and Bolesław III—

- in Silesia and Little Poland. Duke Władysław retained control over Mazovia but also kept the most important strongholds all over the country in his hands
- 1101 Zbigniew and Bolesław once again caused civil war longing for complete power over their share of the country. Władysław Herman had to surrender, palatine Sieciech was expelled from Poland
- 1102 Władysław Herman died. Zbigniew and Bolesław ruled Poland together but the first as the older brother was supreme in power
- 1105–1106 Bolesław fought with the Czech duke and strengthened his alliance with the Kievan ruler and the Hungarian king Koloman I
- 1106–1108 Bolesław accused Zbigniew of supporting the Czechs and Pomeranians, ‘natural enemies of Poles’, and banished him from the country. The older brother sought help first in Bohemia and then at the court of Emperor Henry V
- 1109 Henry V started a war against Bolesław III to impose Zbigniew on the throne and thanks to him strengthen the Reich’s influence in Central Europe. Bolesław defended his position and in retaliation invaded Czech territory (1110)
- 1111 Bolesław signed a truce with the emperor and the Czechs. One of the conditions was that Bolesław accepted Zbigniew’s return to Poland. The older brother was firstly received peacefully by Bolesław Wrymouth but next year he was captured, blinded and soon died. As a penance for breaking the oath given to the brother Bolesław undertook a pilgrimage to the sanctuary of St Gilles in Szekesfehervar, Hungary and back to Gniezno (1112)
- 1115–1119 Armed acquisition of eastern Pomerania by Bolesław
- 1119–1122 The dukes of western Pomerania were forced to acknowledge their dependence on the Polish duke
- 1124–1125, 1128 Otto, bishop of Bamberg, invited by Bolesław III carried out successfully missions among the Pomeranians

- 1131–1134 Polish interventions in Hungary and Czech invasions in Poland. Bolesław III was defeated
- 1135 Bolesław accepted the emperor Lothair III of Supplinburg as his overlord and took Pomerania and Rugia Insel as fief from the emperor's hands
- 1138, Oct 28 Bolesław III Wrymouth died

LEGENDARY ANCESTORS OF THE PIASTS DYNASTY

Piast – Rzepka



Siemowit – NN



Lestek – NN



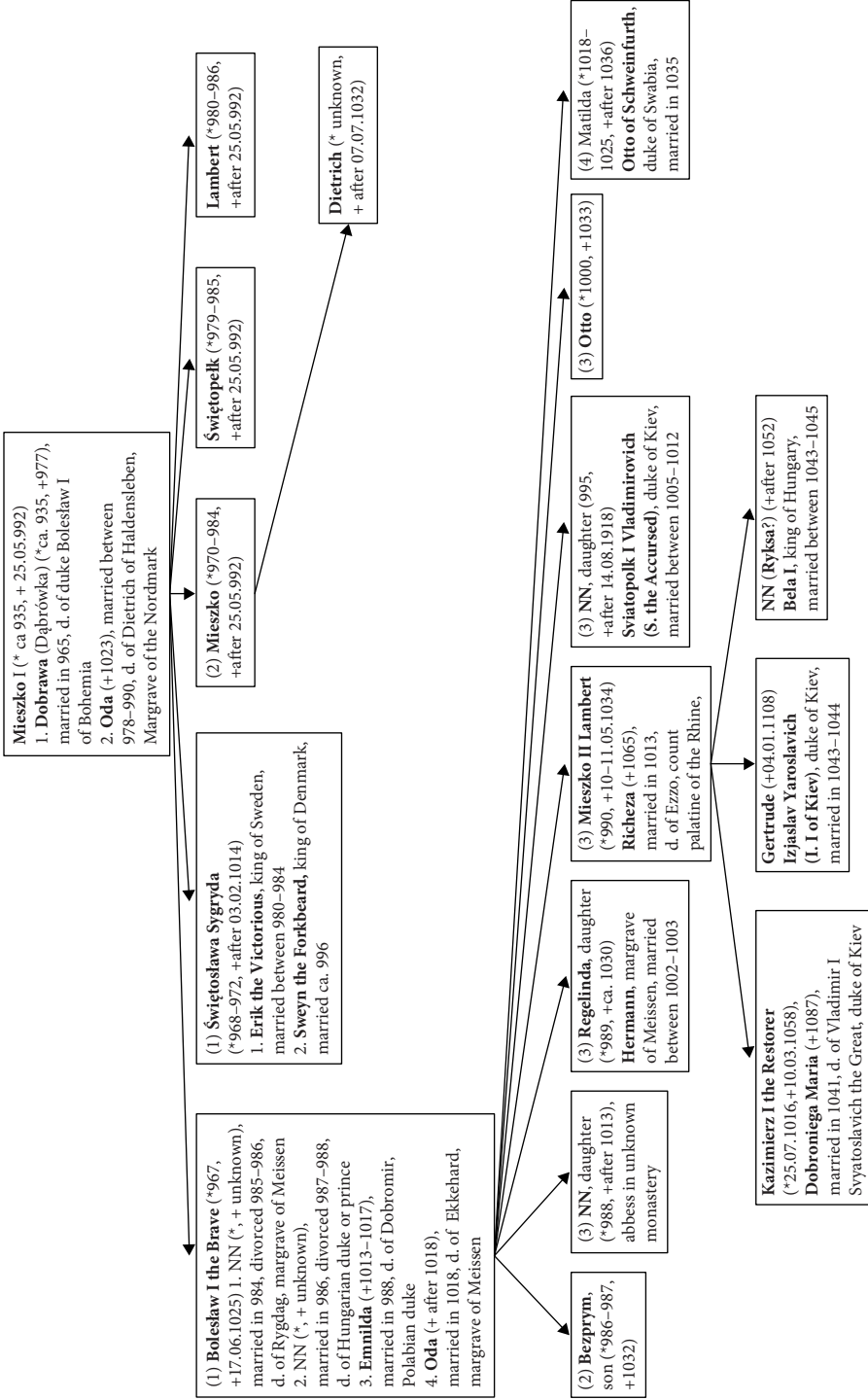
Siemomysł – NN



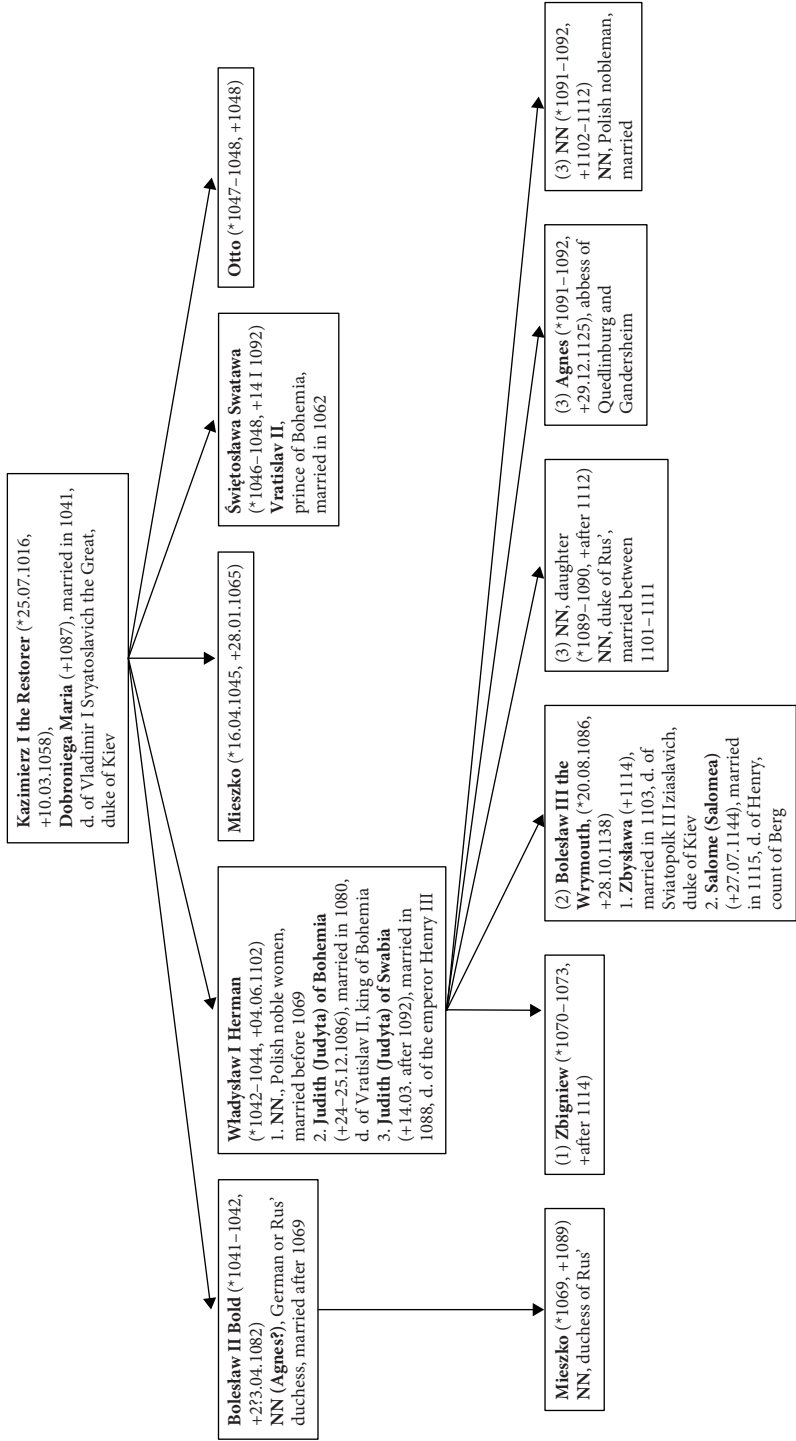
Mieszko I

(*ca 935, +25.05.992)

DESCENDANTS OF MIESZKO I



DESCENDANTS OF KAZIMIERZ I THE RESTORER



PART ONE

ON THE TRAIL OF TRADITION

CHAPTER ONE

FRAGMENTS—SCATTERED EVIDENCE

Apart from the few narratives that present a vision of the past of the Polish ruling dynasty over a longer chronological span, we have at our disposal a group of sources in which parts of that history are preserved like individual snapshots. They have an important value in that due to them, we may observe not only (or rather not so much) the shape of the Piast tradition in a given period, but above all the ongoing manner in which it was utilized.

1. THE STARTING POINT—“DAGOME IUDEX”

It is in the document known as “Dagome Iudex” that we find the first trace of the deliberate creation by the Piasts or those around them of a specific vision of the connections which linked the ruling family. The group of people mentioned as the family of the ruler does not however include his first born son, which some researchers see as a sign that he had been disinherited from ascending the throne after his father. This would be a remarkable departure from the legal customs regulating the principles of the exercise of power over the state by members of the Piast clan. If that is true, the picture of the family relationships of the ruler contained in this document would have to be an element of the tradition of the functioning of the ruler’s family deliberately created by the royal court.¹ To what degree is that tradition accessible to us?

In order to answer that question, it is essential to define the circumstances in which the text was created. These were as follows. Some time in the years 1084–1086/7 Cardinal Deusdedit during the compilation

¹ See Roman Michałowski, *Princeps fundator. Studium z dziejów kultury politycznej w Polsce X–XIII wieku*, Warszawa 1989, pp. 99–100. There is no agreement whether the source of this text was only a petition from the Polish ruling family, or whether it was created based on a papal bull which was the answer to one, see for example a summary of the different views in the article by Gerard Labuda, *Akt Dagome iudex—pierwsza “konkordatowa” umowa między Polską a Stolicą Apostolską z czasów papieża Jana XV (985–996)*, “Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej”, 25 (2001), pp. 17–18.

of a collection of canons incorporated in his third book the summary (register) of a document which he had found “in another volume”.² Most frequently it is referred to by modern historians with regard to the description of the boundaries of the state of Mieszko I which it contains.³ For us it of greater importance are the political aims of the document.⁴ In the opinion of the majority of investigators, Mieszko I having with his second wife Oda two sons who had not come of age had decided to protect their right to inheritance against the claims of Bolesław, his elder son from the previous marriage. He therefore placed them under the protection of the Pope by means of the document registered in the surviving text. This did not mean the disinheritance of Bolesław, who at that time seems to have been in possession of the territory with the capital at Cracow which had been granted to him by his uncle, the ruler of Bohemia.⁵ Less popular is the suggestion that the document under consideration was intended to help Mieszko form an independent church organization for his state, obtain a coronation as king, or free himself from German influences.⁶

² See the comparison of the preserved register and a reconstruction of the lost archtype by Barbara Kürbis, *Dagome iudex—studium krytyczne*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii*, vol. 2: *O świadectwach do dziejów kultury Polski średniowiecznej*, Poznań 2001, pp. 48–49 (originally published in 1962). In citing the collection of canons of Cardinal Deusdedit we will refer to the edition of Victor Wolf von Glanvell, *Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, vol. 1: *Die Kanonessammlung selbst*, Aalen 1967 (a reprint of the edition of 1905 in Paderborn, henceforth cited as *Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, the fragment referred to here is—*ibidem*, Lib. III, cap. 199, p. 359, line 11).

³ See the recent discussion of this topic by Andrzej Pleszczyński, *Początek rządów Bolesława Chrobrego*, [in:] *Viae historicae. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Lechowi A. Tyszkiewiczowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin* (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 2306, Historia 152), Mateusz Goliński, Stanisław Rosik eds, Wrocław 2001, pp. 218–224, with references.

⁴ See Aleksander Gieysztor, *La chrétienté et le pouvoir princier en Europe du Centre-Est des origines jusqu'à la fin du XII^e siècle*, [in:] *La cristianità dei secoli XI e XII in Occidente: coscienza e strutture di una società. Atti della ottava Settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 30 giugno–5 luglio 1980*, Milano 1983, p. 139, referring in particular to the research of Henryk Łowmiański.

⁵ Such an opinion was also presented—based on the results of earlier historiography—by Gerard Labuda, *Stan dyskusji nad dokumentem “Dagome iudex” i państwem “Schinesghe”*, [in:] *Civitas Schinesghe cum pertinentiis*, Wojciech Chudziak ed., Toruń 2003, pp. 15–17. However, see the critical assessment by A. Pleszczyński, *Początek rządów Bolesława Chrobrego*, pp. 218–222.

⁶ This was discussed more widely by Gerard Labuda, *Znaczenie prawno-polityczne dokumentu “Dagome iudex”*, “*Nasza Przeszłość*”, 4 (1948), pp. 33–60 and *Ibid.*, *Znaczenie prawne i polityczne dokumentu Dagome iudex*, “*Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*, 13 (1979), fasc. 1, pp. 83–100. Charlotte Warnke writes con-

The contents of the document are extremely enigmatic: all we are told is that “Dagome iudex” with his wife and children presents St Peter the “civitas Schinesghe cum pertinentibus”. There is no date given, though we deduce it was written c. 991. Neither is any information given about which country the donated “civitas” lay nor the ethnic origins of the donators. A later copyist of the “Collection of canons”⁷ wishing to establish the ethnicity of the persons mentioned in the text drew attention to the mentioning of as many as four donors in the text.⁸ For this reader, almost a contemporary of the author of the register, it was clear that all of the named persons members of the family of Mieszko were treated by Deusdedit as co-rulers of the “town of Schinesghe with appurtenances”. For many years, Polish investigators however were of another opinion, regarding Mieszko and Oda as the donors only accompanied by their sons.⁹ An analysis of the text however leaves no room for doubt. All four of the people named in the document which he had come across are treated by Deusdedit as the donors.¹⁰ This was not a normal situation, apart from the register under consideration here in this part of the “Collection of Canons” is not another example of a similar donation from a family.

The indication by Deusdedit of the collectiveness of the donation does not exclude the mention of differences between the members of the group, such as noting the parents and children. This was a detail which did not affect the legal aspects of the document. If this information had been omitted, if the document had simply mentioned

vincingly of the close connection between the donation of the state of Mieszko to St Peter and attempts to create a metropolitan church organization corresponding to the realms of the Piasts which would be homogeneous and not provoke the opposition of neighbouring bishops and archbishops (Mainz, Meissen, Prague with the exception of Magdeburg). See Charlotte Warnke, *Ursachen und Voraussetzungen der Schenkung Polens an den heiligen Petrus*, [in:] *Europa Slavica—Europa Orientalis. Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70. Geburtstag*, Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, Klaus Zernack eds, Berlin 1980 (=Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen, Reihe 1, Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens, vol. 100), pp. 150–166, 175.

⁷ The arguments for Deusdedit being the author of these words were disproven by Brygida Kürbis, *Dagome iudex*, pp. 36–37, footnote 51.

⁸ This led him to the conclusion “I think they were Sardinians, because they are ruled by four judges”, *Die Kanonensammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, Lib. III, cap. 199, p. 359, line 14.

⁹ This thesis was propagated by Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Repertorium polskich dokumentów doby piastowskiej*, fasc. 1, Cracow 1939, pp. 2–4.

¹⁰ Such a conclusion was presented by Gerard Labuda, *Stan dyskusji*, pp. 12, 17.

four members of the ruling family, it would have had the same meaning for the papal curia. If however the imparted information had no significance for the recipient, it must have been important for those creating the document. Placing emphasis on the family relationships between the donors underlines the exclusion of Bolesław the Brave from the whole matter. It also demonstrates the significance attached by the creators of the text and the people around them—at least for the purposes of this document—to family ties which were restricted to the current marriage and the children deriving from it. Intended use in a struggle for the patrimony of Mieszko I is not, however, the only possible interpretation that can be placed on the contents of this document. The exclusion of Bolesław the Brave from power over the “Schinesghe state” would have collided with other circumstances, both legal and genealogical which would have favoured his succession.¹¹ The document itself contains no information about the obligations of St Peter and his successors to any exercise of guardianship over the donors in the earthly sphere as a consequence of their donation. There is no information whatsoever either that in the future Bolesław had any trouble with the Church as a consequence of having subsequently driven his stepmother and brothers from the country.

It seems therefore that the reasons for emphasising the family dimension of the donation should be sought outside the political content of the document. Most Polish investigators agree that there is no connection between the register and the creation of the Church in Poland.¹² It is worth however drawing attention once again to the term “civitas” used to describe the gift to St Peter. It frequently appears in the collection of *Deusdedit*, but in the meaning of the territory of a town.¹³ *Deusdedit* clearly writes however of the donation to St Peter of the “kingdoms” of Denmark, England, Hungary and even Russia and Spain.¹⁴ This leads us to conclude that the use of the term “civitas” was no accident. *Deusdedit* must have been certain that this is how the

¹¹ Cf. Jerzy Strzelczyk, *Bolesław Chrobry*, Poznań 1999 (=Biblioteka “Kroniki Wielkopolskiej”), p. 24.

¹² See his most recent contribution on this topic: Gerard Labuda, *Zjazd i synod gnieźnieński roku 1000 w nowym oświetleniu historiograficznym*, [in:] *Cognitioni gestorum. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza dedykowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Strzelczykowi*, Dariusz A. Sikorski, Andrzej M. Wyrwa, eds, Poznań/Warszawa 2006, pp. 166–167.

¹³ “monasterium beati Petri...intra ciuitatem Lucensem”, *Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, lib. III, cap. 191, line 18, p. 353.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 378, cap. 268–269; p. 380, cap. 273; pp. 381–2, cap. 276; p. 382, cap. 277.

phrase should be written since he had the choice of others, especially with which to refer to larger political units. Let us add that there is much in favour of the argument that the cardinal also had sufficient geographical knowledge to be able to identify the territory of the “*civitas Schinesge*” with Poland. If, despite this he decided to leave this phrase as written, it seems probable that he was led to this by the contents of a record which he had which placed emphasis on the character of the donation as a “*civitas*”.¹⁵ Such a term could have been included in the petition written in the court of Mieszko I. Taking into account the character of the document—concerning an important question of law and ecclesiastical matters—it would be difficult to argue that the term was used in anything other than a deliberate fashion. In the legal usages of the Church the term “*civitas*” had an important meaning—in the tenth century only a “*civitas*” could contain the seat of a bishop or archbishop.¹⁶ Taking that into account, we may regard this document as perhaps connected with some sort of indication by Mieszko that he intended to create a new province of the Church.¹⁷

This may shed a new light on the reference in the document to the genealogical connections between the donors. Its genesis becomes clear when we examine the character of the marriage between Mieszko and Oda in the light of ecclesiastical law. From the relation of Thietmar of Merseburg, we know that before her marriage to Mieszko, Oda was

¹⁵ See the comments of B. Kürbis, *Dagome iudex*, pp. 68–69, who allows the possibility of distortion of its geographical aspects, but not the historical realities.

¹⁶ See Roman Michałowski, *Zjazd gnieźnieński. Religijne przesłanki powstania arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego*, Wrocław 2005 (=Monografia Fundacji Nauki Polskiej), pp. 29–32, 259–260; on “*civitas*” as the seat of a bishopric see Edeltraud Klüeting, *Die karolingischen Bistumsgründungen und Bistumsgrenzen in Sachsen*, [in:] *Bistümer und Bistumsgrenzen vom Frühen Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, Edeltraud Klüeting, Harm Klüeting, Hans-Joachim Schmidt eds, Rom/Freiburg/Wien 2006 (=Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte, Supplementband 58), p. 68, fn 16. One cannot exclude either the hypothesis that the name “*Schinesghe*” was recognised by Deusdedit as a distorted form of the name Gniezno. This would mean that knowing that Gniezno was by that time the seat of an archbishop would explain his use of the term “*civitas*”.

¹⁷ This is what Stanisław Kętrzyński thought; *Ibid.*, *Dagome iudex*, “Przegląd Historyczny”, 41 (1950), pp. 145–147. Dušan Třeštík advanced the hypothesis that Bolesław the Brave and Bishop Wojciech were attempting to create two metropolitan centers, the evidence for which was to be the “*Dagome iudex*” document as attributing to Wojciech the delimitation of the boundaries of the Prague diocese, see D. Třeštík, *Von Swatopulk zu Boleslaw Chrobry. Die Entstehung Mitteleuropas aus der Kraft des Tatsächlichen und aus einer Idee*, [in:] *The Neighbours of Poland in the 10th Century*, Przemysław Urbańczyk ed., Warsaw 2000, pp. 136–140.

living as a nun and her relationship with Mieszko provoked considerable antagonism in the church in Saxony. The chronicler emphasized that the duchess attempted by charitable deeds to atone for her sin, the betrayal of her heavenly spouse, Christ.¹⁸ In this context the joint donation to St Peter by Mieszko and Oda of the territory that would form the basis of a new Church could be treated as a form of penance, an attempt to in way change her fate. She had betrayed Christ, but now in compensation she had provided a new and more splendid 'betrothed', a Church with the capital in Gniezno. Such an act could also have been an attempt to counteract the opinion that the relationship between Mieszko and Oda was adulterous.

Until the middle of the eleventh century, papal guardianship over secular dukes was to a greater degree only in the dimension of prayer, only in the case of widows and orphans could it achieve a more material form.¹⁹ The donation by Oda and Mieszko conformed perfectly to the first of these contexts, rather less well to the second. We do not find anywhere any indication that Oda and her children counted on papal protection after the death of Mieszko, neither in his lifetime. On the contrary, all of the donors applied for this protection equally, without any suggestion of the potential weakness of part of them after the death of one of the donors.²⁰

The rest of the members of the family of Mieszko I, including his eldest son Bolesław, were excluded from this group of rulers over the Gniezno state. Some researchers suggest that at the time he occupied the throne of Cracow.²¹ There is no unambiguous evidence however

¹⁸ *Kronika Thietmara*, introduction, translation and commentary by Marian Zygmont Jedlicki, Poznań 1953 (=Biblioteka tekstów historycznych, vol. 3), IV, 57, pp. 222–225.

¹⁹ Johannes Fried, *Der päpstliche Schutz für Laienfürsten. Die politische Geschichte des päpstlichen Schutzprivilegs für Laien (11.–13. Jh.)*, Heidelberg 1980 (=Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1980, 1. Abhandlung), pp. 40–41, 44.

²⁰ It is not possible to totally exclude that the emphasis placed on the family connections in the lost document was connected with a function as a commemorative grant. Deusdedit noted the donation of several "civitates" by Emperor Louis the Pious for the salvation of his soul, those of his sons and parents and also his successors and the whole of the Frankish people, *Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, Lib. III, cap. 280, p. 390, lines 15–23. Although the structure of the text itself referring to Mieszko could suggest such a context in this case too, it was not clearly expressed in it.

²¹ Either as a grant from Mieszko I (as suggests Jerzy Strzelczyk, *Mieszko pierwszy*, Poznań 1992 (=Biblioteka "Kroniki Wielkopolski"), pp. 191–192 following Stanisław Zakrzewski and Karol Buczek); or due to the support of his uncle the Czech ruler

that he ruled Cracow at the will of his father, this is a hypothesis without any real basis in the written sources.²² In a certain period of his life, Mieszko clearly exhibited preference in his relations with the people around him for his second wife and the sons he had had with her. In this way he built a public image of the ruling family based not on inherited rights resulting from the broader association of blood ties and family tradition, but above all on his will, determining within the group the boundaries of the privileges and power which was due to the members of his closest family.²³ Such a conclusion can be supported by the perceptions of observers from outside, though it is true that the clearest example of the determination of the region of his power as the “state of Mieszko” comes from the period before his conversion to Christianity.²⁴ The exclusion of Bolesław from the text of “Dagome

Boleslav II (this hypothesis was advanced by Henryk Łowmiański, *Bolesław Chrobry w Krakowie w końcu X wieku*, “Małopolskie Studia Historyczne”, 4 (1961), fasc. 3–4, pp. 10–12), or due to the separation of Little Poland by Mieszko and the acceptance of Bolesław I as the nephew of the Czech ruler Boleslav II by the local elite, Tadeusz Manteuffel, *Jeszcze w sprawie regestu Dagome iudex*, [in:] *Europa—Słowiańszczyzna—Polska. Studia ku uczczeniu profesora Kazimierza Tymienieckiego*, Juliusz Bardach, Aleksander Gieysztor, Brygida Kürbisówna, Gerard Labuda, Henryk Łowmiański eds, Poznań 1970 (=Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Prace Wydziału Filozoficzno-Historycznego, seria Historia nr 36), p. 309.

²² Arguments in favour of this thesis deriving from an analysis of the Arabic sources and the “Chronicles” of Cosmas have been discounted by Elżbieta Kowalczyk, *Elementy geograficzne państwa Bolesława Chrobrego*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 107 (2000), nr 2, pp. 65–66.

²³ On the significance of this group for the functioning of the whole of contemporary society in the region ruled by Mieszko, see H. Samsonowicz, *Dynastia*, pp. 17–18. In favour of the opinion presented here, see also Jacek Banaszkiewicz, *Mieszko I i władcy jego epoki*, [in:] *Civitas Schinesghe. Mieszko I i początki państwa polskiego*, Jan M. Piskorski ed., Poznań/Gniezno 2004, p. 105.

²⁴ See *Relacja Ibrahima ibn Jakuba z podróży do krajów słowiańskich w przekazie Al-Bekriego*, edited, introduction and commentary Tadeusz Kowalski, Cracow 1946 (=MPH NS, vol. 1), p. 50: “As for the country of Meško [...], sometimes the ruler is identified as the state “on the east, Meško has Rus, and to the north Barus [...]”. It is difficult to ascertain to what degree this view was restricted to the traveller himself, or Islamic scholars using his narrative (an identical formulation for defining the state of Mieszko is also present in both the text of Al-Bekri as well as Al-Kazwini, see Gerard Labuda, *Ibrahim ibn Jakub. Najstarsza relacja o Polsce w nowym wydaniu*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 16 (1947), pp. 134–135), and how much it relates to the views of Ibrahim’s informers. He himself never visited the country of Mieszko, but in 965–966 he was in neighbouring areas (Magdeburg, Prague, the lands of the Obodrites) where he gathered his information. See G. Labuda, *Ibrahim*, pp. 161–162, J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko pierwszy*, p. 49.

Andrzej Pleszczyński, *Mieszko I i jego państwo w opisie Ibrahima ibn Jakuba a archetyp “dzikiej Północy”*, [in:] *Mundus hominibus—cywilizacja, kultura, natura. Wokół interdyscyplinarności badań historycznych*, Stanisław Rosik, Przemysław Wiszewski eds,

Iudex”, though this did not prevent him from inheriting his patrimony,²⁵ suggests his exclusion from the circle of the family closely associated with Mieszko I and during his lifetime participating in all the benefits, including spiritual ones that he could provide.

It would seem that this latter factor was of huge importance for Bolesław. Undoubtedly in many aspects he continued the policies of his father, though any attempt to show particular examples of a symbolic manifestation of such a specific relationship with his father founders on a lack of written sources. An exception is his “including himself” into the group handing over the “Gniezno state” to St Peter which is being discussed here. According to the words of St Bruno of Querfurt, Bolesław regarded himself as a “tributary of St Peter”,²⁶ and therefore was adopting a position identical to the individuals mentioned in the document “Dagome Iudex”. It seems that Bolesław’s obligation to tributary status *wa due* not only to the territory which his father had donated to St Peter, but was connected with the whole of his rule. This is evidenced by the functioning in later times of the institution of a tribute to St Peter from the whole of Poland (the so-called *Denarius Sancti Petri*, St Peter’s Pence). This would confirm that the document recorded in the register “Dagome Iudex” concerned not only a certain territory and specific persons, but more broadly the family group and the power it wielded. We do not have any evidence to suggest that Bolesław the Brave himself made any additional document

Wrocław 2007 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis No 2966, seria Historia 175), pp. 218–220 shows that the manner in which Ibrahim Ibn Jakub describes the realm of Mieszko is characteristic for the perception of barbarian peoples—the peoples of the North—by the elite of the contemporary Christian world (David Fraesdorff also discusses this question in a similar spirit, though less explicitly, *Ibid.*, *Der Barbarische Norden. Vorstellungen und Fremdheitskategorien bei Rimbert, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau*, Berlin 2005 (=Vorstellungen des Mittelalters, vol. 5), p. 29). Maybe therefore the definition of the state of Mieszko by the name of the ruler was general practice resulting from contacts with this neighbour or knowing the characteristics of his rule (see Juliusz Bardach, *L’état polonais*, p. 12, it seems that of the same opinion is H. Samsonowicz, *Dynastia*, p. 19). In favour of the idea that this custom could have survived the baptism of Mieszko might also be the fact that the name of Poland and of its people became introduced into the common consciousness of the neighbours of Poland relatively late, only about 1000 AD.

²⁵ Which is strongly emphasised by A. Pleszczyński, *Początek rządów Bolesława*, pp. 223–224.

²⁶ *Epistola Brunonis ad Henricum regem*, Jadwiga Karwasińska ed., [in:] MPH, NS, vol. 4, fasc. 3, Warszawa 1973, p. 103.

which transferred power to St Peter which was formulated in any way different to that of his father.²⁷

The final results of our analysis of this written source has led to conclusions which differ from the conclusions that we might have expected from our review of the previous research. The register “Dagome Iudex” indicates the deliberate creation by Mieszko I for the benefit of those around him of a specific vision of the character of the links between him and his immediate family. The continuation by Bolesław I of the sacral-legal interrelationships created then between the ruling dynasty and St Peter could have been an element manifesting the involvement of Bolesław in the specific status which his father had assured the family, and thus the creation, or perhaps maintenance of sacral dimension of the tradition of the family ruling the “Gniezno state” through its repetition.²⁸

2. THE LIVES AND PASSIONS OF ST WOJCIECH

The placing of family bonds onto a sacral footing achieved by Mieszko I as presented above could have been successfully continued by Bolesław the Brave. He would do this not only by means of his links with the Papacy, but also the special relationship linking him with Adalbert (Wojciech), the holy bishop of Prague. As a consequence of the exceptionally generous support by Bolesław of the cult of the Saint, one might expect connections between the whole ruling family and the person of Wojciech Slavnik. As we shall see below, traces of such an intention on the part of Bolesław can be found in the narrative sources written before 1138 in the narrative material concerning St Wojciech.²⁹ The first traces of this can be found in the “Life” written by Bruno of Querfurt when we compare its contents with the original pattern on which it was based, the so-called “First Life” of St Wojciech. Their

²⁷ Gerard Labuda linked the paying of tribute by Bolesław to the legal act of Mieszko I preserved in the register “Dagome iudex”, *Ibid.*, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, vol. 2, Poznań 1988 (=Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, Seria Historia nr 140), p. 262.

²⁸ Roman Michałowski (*Princeps fundator*, p. 99) discusses how Bolesław treated the protection of St Peter over himself and therefore the country as a real phenomenon.

²⁹ Gerard Labuda has collected the basic bibliographic references for these sources, *Ibid.* *Święty Wojciech, biskup—męczennik. Patron Polski, Czech i Węgier*, Wrocław 2004 (=Monografie FNP), pp. 16–21 referring also to earlier summaries of investigations on the “Lives” of St Wojciech.

relation to the dynastic tradition propagated by Bolesław becomes clearer when we relate the results obtained through such a comparison to the information contained in texts which post-date the “Lives” and concerning the martyrdom of St Wojciech.

The “Vita prior” and the “Vita Brunonis”

Bearing in mind the measures undertaken by Bolesław to support the beginnings of the cult of St Wojciech about the year 1000, we may hypothesize that stories of the life of the Saint were already circulating in the circle of the Polish ruler. A significant role would probably have been played in such a narrative by elements concerning the relationship between the Saint and Bolesław and his family, building a vision of the Piast clan as closely connected with the Christian sacrum. This would have been exceptionally useful at a time of the intensification of the relationship between Bolesław the Brave, the son of the baptised pagan Mieszko I and the imperial court of Otto III—an emperor deeply convinced of his role as “vicar of Christ”. Did such hypothetical stories concerning Wojciech and Bolesław leave any traces in the “Lives” of the martyr that arose during the lifetime of the ruler?

The first information on the connections between Bolesław and Wojciech appear in part of the “First Life” which most probably comprised an element either of the archetype itself of the work written on the initiative of Emperor Otto III in the monastery on the Aventine Hill about 998, or perhaps its “imperial” recension (version A according to the classification of J. Karwinska) which was brought across the Alps from Rome by the emperor about the year 1000.³⁰ Although there

³⁰ On the circumstances of the creation in Rome of these two versions of the “Life” see: Jadwiga Karwasińska, *Studia krytyczne nad żywotami św. Wojciecha, biskupa praskiego (III. Redakcje Vita I)*, [in:] eadem, *Święty Wojciech. Wybór pism*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 143–144, 152–153 (summary). The authorship and place of writing of the first version of this text remain the topic of lively discussion in which hypotheses have tended to dominate over the hard evidence. This was observed many years ago by Helena Chłopocka, *Wstęp* [to: John Canaparius, *Żywot pierwszy*], [in:] *W kręgu żywotów św. Wojciecha*, Jan Andrzej Spieź ed., Cracow 1997, pp. 39–40. The recent discussion by Johannes Fried should now be added to the hypotheses of scholars questioning the traditional views of George Pertz and Jadwiga Karwasińska (place of writing—the Aventine, probable author—John Canaparius, or in general a monk of that monastery), *Ibid.*, *Gnesen–Aachen–Rom. Otto III. und der Kult des hl. Adalbert. Beobachtungen zum älteren Adalbertsleben*, [in:] *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren. Die Berliner Tagung über den “Akt von Gnesen”*, Michael Borgolte ed., Berlin 2002 (=Europa im Mittelalter, vol. 5), pp. 254–262, who indicated Aachen and Bishop

is only a modest reflection of Polish realities in this text, the hagiographer emphasised the especial friendliness of the Polish ruler towards the Bishop of Prague. This what was to have led to the collaboration between Sobiebor Slavnik (Wojciech's brother) and Bolesław, the ruler of the Poles. The latter, when there was a massacre of the kinsmen of the Saint was said to have taken Sobibor under his protection "out of a love for his brother" (i.e., Wojciech).³¹ This remark precedes the information about Wojciech's journey to the court of Bolesław which the future Saint decided to undertake "because he [Bolesław] was very well-disposed towards him".³² Both pieces of information are preserved in all versions of the "Life".³³ Almost certainly they belonged to its earliest version.³⁴ In the context of the whole work, introducing these two pieces of information in direct juxtaposition with each other shows their strictly pragmatic dimension. The presence of Sobiebor at the side of Bolesław together with the love or friendship the latter exhibited towards Wojciech would explain why, while on his way to Prague, learning of the death of his kinsmen the future saint changed

Notker as the actual author from the entourage of Otto III. The dating of the appearance of the "Vita" in Italy is dated to the reign of Henry II (see also Jürgen Hoffmann, *Vita Adalberti. Früheste Textüberlieferungen der Lebensgeschichte Adalberts von Prag*, Essen 2005 (=Europäische Schriften der Adalbert-Stiftung Krefeld, vol. 2), pp. 114–117). Gerard Labuda submitted that judgement to a thorough critical analysis in the light of the textual evidence: Ibid., *W sprawie autorstwa i miejsca napisania "Żywotu pierwszego" Świętego Wojciecha*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 42 (2004), pp. 118–130. Accepting his arguments, we are closer to the opinion of Marian Plezia, who points out that of more importance than assigning the author a name in the case of this "Vita" is gaining knowledge of the milieu in which it arose (Ibid., [Review of:] *Św. Wojciecha, biskupa i męczennika żywot pierwszy wyd. Jadwiga Karwasińska*, Warszawa 1962, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 12 (1967), p. 183). Here investigators are more or less in agreement—Emperor Otto III and his entourage had a fundamental influence on the contents of the "Vita", there is however less agreement on defining the extent of that circle.

³¹ *S. Adalberti Pragensis episcopi et martyris vita prior*, Jadwiga Karwasińska ed., [in:] MPH, N.S., vol. IV, fasc. 1, Warszawa 1962 (hereafter cited as *Vita prior*), 25, p. 38, lines 11–12; *Die Neuedition der "Vita Adalberti"*, Jürgen Hoffmann ed., [in:] Ibid., *Vita Adalberti. Früheste Textüberlieferungen*, 25, p. 153.

³² *Vita prior*, 26, p. 39, line 1; *Die Neuedition der "Vita Adalberti"*, 26, p. 154.

³³ According to Jadwiga Karwasińska's commentary, the first passage is only missing in one manuscript (Cr) of the fourteenth century and containing a somewhat careless copy of the work, see eadem, *Wstęp [Introduction to Vita prior]*, [in:] MPH, N.S., vol. IV, part 1, Warszawa 1962, pp. XIII–XIV (on the manuscript) and p. 38, footnote z–a to chapter 25.

³⁴ These passages of interest occurred also in the remaining manuscripts of the group to which manuscript Cr belongs, on this topic see Jadwiga Karwasińska, *Studia krytyczne*, p. 138.

direction and headed towards the court of Bolesław the Brave. On the other hand the information about the strong links between Bolesław and both of the Slavník brothers could be an echo of a broader narrative propagated by the Polish court.

Stanisław Trawkowski suggested that the information on the love or friendship of Bolesław and Wojciech together with other details of the martyrdom of the bishop from Prague was taken to the imperial court by Sobiebor.³⁵ In this manner it would have been linked with the traditions existing in the Polish court at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries. We do not however have any certain evidence of Sobiebor's presence in the circle of Otto III at the end of the tenth century. We do however have much more information about his brother Radzim Gaudentius, who was associated not only with the emperor but also the monastery on the Aventine. It was information from him that was supposed to be one of the sources of information of the author of the "Life".³⁶ It seems very likely that he could have obtained detailed information from his brother Sobiebor concerning the period when Wojciech was in Poland and then pass this information on to the author of the "Life".

While in the "First Life" the theme of the relationship between Wojciech and the Piasts was given only slight emphasis, we find these details being added only in the second version of the "Life" written later by Bruno of Querfurt, and it is important to note that this version was created at the time of the stay of its author in the land of Bolesław I and under his protection. In the first version of the "Life" which arose most probably about 1004 before Bruno started his missionary work in Poland, we find what is primarily a repetition of information already known to us from the "First Life". The only novelty is the topic of the struggles in 962 of Mieszko I with Margrave Odo (Hodon). This however is not related in any way to the theme of the relationship linking Wojciech with the Piasts. It was introduced in the

³⁵ Stanisław Trawkowski, *Pielgrzymka Ottona III do Gniezna. Ze studiów nad dewocją wczesnośredniowieczną*, [in:] *Polska w świecie. Szkice z dziejów kultury polskiej*, Jerzy Dowiat, Aleksander Gieysztor, Janusz Tazbir, Stanisław Trawkowski eds, Warszawa 1972, pp. 116–117.

³⁶ J. Karwasińska, *Studia krytyczne*, p. 143; G. Labuda, *Święty Wojciech*, pp. 16–17; *Ibid.*, *Droga życiowa Radzima—Gaudentego do arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego*, [in:] *O rzeczach minionych. Scripta rerum historicarum Annae Rutkowska-Płachcińska oblata*, Marta Młynarska-Kaletynowa, Jerzy Kruppé ed., Warszawa 2006 (=Studia i materiały z historii kultury materialnej, vol. 71), pp. 185–187.

context of a presentation of the history of the Empire.³⁷ In his second version of the “Life”, written in Poland, Bruno added some other details. Alongside the mention of the friendship between Sobiebor and Bolesław known from the “First Life”,³⁸ we find a deeper reason for the involvement of Bolesław the Brave in the life of St Wojciech. His role was clearly defined, God was using him as an helpmate in the Saint’s work.³⁹ The hagiographer suggested that Bolesław treated Wojciech as his “pater spiritualis” whose commands it was necessary to obey. This is accompanied by the information that the Polish ruler only with some resistance supported Wojciech’s Prussian mission on account of wanting to retain the churchman in his own court.⁴⁰ Since the author does not expand in later parts of the narrative on the reasons for this desire of Bolesław (which we do not note in the “First Life”), we can seek its explanation precisely in the mention of the bishop as “spiritual father”.

The term “pater spiritualis” can be interpreted in different ways. It is however frequently used to indicate the clergyman officiating at a baptism, or persuading pagans to undergo baptism. A century later the monk Herbord used precisely this term to refer to the topic of his narrative about St Otto, bishop of Bamberg writing of his missionary work among the pagan Pomeranians.⁴¹ It is not possible, unfortunately, to gain a closer idea of the meaning of this phrase in the lexical range of the “Life” written by Bruno; it appears only in this one place. That in itself is a valuable indicator. The narrative linking the Saint with the ruler has here an exceptional character. The label used to describe it is also exceptional within the terminology used by the author, which may suggest that both the theme itself as well as the term used to describe it come from the milieu of Bruno at the time of the writing of the work. A description of a similar relationship appears only in one other place in the “Life”. It is said that Wojciech and the

³⁷ *S. Adalberti Pragensis episcopi et martyris vita altera auctore Brunoni Querfurtensi*, Jadwiga Karwasińska ed. [in:] MPH, N.S., vol. IV (ii), Warszawa 1969 (cited henceforth as *Sancti Adalberti... vita altera*), 10, p. 8, line 21—p. 9, line 2.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, 21, p. 26, lines 14–16.

³⁹ *Sancti Adalberti... vita altera*, 23, p. 28, lines 20–21.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, 24, p. 29, lines 18, 20–22.

⁴¹ Otto was to have been the “pater spiritualis” to the pagan Pomoranians (his “filii”) accepting his teachings, *Herbordi Dialogus de vita s. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis*, Jan Wikarjak ed., introduction and commentary Kazimierz Liman, Warszawa 1974 (MPH, N.S., VII/3), II,36, p. 131.

Emperor Otto were linked by a “love” that was equally as strong, and maybe even stronger than that between him and Bolesław, since its symptoms were described by the hagiographer in more detail.⁴² For this reason a certain analogy to the term “spiritual father” could be the activity of the Saint in the court of Otto III, which he was said to teach at “suitable times”.⁴³ The parallels between both situations—his stay with Otto III and with Bolesław the Brave are relatively limited. Both loved Wojciech, however only the latter was specified as the helper of the Saint and only for him, though not his court, Wojciech was a “spiritual father”.

Emphasising the personal relationship linking the saint with the ruler of Poland is especially visible in later parts of the narrative. Thus Bolesław, who in the end could not prevail upon Wojciech to stay, as a “caring duke” (“dux sollicitus”), apart from supplying a boat, also gave him a division of soldiers to accompany him to Prussia.⁴⁴ Wojciech boarded the vessel not, as the “First Life” tells us, in Gdańsk but Gniezno, where the hagiographer is at pains to note, his body now lies and where he brings about many miracles.⁴⁵ Finally when he was dead, the Prussians were said to have carefully preserved his body, not out of respect for the dead, but in order to sell it to Bolesław.⁴⁶ Of these three elements, the purchase of the body of St Wojciech by Bolesław was recorded for posterity in the “Chronicon” of Thietmar bishop of Merseberg.⁴⁷ He wrote his work however later than Bruno and equally could have made use of the separate group of sources on the history of the bishop of Prague including also traditions coming from Bruno’s version of the history of St Wojciech.

Undoubtedly in the “Life” written by Bruno, especially the version written in Poland, the relationship between Bolesław the Brave and Saint Wojciech were presented in a manner differently from that of the “First Life”. One is struck by the accumulation of exceptional depictions of the personal links between the two and also the change from Gdańsk to Gniezno as the place where his last journey was begun. It

⁴² *Sancti Adalberti... vita altera*, 20, p. 25, line 10.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, lines 14–15.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 24, p. 30, lines 5–6.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 29, line 23–p. 30, line 2.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, 34, p. 40, lines 17–18.

⁴⁷ Por. *Kronika Thietmara*, IV, 28, pp. 182–183.

is difficult to regard the latter as simply an oversight of Bruno.⁴⁸ The whole chapter is homogeneous and logical, the author begins with a mention of the place of rest of the Saint's relics to then state that it was from here that he set out on his missionary journey. Just before getting into the boat he conducted a mass and baptised a group of pagans. This was an anticipation of the activities he was about to undertake in Prussia, but also defining the special nature of the place of the beginning which was also its fulfilment (since he had actually converted pagans) and end (for the mass is a recreation of the sacrifice of Christ). In favour of the notion that the change of place from Gdańsk to Gniezno was no accident is the fact that the name was not altered in the version of the "Life" which arose in Poland after the writer had been able to become acquainted with the country and its ruler.⁴⁹ This therefore leads us to the conclusion that behind this change of location stood a narrative concerning details of the Saint's activities which was a greater authority for Bruno than the version of the "First Life" that he had at his disposal. Let us add that within that narrative, one could also find the remaining details of the stay of Wojciech at Bolesław's court. They are closely linked with a presentation of Gniezno as the main place of cult of the Saint and as one of the seats of the power of Bolesław the Brave.⁵⁰

Acceptance of a narrative establishing connections between the persons of the holy martyr and the living ruler in this way would be exceptionally beneficial for Bolesław in propaganda terms.⁵¹ After the

⁴⁸ Among others, Danuta Zydorek and Dariusz Sikorski, see *Św. Wojciecha żywot drugi*, translated by Brygida Kürbis, introduction Helena Chłopocka, commentary Danuta Zydorek, Dariusz Sikorski, [in:] *W kręgu żywotów św. Wojciecha*, Jan Andrzej Spieź ed., Cracow 1997, p. 121, footnote 177, discussed the possibility of the use by Bruno of a deficient source such as the Aventine "First Life", or perhaps some lacunae in the text of the "Life" available to us now.

⁴⁹ Cf. Jadwiga Karwasińska, *Wstęp* [to: *Sancti Adalberti... vita altera auctore Brunoni*], [in:] MPH, N.S., vol. IV, part 2, Warszawa 1969, p. XIX.

⁵⁰ Paweł Stróżyk, *Jeszcze o pobycie biskupa Wojciecha na ziemiach polskich w 997 roku*, [in:] *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne* (Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, vol. 44), Danuta Zydorek ed., Poznań 2001, pp. 500–501, pointed out this fact, perceiving in the change from Gdańsk to Gniezno a trace of the policies of Bolesław the Brave tending to emphasise the fame of Gniezno as the place of where the relics of Wojciech were kept. This would be in accord with Bolesław's personal involvement not only in initiating but also shaping the cult of St Wojciech, see Stanisław Trawkowski, *Wokół początków arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Opuscula mediévistica. Studia nad historią społeczną Polski wczesnopiastowskiej*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 58–63.

⁵¹ It is not possible to underestimate the role of the "lives" of saints in their ability to affect public opinion, including as propaganda in the culture of the Early and High

death of Otto III in 1002 he was anxious to strengthen an honourable position among the aristocracy of the Reich, or rather in Christian society as a whole, since it was to them that this narrative was addressed. In the sphere of relations with the Saint the story gives him a place almost equal to that of the deceased emperor,⁵² but its unambiguously positive praise of the “Christian rule” of Bolesław is at odds with the more critical picture of his practices as a ruler which Bruno paints in the “Life of the Five brothers”.⁵³ It is also possible that the narrative source which was accessible to Bruno was intended to create in its audience a vision of Bolesław as the first Christian ruler of the country, maybe even one who had received from Wojciech some kind of special teachings in the Faith? Bruno had written earlier about the conflict between Mieszko I and Margrave Odo, but did not link that “ruler of the Poles” in any family relationship with Bolesław and does not mention that he was a Christian. The hagiographer was not however under any doubt that Bolesław, the ally of the emperor was a Christian, Wojciech had told the Prussians of this, saying that in the neighbouring country, the Poles had a “Christian ruler”.⁵⁴ Let us note the sacral sanction that the special role of Gniezno obtained in this tradition. The deposition of the Saint’s body here and its establishment as an archbishopric in the year 1000 would be a consequence of the act of beginning and prefiguration of the mission as well as its end in martyrdom discussed above.

In this way, though in a highly indirect form, we may gain some insight into the narrative tradition which as we have suggested above functioned in the court of Bolesław the Brave concerning the links between the Piast and Slavnik. Especially striking in it is the emphasis on the central and exclusive position of Bolesław in relation to the Polish court. In contrast to his visit to Otto III, the Saint did not teach the whole court, he was linked exclusively to Bolesław. The grace of holiness could not therefore be transferred to the whole entourage of

Middle Ages, at least since the time of the publication of the study of František Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger. Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit*, Praha 1965 (see *ibidem*, pp. 11, 39).

⁵² It is worth drawing attention to the term “Mother of churchmen”, used by Bruno for both Otto III (in the “Life of the Five Brothers”) as well as Bolesław the Brave (in the shortened version of the “Life of St Wojciech”), see Jadwiga Karwasińska, *Świadek czasów Chrobrego—Brunon z Kwerfurtu*, [in:] *Polska w świecie*, p. 101, footnote 49.

⁵³ Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 102–103.

⁵⁴ *Sancti Adalberti... vita altera*, 25, p. 32, lines 4–5.

the host at the moment Wojciech came to Poland. It only touched Bolesław the Brave, but did it affect just the ruler himself, or his whole family?

The Passion of Tegernsee

Even if, at the beginning Bolesław the Brave wished to enhance his own position through emphasising the links between himself and the martyr, this picture underwent metamorphosis in the direction of accenting the special relationships between St Wojciech and the whole family of the ruler. Traces of the enrichment of the tradition of perception of the ruling dynasty and the Saint can be found in the so-called “Passion of Tegernsee”, a document which contains an account of the Prussian mission of St Wojciech.

This interesting document survives in the form of two manuscript copies. The first dates to the very end of the eleventh century and was most probably written in the monastery at Tegernsee. The second is a fifteenth century manuscript, most probably of south German origin.⁵⁵ The text itself makes no mention of the death of Bolesław the Brave, though it specifically notes Mieszko I as deceased; this has led scholars to the conclusion that the original document (or the material on which it was based) was composed before 1025. The majority of scholars investigating the “Passion” regard the monastery at Tegernsee itself as the place where it arose.⁵⁶ In the form known today, the contents of the document did not spread widely outside the community of the monastery itself, which would suggest that it was written there for liturgical purposes.⁵⁷ Taking into account the significant distortions

⁵⁵ Anna Rutkowska-Płachcińska, *Pasje świętych Wojciecha i Brunona z tzw. kodeksu z Tegernsee*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*”, 40 (2002), pp. 19, 21.

⁵⁶ A lot of interest has been expressed in the problem of the function of the hypothetical sources of the “Passion”. Alongside the older hypotheses placing the accent on the basing of the work on an oral source functioning in Poland, more recently the basic source has been sought in a passion of St Wojciech written in Poland (the so-called “Third Life of St Wojciech” according to Gerard Labuda), identified as the “*liber de passione martyris*” mentioned by Gallus Anonymus, emphasising its links with St Bruno of Querfurt, see the discussion and references cited by G. Labuda, *Święty Wojciech, biskup—męczennik*, pp. 21–27; A. Rutkowska-Płachcińska, *Pasje świętych*, pp. 24–25.

⁵⁷ See Marian Plezia, *Pasja z Tegernsee* [introduction], [in:] *Średniowieczne żywoty i cuda patronów Polski*, translation by Janina Pleziowa, edited and introduction by Marian Plezia, Warszawa 1987, pp. 23–24.

of Polish names in the text of the “Passion”, scholars suggest that its author was not a Slav, and probably came from Bavaria or Saxony.⁵⁸

In the case of the “Passion of Tegernsee” we are dealing in reality with a document of local significance, but referring to an unknown earlier source or sources.⁵⁹ We may suggest that most probably the monk from Tegernsee based his text on material associated with the “First Life” (e.g., the impaling of Wojciech’s head on a post) as well as deriving from Bruno of Querfurt’s “Life of St Wojciech” (mentions of the burial in Gniezno and the miracles that took place there) as well as other sources which in general terms may be characterised as going back to the times of Bolesław the Brave and the land of Poland.

Although the “Passion of Tegernsee” does not contain any information on the reception of Wojciech by Bolesław, we do find a precise description of the manner in which the ruler obtained the holy relics of the martyr. The Saint’s head was sent to him by a certain Prussian, he then sent a delegation in return which included Wojciech’s own pupils, together with a huge treasure to ransom the body, and then a solemn procession with the Polish ruler at its head bringing the relics to the church in Gniezno and installing them there.⁶⁰ Especially noticeable is the emphasis placed on the role of Bolesław, not only as the initiator of the ransoming of Wojciech’s remains, but as leading the procession going out of Gniezno towards the delegation carrying the relics. No other source gives us this part of the story. It is obvious that this might be a picture in accordance with the logic of the rest of the narrative, the delegation arrives bearing the body of the martyr, this creates the need for it to be met in a suitable manner with a procession and the role of Bolesław in this would be as the initiator of the

⁵⁸ Jadwiga Karwasińska, *Państwo polskie w przekazach hagiograficznych XI i XII wieku*, [in:] *Początki państwa polskiego*, vol. 2: *Spółczesność i kultura*, p. 242 generalised saying that in its present form, the Tegernsee Passion could have arisen from the shortening of an existing text by a “Bavvarian pen”. Gerard Labuda identified the writer with either a member of the Tegernsee convent or a Bavarian clergyman connected for a certain time with Poland, maybe even a companion of St Wojciech or Astryk, see *Ibid.*, *Żywoty św. Wojciecha*, [in:] *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. 7, cz. 1: Y-Ż, Wrocław 1982, pp. 325–326.

⁵⁹ As Marian Plezia suggested with regard to the Passion of Tegernsee and the “Book of the Martyrdom [of St Wojciech]” which was to be found in Poland at the beginning of the twelfth century and was mentioned by Gallus Anonymus: “the hypothesis [...] of the identity of these two works is possible, but impossible to prove”, M. Plezia, *Pasja z Tegernsee* [introduction], pp. 25–26.

⁶⁰ A. Rutkowska-Płachcińska, *Pasje świętych*, pp. 39–40.

whole expedition. This would be logical if the author wishes to write of the reception of the relics in terms of its honouring by the ruler, it is interesting to note that this text makes no mention of the clergy of the Polish church taking part in this procession with the relics. The only person mentioned is Bolesław. There is however one piece of information contained in this document which is really extraordinary, namely that the body of the saint was laid to rest in a church which was built by “Mieszko, a man of good reputation”.⁶¹ It is difficult to imagine that memory of the foundation activities of Mieszko I would survive anywhere outside Poland. We may consider for whom, apart from the members of the ruling family and also the clergy of Gniezno obliged to remember their founder, such information would have any sort of value. Since it adds nothing to the story of St Wojciech himself, we are led to conclude that it was introduced under the influence of the author of the “Passion” or due to some kind of connection of the author with Gniezno.⁶²

The intriguing connection between the information about Mieszko with the description of the deeds of Bolesław leads us to suspect that the “Passion” incorporates some fragment of tradition in which both Piasts, father and son, had their parts to play in the holiness of the martyr. This line of tradition however was not independently developed more widely, or at least if it did we know very little about this. In Poland the information about the activities of Mieszko as a founder was lost, the “Passion of Tegernsee” is the only surviving witness. In attempting to identify the informant, we should take into account their knowledge not only of the story of Wojciech himself, but also the realities of Poland, such as the names (Mieszko and Bolesław) and deeds of Polish rulers, but only those related to Gniezno. Perhaps it is worth taking into consideration that the source of this narrative might have been Archbishop Radim-Gaudentius himself, or perhaps somebody from his immediate circle. In the whole of the “Passion” relatively few clergy associated with Poland are mentioned, the text mentions Wojciech’s companions and Abbot Astryk (head of a monastery founded by the bishop of Prague, but located most probably

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 40: “Misico bone uir memorie”.

⁶² If, namely, we accept the influence of some kind of written story about St Wojciech, how would one explain the fact that the “Passion’s” author omitted many important details of the story of the Saint, including of his stay in Poland, but left in the “Passion” precisely this information?

somewhere in Hungary). Only one other is mentioned: Radim, Wojciech's brother, "who changed his name to Gaudentius" and "who later became made archbishop".⁶³ A close relationship of the narrative with him would explain well the emphasis placed on the role of Gniezno in Poland and on the role of Bolesław—a ruler without whom Radim would not have become archbishop.

It must be admitted that our search for traces of the influence on the traditions of the ruling family exerted by the presence and later the cult of St Wojciech in Poland have brought modest results. They are not however totally without significance. From the written sources which only to a small degree reflect the realities of the history of the Piasts themselves emerges a picture of the efforts of Bolesław the Brave and those around him, especially the kinsmen of Wojciech to permanently link the memories of the Polish ruler, and also his family, with the person of the holy martyr. This was not only on the level of events, commemorating the stay of Wojciech in Bolesław's court. Above all this concerned the emphasis placed on the relations linking the Piasts and the saint which had deeper, personal and sacral dimensions. This "sacralisation" of the vision of the activities of the ruling family will increase in intensity as time advances although, somewhat paradoxically, the involvement of references to St Wojciech in it will decline.

3. ST BRUNO OF QUERFURT'S "LIFE OF THE FIVE BROTHERS" AND LETTER TO HENRY II

We have presented above the traces of the enrichment of the ideal vision of the functioning of the Piast clan in the world as a whole through the addition of elements linking it to the sacral sphere. It is worth devoting some attention to the written sources in which we can see the practical, political utility of this type of perception of the dynasty and its members. What however is important is that in the sources analysed below we do not find exactly the same themes which we know of through the literature devoted to St Wojciech. While they are very close to them in their meaning (the close relationship of the Piasts to the sacral sphere), they differ from each other in both content and aims. One can see especially that Bolesław the Brave (and the

⁶³ A. Rutkowska-Płachcińska, *Pasje świętych*, p. 38.

part of his entourage most responsible for this creation of an image of the Piasts) tried to link the relationships between the ruler and the sacral sphere to which they attached such importance and which were to endow him with a heightened social status, within a wider context, not a merely local one. Through the analysis of the two works of Bruno of Querfurt mentioned in the title of this section we have access to another fashion of presenting the Piast ruler than we have met so far. Within this tradition he was presented as dominating over those around him to an equal degree due to his contacts with the highest authorities of earthly power as well as his privileged position with regard to the sacral sphere.

Besides being the writer of the “Life of St Wojciech” presented above, Bruno of Querfurt was also the author of the “Lives of the Five Brothers”, and a letter to King Henry II. Both works concentrate on a period of time which is either contemporary with the writer, or only a little earlier. The writer of the “Lives of the Five Brothers” lived in a Poland ruled by Bolesław the Brave and had to make use of the official version of the story of the events leading to the death of the five men which was in use in the court.⁶⁴ In his narrative Bruno mentions a number of other elements, including recounting in detail the circumstances of the death of Emperor Otto III because it was closely related to the fate of the hermitage in Poland which was inhabited by the Five Brothers. In this part of the story he refers to the Polish ruler’s reaction to the death of the Emperor, “whose death nobody grieved over as much as Bolesław, through whom the child-king had the intention of doing so much good for others, and in whose lands of course the holy men Benedict and John lived in their hermitage. Who this Bolesław, if/because he has faith/fidelity, holds in his heart a greater memory of his soul above all others.”⁶⁵ This portion of text with an unclear meaning⁶⁶ does not refer only to Bolesław’s emotional state, which could be a reflection of the conventional behaviour regarded

⁶⁴ Paweł Stróżyk, *Śmierć eremitów w relacji Brunona z Kwerfurtu*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 69 (2003), p. 23.

⁶⁵ *Vita quinque fratrum eremitarum [seu] Vita uel passio Benedicti et Iohannis sociorumque suorum auctore Brunone Quesrfurtensi*, Jadwiga Karwasińska ed., [in:] MPH, N.S., vol. 4, part 3, Warszawa 1973, c. VIII, p. 48, lines 9–13.

⁶⁶ J. Karwasińska, *Świadek czasów Chrobrego*, p. 102, footnote 55, lists the various ways in which the unclear text “si fidem haberet” has been translated by Polish, German, Italian and French translators.

as suitable for a ruler.⁶⁷ Most importantly, it is written in the present tense, suggesting that at the time he was writing the author knew something of the behaviour of Bolesław, his personal practices, the intimate maintenance of the memory of the deceased emperor by the Piast ruler. If maintaining the memory of a deceased political partner played such a significant role for Bolesław the Brave, did he also cultivate the memory of his own kinsmen? We discuss this question further below. Here let us note that Bruno perceived in the acts of Bolesław not only ostentation in cultivating the memory of Otto III, but a clear pointer to the reason for maintaining it, a close relationship with the empire that was beneficial for the Piast rule.

There is no doubt that Bruno knew Bolesław very well.⁶⁸ It was also in his circle in 1006 or 1008 that he could have written the “Life of the Five Brothers”.⁶⁹ It was either in Bolesław’s court, or from sources deriving their content from the circle of the ruler of Poland that he could have obtained detailed information not only on the behaviour of the ruler at the moment he learnt the news of the death of Otto III, but also the significance of his private religious practices. In this way we obtain evidence that suggest that in the circle of Bolesław the vision of his past was closely related to the person of the emperor Otto III. What is more, his close relationship with the emperor would have brought him further honours some time in the near future. The Ruler of the West and the Polish ruler from the Piast dynasty were in this manner connected by a link which was stronger than that which was guaranteed by the situation at the current moment, because it led off into the future. The stabilisation of the position of Bolesław in the hierarchy of the rulers of the countries of Western Christendom was especially important at precisely the time when Bruno arrived in Poland, because at that time Bolesław the Brave was engaged in a long and destructive war with Otto’s successor Henry II.

⁶⁷ Gerd Althoff, *Der König weint. Rituelle Tränen in öffentlicher Kommunikation*, [in:] “*Aufführung*” und “*Schrift*” In *Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Jan-Dirk Müller ed., Stuttgart-Weimar 1996 (=Germanistische Symposien. Berichtsbände, vol. 17), pp. 243–245, has shown the conventional (in the sense of conveying by means of one’s behaviour information required by cultural norms) aspect of the tears of rulers after the death of people close to them (including Henry II after the death of Otto III).

⁶⁸ *Kronika Thietmara*, VI, 94, pp. 452–453.

⁶⁹ Jadwiga Karwasińska, *Wstęp*, [in:] *Vita quinque fratrum*, pp. 15–16. The recent literature on the topic has been gathered by Paweł Stróżyk, *Śmierć eremitów*, p. 8, footnote 2.

It is with this conflict that we may link the letter prepared in Poland by Bruno about the end of 1008 addressed to Henry II.⁷⁰ He recommends to the latter a suitable means of creating his policies writing: “O, what good and propitious [times—P.W.] would have come for the protection of Christianity and the conversion of the pagans, if you our king who leads the hope of the world could live with Bolesław as the late emperor lived with his father Mieszko”.⁷¹ The sense of this sentence should be sought in the context of nearly half a century of the political relationships of the Piasts and the Reich, as well as in the specific vision of the world held by Bruno. In the latter, the most important element was the safe development of Christianity, especially its propagation among the pagans, to which he gave such strong emphasis in his “Letter”.⁷² It was from the point of view of this task that the missionary perceived not only the relationship between the Reich and Poland, but also assessed Bolesław the Brave and Henry II.⁷³ In this context, traditionally—since the times of Emperor Otto I and the Polish ruler Mieszko I, what was of importance was an alliance turned against the Lutitzians, or in broader terms, the pagan tribes of the Polabian Slavs. The destruction of this political paradigm by Henry II and his military alliance with the pagans against Bolesław was to lead to a reticence about his military plans among the Saxon nobles.⁷⁴

In such a situation, the reference to the collaboration of Mieszko with the “late emperor”, the young Otto III, had an important political and ideological significance which went beyond the needs of the moment. It was in the time of the regency of Theophano that Mieszko, together with the imperial army made deep inroads into the territory of the Polabian Slavs. He died recognized by at least part of the clergy

⁷⁰ Jadwiga Karwasińska, *Wstęp*, [in:] *Epistola Brunonis ad Henricum regem*, pp. 89–90.

⁷¹ *Epistola Brunonis ad Henricum regem*, p. 105, lines 4–7.

⁷² Reinhard Wenskus, *Studien zur historisch-politischen Gedankenwelt Bruns von Querfurt*, Münster/Köln 1956 (=Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, vol. 5), pp. 126–127, especially pp. 143–145. Recently under the influence of Ian Wood, Miłosz Sosnowski has written about Bruno’s missionary strategy, Miłosz Sosnowski, *Kategorie związane z misją i męczeństwem w pismach św. Brunona z Kwerfurtu*, [in:] *Cognitioni gestorum*, pp. 205–230.

⁷³ J. Karwasińska, *Świadek czasów Chrobrego*, p. 102; Roman Michałowski, *Prądy religijne w imperium ottońskim i ich polityczne implikacje*, [in:] *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Poznań, listopad 2000*, Szczęsny Skibiński ed., Poznań 2001, pp. 57–58.

⁷⁴ See R. Wenskus, *Studien*, pp. 188–190.

of the Empire as a “margrave”.⁷⁵ Since Bruno in his “letter” presented Bolesław in the position of a person linked to the emperor with bonds of dependence,⁷⁶ then contrasting his relations with Henry II with those which linked Mieszko with Otto III, it was all the more clearly visible that Henry was not fulfilling his obligations. This concerned both those in the general scheme of things, in which the emperor was supposed to support Christians and missions among the pagans,⁷⁷ as well as the more specific one in which in relationships between the Piasts and the rulers of the West, the latter should fulfil the role of patrons. In the “Letter”, not just Bolesław, but also his father turn out to be the closest collaborators of the Empire. This includes collaboration in the achievement of what Bruno regarded as the most fundamental value justifying the exercise of power—protection of and extending the scope of the community of the Church. In this manner from the rather scant traces surviving from the dynastic tradition of the Piasts we start to see emerging just after the year 1000 a picture of the clan of Polish rulers exercising their power in a fully Christian manner, an ideal of a rule that was saturated with sacral character and affirming the position of the dynasty in the political system of the West.

For the present discussion, the most important problem is defining the source from which Bruno gained information on the basis of which he created the historical parallels presented above. In his “Letter” Bruno wrote very flatteringly of the Piast ruler, and revealed a knowledge of his political plans (the desire to convert the Prussians which was being hindered by the war with Henry).⁷⁸ As the author of the “Life of St Wojciech” and the “Life of the Five Brothers” he came to know of the relationships linking the ruler with the subjects of his narrative. He wrote of Bolesław the Brave’s placing himself under the protection of St Peter,⁷⁹ gives details of his life which are confirmed

⁷⁵ See below, pp. 478–479.

⁷⁶ R. Wenskus, *Studien*, p. 192 wrote even of Bolesław as a vassal of the emperor, we do not find however such a precise definition of the Piast ruler’s position in the “Letter”.

⁷⁷ “Nonne magnus honor magnaue salus regis esset, ut aeclesiam augetet, et apostolicum nomen coram Deo inueniret, hoc laborare, ut baptizaretur paganus, pacemque donare adiuuantibus se ad hoc christianis?”, *Epistola Brunonis ad Henricum regem*, p. 104, lines 2–5.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 103, lines 16–19.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 103, lines 3–4.

only in the “Epitaph” of the Polish king. This induces us to believe that the conception of Bolesław’s place in the western world contained in his work actually comes from the duke’s entourage. Although individual facts about the past of the Piasts were known in the Reich, we do not find them linked or interpreted anywhere else in the same manner as they are in the “Letter”. What is more, there is no such conception visible in the earlier works of Bruno such as the Lives of St Wojciech and the Five Brothers. Otto III appears, it is true, on their pages, but the topic of his collaboration with Mieszko is not mentioned. On the contrary, in the “Life of St Wojciech”, the motif of the conflict which Mieszko had with Odo (Hodo) appears as an element of God’s punishment of the Reich. Quite clearly Bruno had not earlier been particularly interested in the story of the collaboration of Mieszko with the Reich. Only the context in which he found himself, when the war between Bolesław and Henry II threatened the desired Prussian mission, led him to enquire into the subject more deeply. For the missionary based in Poland the best (if not the only) source of such information was from the entourage of Bolesław. Thus it is among the latter that the memory of the joint policy of the father of the ruler with the emperor could have functioned.

Analysis of the work of Bruno has somewhat surprisingly (at least for the author of these words) demonstrated the operation of the characteristic of “existing in the world” which in the earlier analysed works had been appropriate to Bolesław were now being used with reference to the whole of the Piast family. As in the case of the passage from the “Passion of Tegernsee”, so the “Letter” of St Bruno reveals the extension in Bolesław’s reign of an idealised picture of him as a ruler and also of his father, Mieszko I. This perpetuation in the entourage of Bolesław of the memory of the deeds of the father (or even further, the amalgamation of the characteristics of the currently reigning ruler and his late father) has deep significance. In written sources arising in the circle of Bolesław I a little later, a tradition of the history of Poland somewhat less favourable to Mieszko clearly begins to emerge.⁸⁰ At the same time in the current of memories about the past of the dynasty which was begun in the time of Mieszko and became separated from the main line of tradition in the lifetime of Bolesław I, the situation

⁸⁰ See below, p. 57, 68–75 on “The Epitaph of Bolesław the Brave” and “The Codex of Mathilda”.

concerning the description of the merits of both members of the dynasty begins to be considerably more equal. This version is known to us from a very specific source—enclosed like a moth in amber in the “Chronicon” of Thietmar of Merseburg.

4. THIETMAR OF MERSEBURG—THE ECHO OF A TRADITION

For more than a century, the “Chronicon” of Thietmar of Merseburg has served as a primary source for the history of Poland at the end of the tenth century and above all the beginning of the eleventh. Although the author was not an eye-witness to many of the events he covers in his account, he made use of earlier written sources and also eyewitness accounts from people who took part in the events he describes. In this way he documents not only his own vision of the world, but also that which was held by his informants. The majority of them were from the Saxon (in broad terms) or imperial elite of his times.⁸¹ In his “Chronicon”, however, there is a group of stories which could have come from informers more closely related to the circle of the Polish royal court. They form a hermetic narrative cycle, focussed on the details of the genealogy of the Piasts. They contain details which would have been known primarily in the close circle of the Piast court. Above all, below the layer of opinion of Thietmar are hidden meanings and values close to those which either correspond closely to what we know from other sources about the dynastic tradition of the Piasts, or astonishingly well fill in the gaps in our knowledge of it. This is especially the case with regard the role of women.

Three Ladies

The Arrangement of the Text

In the final part of the fourth book of Thietmar’s “Chronicon” is an extended story of the history of the Piasts. The portion of interest to us here (IV, 55–58) clearly differs in content from the earlier part of the narrative of the “Chronicon”. The previous chapters concern the end of the reign of Otto III, his death and funeral, and the the disturbances which accompanied the election of a new ruler (IV, 49–53). The

⁸¹ See Helmut Lippelt, *Thietmar von Merseburg—Reichsbischof und Chronist*, Köln 1973, passim.

section immediately preceding the section of interest here announces the ending of book four and concentrating on the subsequent history of Henry II. The introduction of the story of the Piasts was therefore unannounced and unjustified by anything. The chronicler explains himself with a generalisation. He says that he could not earlier in the work present everything he should have said, and for this reason he was introducing it at that point of the narrative.⁸² This does not only concern the Piasts, after presenting the story of the rulers of Poland, he then passes on to a whole series of different anecdotes which seem related (with certain exceptions IV, 70–72) only in that the main parts of their action took place in the time of the rule of Otto III. The section of the text devoted to the Piasts therefore is only one element of a larger collection of loosely organized anecdotes and recollections which had attracted the attention of the chronicler. For this reason each of these narratives creates an independent self-contained entity separate from each other, and separate from the preceding homogeneous story of the history of Otto III. This induces us to examine the tale of the Piasts as an independent entity. We may note however that it is not consistent even within itself. It falls into a number of separate tales, a more extensive one on the marriage of Mieszko and Oda (IV, 57), and a selection of the deeds and numerous marriages of Bolesław I. An analysis of the contents and construction of these elements gives us a chance to say something about the genesis of this story, a question which is important for determining the circumstances of the formation of the dynastic tradition of the Piasts, and the possible effect of outside influences on those traditions and also maybe the influence of those traditions on the formation of the knowledge of the political elite of the Empire about the past of the clan.

Mieszko and Dobrawa

Thietmar's story of Mieszko's acceptance of Christianity concentrates on the person of Dobrawa, the wife of the Polish ruler. To what degree is this story constructed by the author of the "Chronicon", and to what degree is his text influenced by the shape of existing tradition?⁸³ Writing

⁸² *Kronika Thietmara*, IV, 55, p. 218.

⁸³ Danuta Borawska, *O imię Dąbrowki*, [in:] *Polska w świecie*, pp. 52–54 perceived the separateness of the story of Dobrawa in Thietmar's "Chronicon", but she rejected however the possibility of the chronicler making use of a wider tradition, though without giving reasons based on source analysis, *ibidem*, p. 52.

of the baptism of Mieszko, the chronicler mentions his knowledge of the event based on what had been passed on by other narrators.⁸⁴ This fact attracts our attention because nowhere else in the earlier parts of the narrative when discussing the Polish rulers does Thietmar hint at the involvement of others in transmitting these stories, even if we can infer that such informants existed, especially the father of the chronicler.⁸⁵ Here the author not only mentions his informants, but in addition showed that they presented different and sometimes contradictory pieces of information about Dobrawa.⁸⁶ Undoubtedly the author enriched the version of the story which he received from various anonymous narrators to which he refers with his own elements of style, for example adding his own etymology of the woman's name,⁸⁷ or (as we will discuss below) critical remarks about her son. Nonetheless the basic core of his narrative is ordered around the information he obtained from his informants.

In seeking the source of these stories, we should focus on those elements of the chronicler's narrative which contain additional information, discussion of issues which do not relate to the main theme, the baptism of Mieszko I. It is they, in some way attached to the main story and by accident not omitted in its transmission, that could contain traces of the milieu in which the story originated. Just such an element is the praise of Jordan, the first bishop of Poland, associated very generally with the main theme of this part of the text, namely the problem of the beginning of the Church in Poland. Thietmar recounts that: "Jordan, their [the Poles—P.W.] first bishop, laboured much with them, while he diligently invited them, with word and deed to the cultivation of the heavenly vineyard".⁸⁸ In the whole of this section of Thietmar's text, Jordan is the only person from beyond the Piasts' family circle (Mieszko, Dobrawa and her father the Czech ruler Boleslav) mentioned by name, and in addition not in relation to the baptism of

⁸⁴ This means in the fragment concerning the time of her breaking of the lenten fast: "*quidam dicunt, eam in una carne manducasse quadragesima, alii vero tres*" (emphasis P.W.), *Kronika Thietmara*, IV, 56, p. 221.

⁸⁵ Zob. Przemysław Wiszewski, *Domus Boleslai. W poszukiwaniu tradycji dynastycznej Piastów (do około 1138 r.)*, Wrocław 2008 (=Acta Universitatis No 3067, Złota Seria Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, vol. 1), pp. 562–564.

⁸⁶ M Z. Jedlicki *Kronika Thietmara*, p. 220, footnote 288 has already drawn attention to this.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, IV, 55, p. 219.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, IV, 56, pp. 221, 223.

Mieszko. Reference to the bishop only had significance as a supplement to the mention of the baptism of Mieszko's subjects.

In the search for the circle of persons most interested in introducing the first shepherd of the Polish Church into the story of the beginnings of Christianity there, we should steer our attention to his closest circle, and especially his successors. While we do not have any information about the first group, we do know however that after his death, Jordan was replaced by Unger, from the year 1000 the first bishop of Poznan.⁸⁹ This churchman was kept in Magdeburg in 1004 by Archbishop Tagino and remained there until his death. Since the information about the beginnings of Christianity in Poland would have played such a key role in the political intentions of the archbishop of Magdeburg, it would be understandable that he would try to obtain as much information as possible from his guest. The latter would have no reason to resist this. It was from here, the seat of the archbishop that the story could have reached our chronicler, who was a close collaborator with the archbishop, his direct superior. The origination of the core of the story from the bishop of Poznan would explain the significant similarities, despite certain differences, of the basic core of facts known from the story as recounted by Thietmar and the text written a century later by Gallus Anonymous, the author of the first Polish "Chronicle".⁹⁰ Both historiographers would have relied on the traditions alive in the same circle, the churchmen connected with the ecclesiastical centres of Great Poland, although Gallus would have used a much later version.⁹¹

The story of Mieszko and Dobrawa could have reached the imperial countries in a somewhat different form brought by Oda, the second wife of the Polish ruler driven into exile by Bolesław the Brave. Although her influence on the story as told by Thietmar is much more

⁸⁹ See the biography of Jerzy Strzelczyk, *Unger*, [in:] *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 8, München 1997, k. 1234–1235.

⁹⁰ See chapter 3. On the matter of the difference of the two accounts, see Przemysław Wiszewski, *Źródło, którego nie ma. Przekaz ustny w kształtowaniu wyobraźni historycznej wczesnośredniowiecznych mieszkańców Polski (na marginesie "Kroniki" Anonima zwanego Gallem)*, [in:] *Źródła kultury umysłowej w Europie Środkowej ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Górnego Śląska*, Antoni Barciak ed., Katowice 2005, pp. 34–37.

⁹¹ Stanisław Zajączkowski, [Review:] *Pierre David, Recherches sur l'annalistique polonaise du XI^e au XVI^e siècle*, "Revue des questions historiques", 116 (1932), s. 5–58, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 48 (1934), fasc. 1, p. 89, suggested that the references to Mieszko, Dobrawa and Bishop Jordan in Polish chronicles came from the original records made by the clergy of Poznan.

hypothetical than in the case of Unger, it would explain the rather ambivalent description of the deeds of Dobrawa, who did things which were not completely laudable, though in a laudable cause.⁹² This would concern especially the introduction at the end of the whole story the emphasis that her son Bolesław was a man who was evil from childhood, so much so that he turned against his mother and later against his own family—that is Oda and her children.⁹³ In the latter case we may of course consider whether any kind of encouragement from his informers was behind the chronicler's wish to emphasise the negative characteristics of Bolesław. His dislike for the son of Dobrawa is well enough documented in the pages of his "Chronicon". It seems most unlikely that he would seek to use the harm Bolesław did to his own family merely as a demonstration of his bad character. He would have had access to plenty of other good examples of the faults and cruelty of Bolesław directed against the emperor and his subjects in the history he knew from first hand, some of which he used elsewhere. It is difficult to regard his concentrating on the topic of Piast family relationships as part of the text which is intended to be a criticism of Bolesław the Brave merely as an example of the writer's creative invention, above all this is because the extensive and detailed presentation of the history of the Polish ruling house presented as an independent whole and composed around a series of genealogical details has a completely exceptional character in Thietmar's "Chronicon". We may treat the mention at the end of the story of Dobrawa and Mieszko the topic of the treatment of his own family by Bolesław as a consequence of the source on which Thietmar was drawing for his narrative. Those whom Bolesław's behaviour most affected were his stepmother Oda and her children, driven out of the country on the death of Mieszko I. It is from the circle of people associated with them that that the second version of the narrative about the baptism of Mieszko could have come, or at least some details which supplement its basic core which had been transmitted by Bishop Unger.

The story presented by Thietmar of the baptism of Mieszko could therefore have been based on two traditions preserved in Poland: the first primarily among churchmen, and the second "Oda's version" which functioned in in the court of the Piasts. The story that the his-

⁹² *Kronika Thietmara*, IV, 56, p. 221.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, IV, 56, p. 223.

toriographer created from them contains very little information about Mieszko,⁹⁴ he was a pagan and a “most zealous persecutor” of (we assume) Christians, he found himself a Czech wife and underwent her influence and was baptized. Until this moment, the picture of the ruler has the characteristics of *topos* (bad pagan ruler—changed due to the influence of good Christian wife) and very generalised. The details were reserved for the description of the deeds of Dobrawa, seeing the pagan ways of her husband, giving serious thought to how she could unite him to her in the faith, with thought of the future and not of temporary earthly pleasures, how for a certain time she sinned (ate meat in Lent) so that her husband would give way to her over more serious matters. The chronicler also emphasised that she was “heard by the Creator in his kindness”, her relationship with the highest *sacrum* thus gained an exceptional character. If the “zealous persecutor [Mieszko—PW] came to his senses”, it was entirely a result of the will of God and his “infinite goodness”. This was revealed when Mieszko “under the influence of the frequent prayer of his beloved wife, he vomited out the poison of his hereditary/inborn faithlessness”.⁹⁵ Dobrawa played the role of an instrument of God in this process, working closely with the Creator to help Mieszko make a break with his former inborn / hereditary nature. When her husband accepted baptism, this process was finished “in holy baptism he wiped away the stain of his birth”.⁹⁶ The conventionality of the picture presented and the series of liturgical references in the whole of this part of the text incline us to accept that this original/inherited blemish concerned the nature of Mieszko as a man, contaminated since his birth by original sin. It does not seem likely however that one can link this phrase with the allusions to the ancestors of the ruler. In no other place in his text does the author refer to the pagan pedigree of the Polish ruler.

After this event another occurred, the conversion of the ruler’s subjects. Here the role of Mieszko was given more emphasis. It was following his example as the “beloved head and lord” that the “members of his hitherto reluctant people” accepted baptism. It was in this way,

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, IV, 55–56, pp. 219, 221. Summarising a comparative analysis of the narratives of Thietmar and Gallus Anonymous, Piotr Bogdanowicz (*Chrzest Polski*, “Nasza Przeszłość”, 23 (1966), pp. 12–13) showed that, while the version of Thietmar was more critically disposed, it was still more reticent about giving the details of the events.

⁹⁵ *Kronika Thietmara*, IV, 56, p. 221.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*.

due to him that his people, “after accepting the marriage garments were numbered among the wards of Christ”.⁹⁷ This was accompanied by the great joy of “this man and the noble woman” and the whole family of those who were subject to them “rejoiced in their marriage in Christ”.⁹⁸ The dual meaning of that last phrase, which could equally apply to the marriage of Mieszko and Dobrawa as well as the union of the whole people as “a family subject to the princely pair”, seems likely to have been intended by the creator of the story. Two traditional visions of society—as a body and as a family ruled by a father—come together here. That which united them is the theological aspect, the role of which is accented by the reference cited above to the efforts of Jordan to lead his new faithful to “cultivate the heavenly vineyard”.

The close relationship of this story with the person of Dobrawa is emphasized by both its beginning (in which the author points out the derivation of her name from the word ‘dobra’ which means ‘good’, and points out that this reflected her character) as well as the ending (in which there is information about the birth of her son Bolesław). The considerable number of stereotypical themes contained in this picture, and characteristic of such tales of women, of noblewomen who were the founders of local Churches,⁹⁹ seem to support the hypothesis of the origin of this narrative within the circle of clergymen from the country of Mieszko. Attention is drawn, however, to the especial emphasis on the role of Dobrawa, as a person more important than Mieszko, a person closer to God and having fundamentally more importance for the conversion of both her husband as well as his people. This emphasis on the role of Dobrawa might suggest that a story constructed in this manner was an element of the creation about the year 1000 (perhaps under the influence of the example of the holy women of the Ottonian

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, IV, 56, pp. 221, 223.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, IV, 56, p. 223.

⁹⁹ See, together with the references cited: Martin Homza, *The Role of Saint Ludmila, Doubravka, Saint Olga and Adelaide in the Conversions of Their Countries (The Problem of “Mulieres Suadentes”, Persuading Women)*, [in:] *Early Christianity in Central and East Europe*, Przemysław Urbańczyk ed., Warszawa 1997, pp. 188–190 (generally), 196–197 (on Dobrawa). The author did not however make any mention of the differences between the stories of the baptism of Poland in Thietmar and Gallus Anonymous, regarding the version of the “Chronicle” of Gallus as reflecting the basic contents to all the accounts until the writing in the thirteenth century in Cracow of the “Chronicle” by Master Wincenty (*ibidem*, pp. 197).

court)¹⁰⁰ of the cult of the Czech noblewoman in Poland. The picture presented by Thietmar of the conversion of Mieszko made her into a person through whom God led to the next victory in the fight against the pagans, indeed the Polish ruler had previously been a “most zealous persecutor”. We leave open the question of whether Thietmar, and earlier his informant, could have seen the conversion as a miracle in which Dobrawa was an intermediary.¹⁰¹ Such an interpretation would support the hypothesis about the creation of a cult around her person. If, however, such a cult had been initiated, it certainly could not have developed in the shadow of the cult of St Wojciech intensively promoted by Bolesław the Brave. Maybe it was in this that the chronicler, or his informers perceived the injustice the son did to his mother? This suspicion gains probability in the context of the reduction of the significance of Mieszko I in the dynastic tradition in the reign of Bolesław I.

Apart from the work of Thietmar, the story which interests us here could have functioned independently, without the elements concerning the history of the dynasty which accompany it in the “Chronicon”. Was the linking of the two the work of Thietmar? Let us examine this question in the light of the further parts of his work.

Mieszko and Oda

The main emphasis in the second passage of Thietmar’s narrative concerning Mieszko rests on the theme of his second marriage, to Oda, the daughter of the Margrave Theodoric (Dietrich).¹⁰² Here, the ruler himself is overshadowed by her. The chronicler notes piously that Oda became his wife, even though she had earlier been a nun, which aroused the anger of the German clergy. Indeed, Thietmar supports their standpoint, himself criticizing the woman’s actions. At the same time he justifies the decision, that it was necessary for “the welfare of the land and the need to strengthen the peace”.¹⁰³ Thietmar however does not give the reader any clue as to what conflict was involved here.

¹⁰⁰ See Patrick Corbet, *Les saints ottoniens. Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autour de l’an Mil*, Sigmaringen 1986 (=Beihefte der Francia, vol. 15), pp. 236–241.

¹⁰¹ See the remarks of Adam Krawiec, *Człowiek średniowieczny wobec niezwykłości: przykład Thietmara z Merseburga*, [in:] *Cognitioni gestorum*, pp. 242–243 on the understanding of Thietmar of the role of miracles connected with the victory of Christians in constant conflict with pagans.

¹⁰² *Kronika Thietmara*, IV, 57, pp. 223, 225.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, IV, 57, p. 223.

This however has significance in determining the aim of this section of the narrative. Earlier the chronicler had presented Mieszko primarily as a collaborator with the empire.¹⁰⁴ His participation in the civil war in Ottonian realm after the death of Otto III were only weakly indicated.¹⁰⁵ Introducing only some rather general remarks about a “conflict” at this point of his “Chronicon”, Thietmar obviously accepted that what was important was what concerned Oda herself, rather than the details of the political events surrounding the marriage. Confirmation of this may be found in the domination of the story of the royal wedding by an interesting, and to some extent conventional, account of the good deeds of Oda, her activities to expand the Church, causing the return of prisoners to their homeland (that is the Empire) “prisoners/slaves were released from their chains.”¹⁰⁶

It is not possible to consider this concentration on the good deeds of Oda as merely a convention connected with Thietmar’s methods as a writer. Not every mention of the wedding of a highly born nun evoked such a tirade from the author. A little later on in the book we learn of the fate of Oda’s sister Mathilda.¹⁰⁷ She also was a nun and had married a Slav, Pribislav, very probably the ruler of one of the Polabian Slavic peoples.¹⁰⁸ The chronicler however has no particularly critical remarks on this fact.¹⁰⁹ Comparison of this piece of text with the description of the marriage of Oda and Mieszko could lead us to suspect that Thietmar wanted to present the wife of the Piast ruler as a person especially worthy of respect through her piety and services to her homeland. This opinion would however stand in conflict with the phrase which he adds just after his account of her virtues: “he who does not entirely abandon the evil that he has begun will try in vain to placate the Lord”.¹¹⁰ After that however the chronicler indicates that the couple lived together until the death of Mieszko and had three children. The juxtaposition of these pieces of information leads to the conclusion that the pious efforts of Oda, whatever they were, were futile.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁴ Zob. P. Wiszewski, *Domus Boleslai*, pp. 562–564.

¹⁰⁵ *Kronika Thietmara*, IV, 2, p. 147; IV, 9, p. 157.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, IV, 57, p. 223.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, IV, 64, pp. 233, 235.

¹⁰⁸ Cf the presentation of the previous literature *ibidem*, pp. 232–233, footnote 346.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, IV, 64, p. 235.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, IV, 57, p. 225.

¹¹¹ This is why it is difficult to accept without reservations the opinions of Lech A. Tyszkiewicz, *Z badań nad narodzinami stereotypów Słowian w historiografii*

These contradictions in Thietmar's account of the marriage of Oda and Mieszko, emphasizing at the same time the piety, virtues but sinfulness of the union, can be explained in terms of Thietmar using information which came from the circle of people connected with Oda, but which was considerably modified by him. In the case of Mathilda mentioned above, after a fairly neutral and in places favourable description of her life, he introduces his opinion that she was "unworthy" to bear the title of abbess. The only element of the story given in the "Chronicon" that the reader could link to this opinion was the fact (as was mentioned earlier) that she had left a nunnery in order to marry Pribislav. Both narratives, of Oda and Mathilda, differ from each other in form and content. They are linked by one element; in the case of both women, their departure from the convent was a serious sin which they were unable to wash away. If we allow that, despite the differences, that single element is common to both, we may assume that this moralistic accent could come from the chronicler himself. After leaving the convent however the tone of the story of Oda changes drastically. From a sinner she is transformed into a heroine who sacrificed her life for the peace and happiness of her homeland and her fellows. She also, as suggested by our interpretation of the document *Dagome Iudex*, deliberately and consistently did everything she could to do penance for her guilt against God. In this she deserved the assessment contained in the "Chronicon" that "she passed her life there [i.e., in Poland] highly honoured until the death of her husband [Mieszko I], she was beloved among those with whom she lived and useful to those from whom she had come".¹¹²

These words create the background to the description of the tragic events after the death of Mieszko. According to the chronicler, the country was divided among "many claimants" according to the will of the deceased ruler. The state was reunified by the "cunning" Bolesław who drove his stepmother and brothers from the country and had their trusted men blinded. The names of the latter are given, while those of the banished individuals are not. By this means the fate of both Oda and her sons is overshadowed in the account by the death of Mieszko

zachodniej wczesnego średniowiecza, [in:] *Wokół stereotypów Polaków i Niemców*, Wojciech Wrzesiński ed., Wrocław 1991 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 1136, Historia 79), p. 46, that Thietmar "willingly forgave the breaking of her monastic vows by Oda so that she could marry Mieszko, the ruler of the Polane".

¹¹² *Kronika Thietmara*, IV, 57, p. 225.

I and the deeds of his son. Even the commentary of the chronicler that in acting in this way Boleslaw was trampling both law and common decency, does not contain a clear reference that in this manner Thietmar was defending the rights of Oda and her children. Such a radical change of perception leads us to consider whether this portion of the text arose on the basis of a different tradition than that which is embodied in the picture of the marriage of Mieszko and Oda.

Let us note that the story concerning Oda has one puzzling element. The chronicler leaves an empty space in the place of the name of the third of her sons, despite giving the names of the other two. This is all the more strange in that recounting the tale of the Piasts, the writer as a rule gives the names of the royal children and does not mention those whose name he did not know. There are cases where he writes of the children of other individuals without giving their names, as for example in the case of Mathilda. In these cases though he does not leave a space to fill them in later. In the whole chronicle only in the case of place names (especially those far from Saxony) in two stories of the end of the tenth and one of the second decade of the eleventh century did he leave spaces which he was intending later to fill in.¹¹³ Such cases though were extremely rare, in both cases we have only a single name. In the case under discussion here we are dealing with a space in a series of names. Comparing the two types of methods of presenting the names of the children of the persons being discussed by the chronicler we may risk the hypothesis that this blank space might be the result of the attempt to amalgamate two different stories, one which the chronicler had come across which gave the name of two of the sons of Oda and Mieszko, while from a second he obtained the information that they had had three sons. Attempting to make these two stories match, Thietmar left a blank space probably in the hope that one day he would provide the missing name to complete the story. Although this is hypothesis, it is in agreement with the principles of chronicle writing. In turn, such an attempt to amalgamate these two traditions, even if it was not entirely successful, had considerable significance for the coherence of the narrative as a whole. Giving the precise genealogical information at the end of the story of Oda created a connection between the narrative focussed on the margrave's daughter

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, III, 24, p. 141; VI, 92, p. 447.

and the story the central point of which was the history of the rulers of Poland seen from the perspective of genealogical facts.

Bolesław and Emnilda

The final element of Thietmar's presentation of the story of the Piasts in the fourth book of his "Chronicon" is a brief sketch of a portrait of Bolesław the Brave based mainly on the genealogical information. After mentioning how he came to power, the chronicler lists his marriages and the offspring resulting from them.¹¹⁴ He passes over the first two marriages with a single sentence, not even giving the names of the wives, and only briefly mentions their origins (the first was the daughter of Margrave Rikdag the second woman was from Hungary). He indicates however that both marriages ended with the wives being sent away by the ruler.¹¹⁵ Only in the case of Bolesław's third marriage, with Emnilda, that the chronicler tells us more. The chronicler emphasizes the influence of this woman on her husband: "faithful to Christ, she reformed her husband's unstable character". Moreover aware of her sin (here assumed, but probably connected with Bolesław's rejection of his previous two wives) she "strove unceasingly to wash away both of their sins through the generous dispersal of alms and abstinence".¹¹⁶ Just as in the stories of the Mieszko's marriages with Dobrawa and Oda, the wife of Bolesław is also the active partner in this picture, presented as having positive characteristics and with a beneficial influence on her husband.¹¹⁷ The chronicler did not however go beyond a stereotypical presentation of the ideal ruler, he did not support it with a presentation of facts—such as for example indicating to whom these alms were given. This is the same as in the narratives of Dobrawa and especially Oda.

Against this background then, the detailed presentation of genealogical information stands out clearly. We are given the name (Bezprym) of the son Bolesław had with the nameless Hungarian and with Emnilda (Mieszko, the second name is given in a different manner—see below). In the case of the third marriage, we also learn the fates of

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, IV, 58, pp. 225, 227.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, IV, 58, p. 225.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, IV, 58, p. 227.

¹¹⁷ See in general, Małgorzata Delimata, *Żona Popiela oraz Rycheza i Agnieszka jako przykłady złych małżonek władców. Uwagi w świetle polskich kronik (do początku XVI stulecia)*, [in:] *Cognitioni gestorum*, p. 255.

the daughters (whose names however we do not learn), to whom they were married and what position they achieved in the Church hierarchy. The presence and precision of this latter information is surprising, and induces us to seek some specific source of the chronicler's information close to the Piast dynasty. Nobody, not even Gallus Anonymus in his "Chronicle", gave us such precise information about the Piast daughters. The detail of the information available to Thietmar of the family life of the Piasts is confirmed by the circumstances surrounding the giving of the name to the second of Bolesław and Emnilda's sons. Although Thietmar does not explicitly give his name, he wrote of a second son "whom the father named after his beloved lord".¹¹⁸ Modern scholars link that passage with Otto, the son of Bolesław, who is mentioned by name in another part of the "Chronicon".¹¹⁹ Whence did the chronicler—so concerned in his own words to write only the truth—obtain his information?

Investigators suggest that this son was christened during the Gniezno Summit in the year 1000. Accepting that hypothesis, we would be able to explain knowledge of the name of the youth and the circumstances under which he obtained it through Thietmar's familiarity with the events associated with the Gniezno Summit. This however raises a further question, if he knew about this, why (given his concern to demonstrate the links between the history of the Piasts with that of the rulers of the Empire), did he not mention that fact in his description of the Gniezno meeting? If he omitted to do so at the time he wrote of the latter, would he not have discussed it in the place where he betrays his knowledge of the genesis of the name of Bolesław's son? Maybe therefore his information about the genealogy of the Piasts, including the name of Bolesław's son had come from a different source than that from which he obtained information about the course of the Gniezno meeting? We believe that the source of such detailed information about the family relationships in the dynasty of the rulers of Poland could only be somebody closely connected with the Polish princely court.

As in the case of the story of the marriage of Oda and Mieszko, the narrative of the union of Emnilda and Bolesław also is not internally homogeneous. Its division into two sequences, the conventional praise of the wife and the detailed genealogical information is not really a

¹¹⁸ *Kronika Thietmara*, IV, 58, p. 227.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, VIII, 1, p. 581.

parallel to that observed in the story of Oda and Mieszko. In this latter case we receive a relatively large amount of detailed information concerning the circumstances of the marriage and then the end of Oda's stay in Poland. The fate of Emnilda on the other hand is presented entirely with the aid of generalizations together with a group of phrases of panegyric and moralising character. The contents of the presentation of her story however do not differ from the pictures presented of Dobrawa and Oda discussed earlier. All three women had to strive each in their own way to ensure that their bad and sinful husbands obtained approval in God's eyes. In none of these stories were the Piast husbands at the centre of action of the narratives which instead concentrated on the beneficial influences of the greater or lesser piety of these women. But inasmuch as in the case of the narrative of Dobrawa and Oda one may show certain characteristics of individual pictures, it is impossible to find them in the case of Emnilda. Maybe the description concerning her arose as a supplement to the first two, in order to maintain the impression of the generally poor moral qualification of their Piast husbands to rule a Christian state? In the framework of the story created by Thietmar only the intervention of women (wives) between the Piasts and the sacral sphere or the people made it possible for them to exercise their power in an honourable manner. Was this, however, the picture of the Piast dynasty which functioned before the writing of the Thietmar's work and deliberately transmitted to him by his informants?

Outline of the dynastic tradition of the Piasts?

It is worth paying closer attention to the chronology of the portion of the fourth book of the "Chronicon". The sequence of relatively precise genealogical data breaks off about the year 1000. Beyond that date there is only information about the marriage of two of Boleslaw the Brave's daughters: Regelinda in 1002 and an unnamed one who married the Kievan ruler Świętopełk some time between 1009 and 1012. The latter ends this portion of the story and the writer hints that he will return to this topic later.¹²⁰ The exceptional character of the mentioning of this individual rests in the fact that, alone among the pieces of information gathered in the Piast story embedded in the fourth book of Thietmar's "Chronicon", it has a narrative continuation further on in the work.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, IV, 58, p. 227.

The mention of the marriage of Bolesław the Brave's daughter with the son of the Kievan duke Vladimir could therefore have been Thietmar's own addition to the basic story, later than the first composition of the story of the Piasts. This seems especially likely to be the case if we take into account that when, as the chronicler announced it would, the theme is taken up again, there is no reference to the fact that it had been touched on earlier. This "later" element could therefore have existed as a separate narrative before insertion of the addition to the "Saga of the Piasts" analysed here. Otherwise it is difficult to explain the certainty of the writer that many pages later there would be found a brief accidental mention of Vladimir. Thietmar most probably supplemented the series of pieces of information which interest us here on the children of Bolesław the Brave with information about later events affecting the dynasty obtained from another source.

In this situation, it seems that from the chronological point of view, the source of most of the genealogical information transmitted by Thietmar could have been Bishop Unger or someone from his circle. He came, as we mentioned earlier, to Magdeburg after 1004, and thus while Emnilda was still alive. It is not surprising therefore that alone among the wives of Bolesław it is her that the panegyric created by Thietmar concerns. Finally, in comparison to the somewhat detailed information we have in the analysed portion of text, we do not find any detailed genealogical information concerning the Piast dynasty which is any later than 1004 in the "Chronicon". In addition, Unger as a participant in the Gniezno Summit could have possessed detailed information on the relationships between Bolesław I and Otto III. This would explain the manner in which Thietmar was able to present the circumstances under which Otto the son of Bolesław was named. Certainly part of the information contained in the "Saga of the Piasts" analysed here could have been a supplement to the original material deriving from the stories of the bishop of Poznan which the chronicler obtained from the traditions of German aristocratic families which had some form of relationship with the Piasts.

If we reject the above hypotheses, we would have to assume that the chronicler had conducted independent investigations into the genealogy of the Piasts. There is no evidence of this, since he ignores, for example, the forebears of Mieszko. Clearly this genealogical "saga of the Piasts" interested Thietmar because of the links with the stories of Saxon clans, the light it shed on the conversion of Poland to Chris-

tianity (he wrote in the same way of the conversion of Denmark or Kievan Rus), and maybe the light it shed on Bolesław the Brave himself, since he is a character that appears throughout the “Chronicon”. The collection of genealogical data created a skeleton for this complex of information which was then embellished with a few historical facts. If we take into account the suggestiveness of the whole passage, presenting Bolesław in a decidedly negative manner, it seems possible that this tradition was given its final form (if not by the chronicler, then by a milieu with similar views) at the time when war had broken out between Bolesław the Brave and the Empire.

This narrative breaks off suddenly after presenting the children born of Bolesław’s union with Emnilda and in this way there emerges a suggestive parallelism of the three marital situations as presented by the chronicler. These are situations, as we have said, in which the women have a beneficial influence of the sinful, wild Piasts. If we may speak of the presence of the topos of “mulier suadens” in Thietmar’s depiction of Dobrawa, then that observation should be extended to the other two characters discussed. If it had not been for their influences, their husbands would have remained smothered in their sins. It was only due to them that, at least in part, they could do good, but it is against their background and with reference to their example that the faults of the Piasts, and Bolesław in particular, become clearly visible. In this manner the narrative based on a collection of genealogical facts about the Polish rulers becomes a story defining the nature of power, including especially the beneficial effects of piety influencing sinners in positions of power.¹²¹

In the end, we come to the conclusion that the fragment of the “Chronicon” of interest was written on the basis of information containing part of the dynastic tradition of the Piasts which had arisen in the milieu of the clergy of the Polish church (Bishop Unger and his circle). The original narrative however underwent a series of alterations carried out by the chronicler which turned it into an inseparable part of the logic of the construction of the text into which it had been introduced. It is difficult to define the extent of the intervention of the chronicler, and it is not possible to differentiate precisely the

¹²¹ The whole story would therefore fulfil a didactic role, so important for the work as a whole, with its meaning rooted in theology, see Stanisław Rosik, “*Sponsae Christi*” oraz “*dii manu facti*” w “*Kronice Thietmara*”. *Elementy konwencji dziejopisarskiej w służbie historiologii*, [in:] *Viae historicae*, pp. 416–417.

tradition which underlay his narrative. It is only possible to show in general terms that its starting point was the baptism of Mieszko, and not for example the beginnings of the dynasty or its gaining power over Poland. The core of the tradition comprised however the genealogical data concerning the closest family of the rulers. Maybe the instrument of its transmission was some form of annals carried by Ungar to Rome, or maybe some kind of copy of one, on the basis of which the bishop created his story of the rulers of Poland. It is interesting that the tradition did not affect the historical awareness of the subjects of the Piasts. The story of the baptism survived, but the genealogical details somehow became separated from it. Perhaps that was connected with the manner of writing the chronicle connected with the court milieu at the end of the period of the reign of Bolesław the Brave. The older version, preserved by the churchmen of Gniezno, was lost in the times of the collapse of the first Piast state. The only trace which remains is in Thietmar's text.

It is not however just the existence of dry genealogical notes in the text of Thietmar that informs us of the existence of a lively dynastic tradition in the milieu of the Piasts. A very important fragment seems also to be conveyed by the story of the fate of Bruno of Querfurt.

Domus Boleslai

Despite his negative assessment of Bolesław the Brave, the chronicler did not condemn every deed of the Piast ruler. He noted some of the positive characteristics of Mieszko's son, above all connected with his efforts to spread the influence of the Church.¹²² This is probably why, when writing of the activities of Bruno of Querfurt, he mentions the purchase by the Polish ruler of the martyr's body and those of his companions from the hands of their killers.¹²³ The latter fact, which clearly recalls to mind the identical type of action of the ruler in the case of the martyred St Wojciech,¹²⁴ was the occasion of a specific

¹²² See Andrzej Pleszczyński, *Gorliwość neofitów. Religijność osobista Przemyślidów i Piastów w X i na początku XI wieku*, [in:] *Przemyślidzi i Piastowie—twórcy i gospodarze średniowiecznych monarchii. Materiały z konferencji naukowej, Gniezno 5–7 maja 2004 roku.*, Józef Dobosz ed., Poznań 2006, *passim*.

¹²³ *Kronika Thietmara*, VI, 94–95, pp. 450–453.

¹²⁴ Józef Dobosz presents a broader interpretation of this document in the context of the construction of the foundations of a Polish church by Bolesław, *Ibid.*, *Monarchia i możni wobec Kościoła w Polsce do początku XIII wieku*, Poznań 2002, pp. 68–69.

assessment by the chronicler. Due to this, Thietmar noted, the ruler “secured the solace of his house for the future”.¹²⁵ Such a presentation of the effects of Bolesław’s actions is exceptional. Writing of Bolesław’s ransoming of the body of St Wojciech, he mentions that on the news of the martyrdom of St Wojciech, Emperor Otto III raised praiseful hymns to God in heaven, joyful that he had obtained for himself a heavenly intercessor.¹²⁶ Our attention however is drawn to Thietmar’s use of the word “domus” to describe the community of people associated with Bolesław who were to obtain benefits from the ransoming of Bruno’s body. In Thietmar’s “Chronicon” we find that the meanings of the word “domus” that dominate are the basic ones (a building of varying nature: house, church, castle, palace) or in the sense “family home” (though only in phrases concerning returns from a long journey, mainly military expeditions). Only once is the word “domus” used as a synonym for a certain collective group, that is the Church as the “house of the Lord”,¹²⁷ and the same term is used by the chronicler for the description of the structure of a church.¹²⁸

The context of the introduction of this controversial word in the passage of text analysed here would exclude assigning it any of the meanings in which it is used elsewhere in the “Chronicon” noted above. Apart from rejecting the obvious meaning of house as a building, on stylistic grounds we should also discount translating it as “family home”, since the “Chronicon”—other than in the precisely-defined situations mentioned above which obviously do not apply here—uses the term “patria”. We should therefore accept that in no other place did the historiographer use this word in the same meaning as he gave it in the text about Bruno. It seems likely that this phrase was received by Thietmar together with the rest of the story. We know of the latter only indirectly through Thietmar’s work, therefore we can only suspect that its creator, and then the chronicler, used the term “domus Bolezlai” in the same meaning as it had among the elite of the Reich in relation to other rulers. There is a whole series of examples of the use of this type of formulation from the tenth and eleventh centuries

¹²⁵ *Kronika Thietmara*, VI, 95, p. 453.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, in fact servant—“famulum”. The significance of this expression with reference to concepts of the role of the emperor in the Roman Church in the Ottonian period has been explored by Stanisław Trawkowski, *Eschatologiczny aspekt biskupiej służby królowi w ujęciu Thietmara*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Opuscula mediavistica*, pp. 50–56.

¹²⁷ *Kronika Thietmara*, VII, 36, pp. 518–519.

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*, VII, 62, pp. 556–557.

created in the context of the functioning of imperial power. Always the term “domus” refers to the general group of people subject to a ruler and those around him, beginning with his kinsmen, and ending with his servants of lower rank. The word “domus” only gains the more restricted meaning of “family, ruling dynasty” in the twelfth century.¹²⁹ Rudolf Glaber (c. 980–c. 1064), almost a contemporary of Thietmar used the term “domus” in his “Five Books of History”, that is a chronicle of events occurring about the year 1000, to denote the whole political community subject to a ruler, whether they were emperor or king, queen or prince.¹³⁰

It seems therefore very probable that in Thietmar’s story we are dealing with the use of the word in its wider sense. In the passage concerned, the potential of Bruno to act as a future intercessor is mentioned—a guardian of the interests of the whole “house” of Bolesław, not just his kinsmen and descendants but the whole milieu associated with the ruler and maybe even his whole subject people. It was on their behalf that as a ruler Bolesław was acting. For whom, however, would such a definition of the aims of Bolesław as a ruler be so obvious that they used a term to describe it which was normally used to describe the realities of life of the aristocracy of the West?

Just as in the case of the “saga of the Piasts” discussed above, this passage of Thietmar’s “Chronicon” seems to belong to a tradition which is separate from the main theme of the chronicler’s story. The historiographer placed the passage under discussion in the part of the text which he himself defined as containing pieces of the narrative thread mention of which had been omitted earlier.¹³¹ From insertions into that passage we may deduce that Thietmar could have constructed the whole of the story on the basis either of traditions which were active in the milieu of Archbishop Tagino, from whose hands Bruno

¹²⁹ This problem was presented in a wider context by Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Haus und Ökonomie im früheren Mittelalter*, [in:] *Person und Gemeinschaft im Mittelalter. Karl Schmid zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*, Gerd Althoff, Dieter Geuenich, Otto Gerhard Oexle, Joachim Wollasch eds, Sigmaringen 1988, pp. 114–122, and with emphasis on the significance of the early Medieval “house” in the lives of the aristocracy, *Ibid.*, *Individuen und Gruppen in der lotharingischen Gesellschaft des 10. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *L’abbaye de Gorze au X^e siècle*, Michel Parisse, Otto Gerhard Oexle eds, Nancy 1993 (=Collection “Lorraine”), pp. 110–112.

¹³⁰ Ulrich Meyer, *Soziales Handeln im Zeichen des “Hauses”. Zur Ökonomik in der Spätantike und im früheren Mittelalter*, Göttingen 1998 (=Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, vol. 140), pp. 181–185.

¹³¹ *Kronika Thietmara*, VI, 94, pp. 450–451, first paragraph.

received ordination as bishop in Merseburg,¹³² or from the words of the father of the tragically slain missionary mentioned throughout the whole story.¹³³ Thietmar refers to him in one other context¹³⁴ and it seems that he may be regarded as the source of the anecdote under discussion. Archbishop Tagino, a collaborator of Henry II who after 1004 was attempting to render the Polish church administratively dependent on the archdiocese of Magdeburg had no reason to maintain warm memories of Bolesław the Brave. It seems more probable that a positive picture of Bolesław, though a generalised one based on knowledge of his relationship between the saint and ruler, was most likely to have been maintained in Bruno's close family. Its members, and especially Bruno's father, could have possessed the most current information obtained first of all from the bishop himself and after his death maybe even from Bolesław's messengers bearing the information about the paying of ransom for his body. The martyr's death of Bruno and the accompanying fame could have aroused interest in the history of the family among those around them,¹³⁵ and this may have prompted its members to recall the most important facts about the life of the deceased. In such circumstances, can we regard the expression "domus Boleslai" in the meaning mentioned above as evidence of a socio-political idea functioning in the Polish ruling milieu? Or is it only a trace of a concept which arose in the Saxon milieu, in the circle of the family of Bruno and then accepted by the local clergy? It is extremely difficult to give an answer to these questions, mainly because Thietmar's "Chronicon" is regarded as one of the first and completely independent sources of information about Bruno.¹³⁶ No other accounts, neither those which arose in the eleventh century (such

¹³² *Ibidem*, VI, 94, pp. 450, 453.

¹³³ *Ibidem*, pp. 450–451.

¹³⁴ Writing of the direct encouragement by his dead son that Bruno's father should enter a monastery, *ibidem*, VI, 95, pp. 452–453.

¹³⁵ It is worth noting that the short genealogy of the family of Bruno which is preserved in the "Magdeburg Chronicles" begins with his father (see *Annales magdeburgenses*, Heinrich Georg Pertz ed., [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 16, Stuttgart 1859, p. 164, sub anno 1009). The stimulus for writing it down seems to have been that one of his distant forebears Lothair had been raised to the dignity of emperor, however that much later compilation derived most probably from earlier records connected with Bruno's life which preserved the names of his father and mother.

¹³⁶ For older views on the genesis of the literature concerning Bruno, see *Vita et passio sancti Brunonis episcopi et martyris Querfordensis*, wyd. Heinrich Kauffmann, [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 30, fasc. 3, Hiersemann 1926, pp. 1350–1359.

as that ascribed to Bruno's companion Wipert or in Peter Damiani's "Life of St Romuald"), nor those based on local, mainly Saxon, versions of the traditions of the life and death of Bruno which arose in later times (up to the fifteenth century), contain the phrase we are discussing or any description of the stay of the martyr in Poland.¹³⁷ Moreover in a later period, Bolesław is actually represented as ruler of pagans who were converted to Christianity by the martyr but were also responsible for his death.¹³⁸

This gives greater significance to the fact that the chronicler introduced the narrative about Bolesław paying ransom for the body of Bruno into his work, even though its content could only with difficulty be made to agree with the negative picture of Bolesław which Thietmar presents in the main narrative of his sixth book. The mention of this event connected with the almost identical gesture of buying back the body of St Wojciech appears only in this chronicle. Both seem to tell of the specific form of the religiosity of Bolesław the Brave and his intentions of giving support to the Polish Church with the cult of holy martyrs and missionaries: Wojciech, Bruno, The Five Martyred Brothers.¹³⁹ We may suspect that the ruler could see his activity in this sphere as in some way assuring the future of the rule of his "house" in the here and now. Bruno, who undoubtedly during his stay in Poland had contact with the royal court, had unambiguous views on the dependence of the future of rulers and their relations with saints. According to him Otto II brought upon himself and the whole Empire a series of disasters,¹⁴⁰ because he had not restored the abolished bishopric of

¹³⁷ The Polish episode of the life of Bruno is omitted in the brief account of Wipert written about 1020 and surviving as an appendix to an eleventh century *Codex Casinensis* containing the "Life" of St Wojciech. It is doubtful whether the scribe placing it alongside the story of Wojciech, in which Poland plays a rather important role, would have omitted to include—had they been present—any mentions of Bolesław in Wipert's narrative. The latter was published in the commentary to Georg Heinrich Pertz ed., *Vita sancti Adalberti episcopi*, [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 4, Hannover 1841, pp. 579–580. The life of the martyr is presented in a similar manner, without mentioning Bolesław in: *Ex Petri Damiani Vita Sancti Romualdi*, Georg Waitz ed., [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 4, Hannover 1841, pp. 850–853; *Annales magdeburgenses*, p. 164 (sub anno 1009); *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, L. Weiland ed., [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 23, Hannover 1874, pp. 89–90; and a late story, based however on a lost "liber gestorum" of Bruno, *Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, Guill. Schum ed. [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 14, Hannover 1883, pp. 383, 389, 394–395.

¹³⁸ *Vita et passio sancti Brunonis episcopi et martyris Querfordensis*, pp. 1364–1366.

¹³⁹ See below, pp. 383–386.

¹⁴⁰ *Sancti Adalberti...vita altera*, 10, p. 9.

Merseburg and thus offended St Lawrence; Henry II on the other hand was the greatest of the emperors because he made right that wrong. Within such a logic it would be natural for Bolesław to attempt to assure benefits for himself and his milieu by seeking support from God through the intercessions of holy martyrs. The chronicler, a contemporary of Bruno and who knew him, was fully able to accept such an attitude. Maybe it was this which led him to preserve the interesting account of the ransoming of Bruno's body? It does not seem, however, that he himself fully agreed with its significance. Directly following the remark about the future of the House of Bolesław (which however is not developed further) he added that "through the triumph of such a great bishop, omnipotent God had honoured, and—as I hope—saved him [Henry II—P.W.]".¹⁴¹ The use of the personal pronoun leaves no doubt, the remark about the hope of the "House of Bolesław" could belong to tradition, but the connection between the activities of Bruno with God's plans for Henry II is the invention of Thietmar, and fitting into the framework of his ecclesiological views including those concerning the relationship between the emperor and his bishops.¹⁴² In this manner the significance, very positive with regard to Bolesław, of this whole story has also been modified by the author in a spirit fitting with the main part of the narration of the "Chronicon".

Summing up, we may recap a few of the conclusions resulting from the above analyses. The positive evaluation of the attitudes of Bolesław the Brave in his relations with Bruno are rather unlikely to have come from the ecclesiastical milieu of the archdiocese of Magdeburg. Even ignoring the significance of the contemporary political interests of that circle, other written sources which arose later than Thietmar's work do not contain information concerning the Polish ruler. The person having detailed knowledge about the story of Bruno and keeping his memory alive, including his exalted relationship with the Polish ruler, could very well have been the father of the martyr, who might have been Thietmar's informant. The preservation of the tradition about the efforts of Bolesław to assure benefits for his "house" (in the meaning of "milieu" and "power" at the same time) could have been obtained by Bruno's father directly from the Polish court,¹⁴³ equally however it

¹⁴¹ *Kronika Thietmara*, VI, 95, pp. 452–453.

¹⁴² See S. Trawkowski, *Eschatologiczny aspekt biskupiej służby królowi*, pp. 53–54.

¹⁴³ Accepting the hypothesis identifying the "second archbishop" of the times of Bolesław the Brave mentioned by Gallus Anonymous with Bruno might confirm

could have also come from Bruno's own family circle and constructed around basic information about the generosity of the Polish ruler towards the missionary and his efforts to obtain his body. Nevertheless the bare fact of the existence in the anecdote of that lexical form, as we have seen, exceptional in the "Chronicon", demonstrate that at least in certain Saxon aristocratic circles already at the beginning of the eleventh century, there existed a conviction that Bolesław ruled, almost like an emperor, through a "house" or at least on behalf of it. Such an opinion, beneficial to a ruler conducting a war against the Reich, and whose son in the near future would be regarded by the clergy of the Empire regarded as a barbarian unworthy of a crown, could not have emerged from a vacuum and seems to be an echo of the propaganda efforts of the court of Bolesław the Brave.

This is not the only trace of Thietmar having access to a version of history which is positively biased towards the rulers of Poland. Although the chronicler did not intend to leave them without his own comments, they clearly show the use by the Piast ruler of various means for the construction of his image of a great ruler who is an intercessor between east and west.

Bolesław in Kiev

This appears most clearly in Thietmar's text where he presents an extensive account of Bolesław's victory in Russia, his conquest of Kiev and seizure of many treasures. What is more interesting, at the same time he describes those events using the term "sad and harmful events".¹⁴⁴ This formulation is surprising since the great destruction which was done in Russia was, at least according to Thietmar's own text, done "on our advice".¹⁴⁵ It seems that we are witness to a

the persistence in Polish tradition of a memory of the special role of Bruno and his collaboration with Bolesław the Brave, see Piotr M.A. Cywiński, *Druga metropolia Bolesława Chrobrego a Brunon z Querfurtu*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 108 (2001), nr 4, pp. 12-14.

¹⁴⁴ *Kronika Thietmara*, VIII, 31, p. 621.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, VIII, 31, p. 621: "multum ei nostro fame nocuit". In Jedlicki's translation: "duże poczynił tam szkody za naszą namową" [he caused great damage there at our incitement], *ibidem*, p. 618, while Werner Trillmich (Thietmar von Merseburg, *Chronik*, ed. and translated by Werner Trillmich, epilogue by Stefan Patzold, eighth edition, Darmstadt 2002 (=Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 9), p. 473, line 23) proposes "Hier... auf unseren Rat schweren Schaden angerichtet". The resolutions of both translators are arbitrary, since the chronicler uses the word "famen" both in the meaning of "request" (II, 32), as well as "advice" (VIII, 23),

deliberate attempt by the creator of this story, who in this manner by including the Polish ruler Bolesław in “us”, gives credit for the victory to the Empire. Since, however, Thietmar does not have too flattering an opinion about the whole expedition, we may suspect therefore that this phrase in fact does not come from the writer himself, but from his informant. This could have been one of the German milites who had accompanied Bolesław, and of the numbers and fate of which Thietmar had detailed information, including being able to name one of the more significant among the fallen.¹⁴⁶ This hypothesis would make the phrase “on our advice” understandable and prompts us to accept this explanation of events as the most probable. If the “advice” of the German warriors accompanying Bolesław led to him doing serious harm to Kievan Rus and therefore achieved victory, so that these knights gained great renown and the whole unclear passage gains sense. How then to explain the negative assessment of the whole expedition?

The only element in the further narration of the historian which would justify the negative assessment of the deeds done by the ruler in Rus concerns the “unjust” seizure of the sister of the defeated Kievan ruler, Jaroslav for himself (we understand as a concubine). Thietmar writes of “Bolesław, that old fornicator, unmindful of her husband, unlawfully took her away”.¹⁴⁷ Only here in this passage of the text do we find an unambiguous criticism of the Polish leader. That this could have been sufficient reason for Thietmar’s critical attitude towards the whole expedition is indicated by the extreme disapproval of adultery Thietmar expresses earlier in this book and the severity of the punishment which is meted out for it and which he regarded as suitable.¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless the chronicler does not develop this theme in this part of his text. Instead of that, he gives a picture of the magnificent victory of Bolesław, the culminating point of which was the sending of royal messengers of the Polish ruler to Henry II and the eastern Emperor. We are struck by the detail of the information which Thietmar possesses on this topic. It is not particularly surprising that he knew of the legate sent to the western Empire, but how did he know what Bolesław offered the ruler in the east? Thietmar named the Polish ruler’s emissary

and in addition somewhat more frequently gives it the basic sense of “words” (prologues to books II and V).

¹⁴⁶ *Kronika Thietmara*, VIII, 31, pp. 620–621.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, VIII, 32, pp. 621, 623.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, VIII, 3, pp. 582–585.

sent to Henry as Abbot Tuni who he describes as “beloved” (“dilectum”) by his lord. Perhaps it was from him that Thietmar obtained his information? The German knights had apparently earlier been sent home together with the other auxiliary troops,¹⁴⁹ and therefore could not have served as informants on the topic of the diplomatic consequences of the expedition.¹⁵⁰ Tuni on the other hand, according to the information of Thietmar himself¹⁵¹ was a trusted retainer of Bolesław, and had taken part in earlier diplomatic missions to Henry II. As a diplomat in the service of his ruler, he would have every reason to communicate to the German aristocracy in the circle of the emperor the picture of the power of his lord which we find so interesting, and especially to show that Bolesław was not only a collaborator of one emperor, but that he maintained relationships with both of the great powers of Christendom.¹⁵² Thus by an indirect route, perhaps through another narrator who amalgamated the reports of the German knights and the echo of the mission of Tuni, the whole story arrived on the pages of the “Chronicon”. Again in itself it was originally rather flattering towards the Polish ruler, but then the emphasis placed on the moral dimension of Bolesław’s actions, so typical for Thietmar, meant that his version of the story differed fundamentally from the original vision it presented of Bolesław as a ruler, especially that part of it which we have linked to the diplomacy of Tuni, or at least someone else closely associated with the ruler.

Thietmar seems to be disconcerted and uncertain how to assess this tradition telling of Bolesław sending emissaries to the greatest rulers of the time, together with his addressing a veiled threat to the emperor of the East. Directly after this passage he added: “among all of these, omnipotent God stands firm, mercifully revealing what pleases him and profits us”.¹⁵³ The hesitation of the chronicler over the sig-

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, VIII, 32, pp. 622–623.

¹⁵⁰ For another view, see J. Strzelczyk, *Bolesław Chrobry*, p. 186, who indicates the German knights as Thietmar’s informants.

¹⁵¹ *Kronika Thietmara*, VII, 20, pp. 496–497; VII, 21, p. 499.

¹⁵² The gesture of Bolesław I could have had real political significance both for the Byzantine emperor (a potential Polish-Hungarian alliance against him), as well as Henry II (in conflict with Byzantium over Italy), see Maciej Salamon, “*Amicus*” or “*hostis*”? *Bolesław the Valiant and Byzantium*, [in:] *Byzantium and Its Neighbours From the Mid-9th Till the 12th Centuries. Papers read at the International byzantinological symposium, Bechyně, September 1990*, Vladimír Vavřínek ed., Prague 1993, pp. 114–120 (here the earlier literature may be found).

¹⁵³ *Kronika Thietmara*, VIII, 33, p. 623.

nificance of the presented picture suggests he had not subjected it to far-reaching modifications, otherwise he would know what attitude to adopt towards this anecdote. It is difficult in its light to accept that Bolesław's expedition to Kiev and sending of emissaries to Byzantium were elements of the obligations Bolesław had towards the western Empire.¹⁵⁴ If that had been the case, the story recounted by Thietmar would have to be regarded as a narrative prepared for the imperial court. Why then would the chronicler, closely associated with Henry II, have not emphasised this in his account? It is therefore possible that this story is a witness to the construction in the circle of the Polish elite of a tradition of the authority of Bolesław as a ruler who was (almost?) an equal of the greatest powers of Christendom. A tradition which, by different routes entered the consciousness of the aristocracy of the empire and aroused there a certain amount of discomfort. This was despite the real alliance between Bolesław the Brave and emperor Henry II, a tradition that a century later still affected the vision of the history of the Piasts embodied in the "Chronicle" of Gallus Anonymus.

This was not however the only tradition created on the basis of events in Poland which reached Thietmar from Poland.

One or Many Piast Traditions in the "Chronicon" of Thietmar?

The "Chronicon" of Thietmar is a treasury of themes taken from many different sources, also from tradition which had arisen in Poland in the milieu of the ruler and in the main centres of ecclesiastical activity. They are especially valuable because in the later written sources created in Poland we find only echoes of some of them, sometimes very faint ones (the greatness of Bolesław's authority in the political sphere, and also the creation of the foundations of religion) and many have been totally lost (the details preserved in the "Saga about the Piasts"). In the "Chronicon" there are not many of this type of anecdote, which does not mean that they did not function in a wider context than contemporary Poland. We may indicate: 1) the story of Mieszko and Dobrawa, information about the genealogical history of Bolesław and Emnilda; 2) the account of the beginnings of the Church in Poland;

¹⁵⁴ This is what Jacek Banaszekiewicz (*Bolesław i Peredysława. Uwagi o uroczystości stanowienia władcy w związku z wejściem Chrobrego do Kijowa*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 97 (1990), nr 3–4, p. 27) thinks, following the theses of Herbert Ludat.

3) the efforts to introduce Christianity among a resistant population, but which Bolesław engaged in to ensure his own salvation; 4) the vision of the excellent political position of Bolesław after the capture of Kiev, almost equal to that of the western emperor himself.

Part of these narratives could have come from written sources now no longer extant. In particular we are tempted to postulate that the genealogical details of the Piasts may have come from some form of annals created in the milieu of the Polish court and brought out of the country by Unger. In it might equally have been found records concerning the baptism of Mieszko I almost identical to those known from later Polish sources. They would have served as the basis for the account of the beginnings of the Church in Poland and also the successive marriages of Mieszko I and Bolesław the Brave. Let us emphasise the extent of the coherence of the group of values that emerge from the fragments of tradition presented above. Only a minor role was played by the topic of the virtues of a warrior, this aspect can better be reconstructed from the stories of the opponents of the Piasts.¹⁵⁵ In the fragments which we might hypothetically link with the Piast court, the most important characteristics of the ruler, whether it is Mieszko or Bolesław, were connected with his care for his people, especially concerning the dimension of their eternal salvation. With this was however connected a clear emphasis on the extent of the power of the ruler in his own country. It was equally important to accent the significance of the Piasts in the surrounding world through commemorating both political triumphs as well as the creation of kinship links with rulers and aristocracy from outside their own country. On the other hand the importance of the perpetuation of the clan itself, or the family as such, remains unclear. The scrupulousness with which the marriages and offspring of the dynasty were counted may be taken as evidence of the great significance that could have been placed on that fact. In the final analysis, it is therefore possible that the key to understanding this hypothetical lost tradition of the Piasts from the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century is the term “domus” analysed above, the community of family and the subject population.

Such a view of the history of the ruling dynasty did not put down permanent roots in the milieu of the court of the Piasts. Maybe a result of the unstable political situation was the placing of more emphasis

¹⁵⁵ More on this P. Wiszewski, *Domus Boleszlai*, pp. 584–587.

on the ruling family as a separate entity, ennobled with the virtues of eminent members of the dynasty. Traces of such a picture of the history of the Piasts can already be found on the tomb monument of Bolesław the Brave.

5. THE EPITAPH OF BOLESŁAW THE BRAVE

The tomb of Bolesław the Brave stood in the cathedral in Poznan until it was destroyed by the collapse in 1790 of the side chapel which contained it. Descriptions of the monument indicate that it bore a versified epitaph in Latin which contained a brief list of the deeds of the Piast rulers shown against the background of the history of the country over which they ruled, and placed on the tomb of the greatest of the representatives of the dynasty. Can one imagine a better source of information for our study? The optimum case would be one that could be precisely dated and with reference to which it is possible to state with precision the circle of people responsible for its creation. Sadly we cannot say this about the monument under consideration here. Despite this, it would be a crime not to attempt to make use of the information it gives. It contains a picture of the tradition concerning the Piasts which clearly differs from the one presented above; Bolesław as the founder of the power of the clan both in the secular as well as sacral spheres, his father Mieszko I as a person with uncertain status, a pagan who was unable to christianise the country. We see here then a clear sign of the “absorption” into the second tradition of elements present in the first version (that concerning the ground breaking role of Mieszko I in the conversion of Poland to Christianity), except that everything positive became linked to the personage of Bolesław I. Of crucial significance therefore is to determine when this epitaph came into being and in connection with this, when the tradition which it embodies functioned. In order to be able to answer this question, it is necessary to conduct a series of detailed source-criticism analyses. The results, however, are worth the effort.

The Genesis of the Monument

The term *crux interpretatorum* can be applied to the whole of the monument under discussion. Scholars date its creation to some time between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. They engage in debate

about the form of its contents (that is the original pattern of the lines forming it) and its external form: whether it had always existed as a single epitaph in the form known to us from the written sources, or whether that was preceded by a brief epitaph and a tablet accompanying it which was richer in content, and finally whether the versified form of the text was originally written on parchment and only secondarily transferred to a stone tablet. There have been a number of previous presentations of the genesis of the monument under discussion,¹⁵⁶ and this frees us from the necessity of referring to the whole literature here. This is especially the case when previous discussions have failed to produce any widely accepted resolution of the source-criticism questions of interest to us. There is only a modest number of facts about which there is agreement among all investigators.

The “Epitaph” is known to us in the form of a few dozen written descriptions. Until now, it has been accepted that the first copy of the “Epitaph”¹⁵⁷ comes from about 1490, though there are references to it as early as 1422. The stone slab on which it was inscribed formed the top of a sarcophagus-tomb of Late Medieval form which had been constructed to replace an earlier royal tomb which was in a ruinous state. It was rebuilt in the second half of the fourteenth century by order of Kazimierz the Great, the last king of Poland from the Piast dynasty (ruled 1333–1370).¹⁵⁸ This does not have to mean that the text of the epitaph arose in the fourteenth century. The most important determinations concerning the dating of the text were the result of discussions on the form of the verse and the information content contained in the source. On its basis the monument (or the text on which it is based) can be dated, and it is only on their basis can we accept or reject the theories concerning the material carrier of the message, whether it was a grave slab or the sarcophagus of Bolesław I. The results of these investigations however only allow us to date the creation of the text in

¹⁵⁶ Ryszard Gansiniec, *Nagrobek Bolesława Chrobrego*, “Przegląd Zachodni”, 7 (1951), nr 7/8, pp. 359–537; Brygida Kürbis, *Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego. Analiza literacka i historyczna*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii*, vol. 2, pp. 243–282 (in the discussion here I refer to this latest edition); Danuta Zydorek, *W sprawie tradycji o pochówku Bolesława Chrobrego—raz jeszcze*, [in:] *Scriptura custos memoriae*, p. 513, footnote 10.

¹⁵⁷ For a full list see B. Kürbis, *Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego*, pp. 273–282.

¹⁵⁸ Józef Birkenmajer, *Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego (Próba ustalenia tekstu)*, [in:] *Munera philologica Ludovico Ćwikliński oblata*, Poznań 1936, p. 369. For an overview of opinions, see B. Kürbis, *Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego*, pp. 255–257.

very broad terms, to some time from the second half of the eleventh century to at least the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁹

It seems, however, that an analysis of the contents of the monument can allow us to arrive at a more precise date. In the “Epitaph” we find mention of the “faithless” Mieszko I, the father of Bolesław born of the “true-believing” Dobrawa. It is highly unlikely that such a narration could have arisen at the time of or after the writing of the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymus in the first quarter of the twelfth century. Gallus clearly indicates that Mieszko had to accept baptism in order to become husband of Dobrawa and thus Bolesław’s father.¹⁶⁰ This version of the beginning of the royal marriage was repeated in all successive versions of the history of the Piasts. Here in the “Epitaph”, the father of Bolesław was described using the word “perfidus”, and it is difficult to imagine this word is being applied to a neophyte.¹⁶¹ The language of the Middle Ages seems somewhat unambiguously to link it above all with pagans.¹⁶² In the text of the “Epitaph”, there seems no reason to treat its use here in any other way. On the contrary, it involves an opposition “credula [Dobrawa]—perfidus [Mieszko]” indicating a deliberate attempt to emphasise that Mieszko was a pagan at the time of the birth of Dobrawa’s son. Whether the author of the work devoted to Bolesław knew that the ruler’s father had been baptized as a Christian is another question. In the final analysis it seems hardly credible that after the first quarter of the twelfth century the author of a text intended for official commemoration of Bolesław I could write of the conception of the subject of the text by a pagan Mieszko.

If however such a text existed in Poznan cathedral before the arrival of Gallus Anonymus in Poland, why did its contents have no influence on the form of his “Chronicle”? It is possible that the historian did not know the whole contents of the “Epitaph” since the text was not present on Bolesław’s grave at the time. Some investigators have postulated

¹⁵⁹ This was the verdict finally reached by J. Birkenmajer, *Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego*, p. 370. Both earlier and later attempts to more closely define the dating of the monument relied on criteria other than the chronology of this form of versification in medieval culture.

¹⁶⁰ See below, pp. 183–184.

¹⁶¹ Brygida Kürbis, *Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego*, p. 265 supports this meaning of the word.

¹⁶² We find a beautiful and direct definition in the “Life” of St Otto of Bamberg written by Herbord (*Herbordi Dialogus*, II, 35, p. 129): “(...) recte perfidiam fidei dicimus contrariam (...). Perfidus enim est, quia non credit in Deum”.

that the first two lines, giving brief information “hic iacet in tumba...” of the burial place of the ruler, were initially separate from the rest of the work, listing his deeds and characteristics, this seems very likely. These first lines differ from the rest in both in the subject as well as the manner of their versification, and could have been composed in order to be directly inscribed on the grave slab of the king.¹⁶³ Besides this, when it was inscribed on the tomb in the fourteenth century, the originally eleventh century epitaph might have been slightly, but significantly altered (for example the change of the original Latin cognomen “gloriosus” to Polish “Chrabri” [Brave/Valiant]).¹⁶⁴ According to this theory, the second part of the “Epitaph” would have arisen as a separate work or maybe inscribed in the margin of a liturgical codex,¹⁶⁵ or

¹⁶³ We should note a very similar Czech analogy to such a form of epitaph which is the funerary inscription of Hemma (d. 1006) the wife of Boleslav II reported by Cosmas (*Chronica Boëmorum* I 39,72), “Que fuit ut gemma, vilis iacet en cinis Hemma/Dic, precor: ‘Huic anime da veniam, Domine’”, on this epitaph, see Marie Bláhová, *Vier Epitaphe aus den böhmischen mittelalterlichen Chroniken und Annalen*, [in:] *De litteris, manuscriptis, inscriptionibus... Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Walter Koch*, Theo Kölzer, Franz-Albrecht Borschlagel, Christian Friedl, Goerg Vogeler eds, Wien/Köln/Weimar 2007, pp. 272–273.

¹⁶⁴ Brygida Kürbis, *Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego*, p. 261, drew attention to the fact that in its present form, the expression “Chrabri tu est dictus” is rather awkward with reference to the metre of the line, which would sound better if it is replaced by a phrase such as “Gloriosus dictus”. Such a version of the inscription could very well have come from the eleventh century and be a reflection of the tradition which is also noted by Gallus Anonymus [*Anonima tzw. Galla Kronika czyli Dzieje książąt i władców polskich/Galli Anonymi Cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Poloniae*, ed. with introduction and commentary by Karol Maleczyński, Cracow 1952 (=Pomniki Dziejowe Polski/Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Seria II/Nova Series, vol. II) (cited henceforth as *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*)] Gallus names Bolesław “gloriosus”, while the cognomen “Chrabri” appears only in the heading of chapter 6 of Book I which has been later introduced into some manuscripts (*Galli Anonymi Cronicae* p. 16, footnote a–b). In the fourteenth century however when the tomb was rebuilt, the Polish cognomen “Chrobry” was probably more popular, and was used to replace the original Latin word “Gloriosus”. The cognomen “Chrobry” is not found being used to refer to Bolesław I in the “Chronicle of the Poles” of Master Wincenty written in Little Poland at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It only appears in the “Great Poland Chronicle” at the end of that century (*Chronica Poloniae Maioris*, ed. and commentary by Brygida Kürbis, Warszawa 1970 (=MPH, N.S., vol. 8), p. 16). It is that period which can be indicated as seeing the beginning of the popularity of that cognomen, and only then could it have strayed onto the pages of later copies of the text of Gallus Anonymus as well as inserted into the Epitaph to Bolesław I.

¹⁶⁵ Brygida Kürbis, *Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego*, p. 260, even suggested that the whole of the “Epitaph” could have been a work of literature originally written alongside the funerary songs known from the text of Gallus Anonymus and written on the occasion of the death of the ruler and only later transferred to the grave of the king, or somewhere in its vicinity.

perhaps inscribed on a commemorative tablet on the cathedral wall.¹⁶⁶ It is therefore possible that due to the first two lines of the “Epitaph” from about the middle of the eleventh century Bolesław was known as “Boleslaus Gloriosus”. Gallus Anonymous consistently writes of him however as “magnus”,¹⁶⁷ but only once added to his text the cognomen “gloriosus” (perhaps significantly, when he describes his death).¹⁶⁸

We believe that it is therefore possible that the chronicler knew—at least indirectly—of the “Epitaph” in its original, shorter, form. We are inclined to accept the hypothesis that the first two lines of this text arose as the epitaph of Bolesław I in the eleventh century. At the same time there was composed a more extensive text which was inscribed on a memorial tablet which was for various reasons forgotten before the beginning of the twelfth century but was displayed adjacent to the grave slab.¹⁶⁹ The close relationship of both parts of the “Epitaph” is shown not only by the fact that the more extensive part only supplemented and developed the content contained in the first two lines. Above all however it is the more extensive part which contains the basic element allowing the identification of the deceased, his name. The two first lines without it could not serve as an epitaph, they would not allow the observer to identify whose grave this was. In the end, the whole text was discovered during renovations in the cathedral in the fourteenth century and transferred to the new tomb.¹⁷⁰

The “Epitaph” was written, however, in the times of the reigns of Mieszko II or Kazimierz the Restorer. It is fairly unlikely that the work

¹⁶⁶ See Janusz Kęłowski, *Pomnik króla Bolesława Chrobrego—nagrobek czy relikwiarz?*, [in:] *Symbolae historiae artium. Studia z historii sztuki Lechowi Kalinowskiemu dedykowane*, Jerzy Gądomski, Adam Małkiewicz, Mieczysław Porębski, Anna Różycka-Bryzek, Klementyna Żurowska eds, Warszawa 1986, p. 263, who thought that the whole work arose in the thirteenth century.

¹⁶⁷ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 8, p. 26, line 5; I, 15, p. 35, line 12; I, 16, p. 38, line 11; I, 17, p. 40, line 3; I, 23, p. 48, line 16; I, 24, p. 50, line 9; II, 23, p. 90, line 3.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, I, 16, p. 36, line 19. All the other places where the phrase “Boleslaus gloriosus” appears are in the chapter headings and most probably come from later copyists of the chronicle, *ibidem*, p. 25, line 13, p. 26, line 14, p. 32, line 8, p. 35, line 16, p. 40, line 1.

¹⁶⁹ Though we cannot be certain, it is more probable that in the times of Kazimierz the Great, the inscription placed on the tomb was taken from a grave slab found in the church, rather than a deliberately sought literary work hidden away in some book.

¹⁷⁰ It may have been about this time, or a little later that an attempt was made in Poznań to initiate a cult of Bolesław, see Czesław Deptuła, “*Athleta Christi*”—“*Rex Poloniae*” (*Z dziejów ideologii królestwa polskiego*), “*Znak*”, 26 (1974), nr 12 (246), pp. 1603–1604, who seeks the ideological roots of that fact in the second half of the thirteenth century and dates the “Epitaph” of the ruler to the first half of the fourteenth century.

was written long after the death of Bolesław. It contains details which relate to the traditions of the times of Mieszko II, and maybe even his life (see below), and then subsequently got lost. A similarly elaborate epitaph is found on the grave of Palatine Ezzo of Lotharingia (†1034) and his wife Matylda (†1024), the parents in law of Mieszko II.¹⁷¹ It is difficult however to see them as the direct patterns of the monument under discussion. These interesting texts, though they indicate the high social position of the deceased, primarily emphasise the fact that they were the founders of the monastery at Brauweiler in which their graves are to be found. Bolesław's "Epitaph" however completely ignores his role in the formation of the Poznan diocese, in the main church of which his grave was to be found. Although therefore the copying of the form of the epitaph of Ezzo and his spouse can be discounted, the existence of these texts draws attention to the possible route by which the custom of preparation of official commemorative monuments of this type was brought to the state of the Piasts. The close relationship between Rycheza, the wife of Mieszko II and Ezzo's daughter, with the monastery at Brauweiler are well-documented, it was here that she probably intended to be the place of her burial.¹⁷²

A factor suggesting that the "Epitaph" arose in the reign of Mieszko II rather than Kazimierz the Restorer is the emphasis placed on the fact that Bolesław was crowned king at the hands of Emperor Otto III. This had especial significance to Mieszko II, but not to his son Kazimierz, for whom more important would have been highlighting in some form the continuity of the dynasty which would have been of such significance for justifying Kazimierz's right to the throne after he had been driven into exile. From a political point of view, the royal crown received by his grandfather was only a problem. The coronation of both Bolesław I and Mieszko II was badly received by Emperor Conrad II and his milieu. It was because of this that Kazimierz was able to return to power in Poland. Equally Bolesław II, if one was to

¹⁷¹ *Die lateinischen Dichter des deutschen Mittelalters. Die Ottonenzeit*, Karl Strecker ed., Leipzig 1937 (=MGH, *Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevii*, vol. V/1), pp. 288–289. Cf. B. Kürbis, *Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego*, p. 271.

¹⁷² This, among other things, has been mentioned by Michał Tomaszek, *Klasztor i jego założyciel w utrwalonej na piśmie tradycji początków zgromadzenia. Przykład benedyktyńskiego opactwa w Brauweiler*, [in:] *Causa creandi. O pragmatyce źródła historycznego*, Stanisław Rosik, Przemysław Wiszewski eds. (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis No 2783, seria Historia, vol. 171), Wrocław 2005, 268–269, here the earlier literature can be found. See also below, pp. 497–498, 501–502, the section on "Brauweiler".

search for reasons to date the text to a later period, would have had no reason for referring to the imperial source of the crown of his great grandfather, since he himself after 1076 could boast of the renewal of the royal honours at the hands of the Pope.

Let us also note the term “*verus athleta Christi*” used in the “Epitaph” with reference to Bolesław I. It is directly linked to the idea of the knightly saint of the type exemplified by St Sebastian. As will be shown in our discussion of the dedicatory letter written by duchess Matylda,¹⁷³ in it she closely links Mieszko II to the latter saint, we suggest (below) that it is probable that in the composition of her text she made use of a picture of the dynastic tradition of the Piasts which was transmitted to her by Ezzo, the father in law of Mieszko II who we have already mentioned here. The notion of the ruler as a “soldier of Christ” was therefore alive in the Polish court before the collapse of the first Piast state. We do not find, however, any reference to St Sebastian in the depiction of Bolesław Wrymouth in the “Chronicle” written by Gallus Anonymus, even though he as the conqueror of the pagan Pomeranians would have exactly matched the image of the victor over paganism. It is difficult to believe that this was an accident; in the first half of the twelfth century a suitable phrase was in use in Czech circles.¹⁷⁴ Its presence in Gallus’ “Chronicle” would therefore have been understandable if it had been in use in the contemporary group of images connected with Bolesław III. This however was apparently not the case. Knowledge of the phrase “fighting for Christ” and the notions connected with it already in the times of Bolesław the Brave could have resulted from adopting the concept for use in the court, as Bruno of Querfurt used it in his “Life” with respect to St Wojciech.¹⁷⁵ In the same work Bruno defines Bolesław as a helper of St Wojciech chosen by God.¹⁷⁶ This coincides with the idea of Bolesław as the “servant of the Lord” (and in addition having been one since childhood) which is present in the “Epitaph”. This coincidence may be

¹⁷³ B. Kürbis, *Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego*, p. 264 has already drawn attention to this.

¹⁷⁴ Writing of the death of King Wratysław in 1100, Cosmas described his behaviour using the phrase: “[he did] *velut bonus Dei athleta*”, *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, Bertold Bretholz ed., Berlin 1923 (=MGH, SRG, n.s., vol. 2), III,13, p. 174, line 22.

¹⁷⁵ *Sancti Adalberti... vita altera*, 26, p. 32, line 21 (longer version), p. 64, line 2 (shorter version).

¹⁷⁶ See above, pp. 14–16, the section on the “Vita Brunonis”.

of a very general and accidental character. But no trace of the idea of Bolesław as a servant carrying out God's commands can be found in the dynastic traditions of the Piasts after 1034. For this reason, dating of the basic part of the "Epitaph of Bolesław the Brave" to the times of Mieszko II seems very probable.¹⁷⁷

In defining the date of composition of this text, we can only hypothesise. In the same way defining the milieu in which it was created presents the same sort of problems. It seems however very probable that it was written by clergymen closely associated with the royal court at its behest. If the "Epitaph" had been composed in the milieu of the bishop of Poznan, it would be expected to have contained elements referring to the creation of the bishopric and Bolesław's participation in this. As we have seen above, however, such elements do not appear in this text. Instead, the character of Bolesław as an ideal ruler is given prominence.

In the final analysis the monument analysed here, despite all the problems connected with establishing its genesis allows us to gain some insight into the views current between 1025 and 1034 in the court of the rulers of Poland about the past of the dynasty. The form of the communication of that tradition, a lengthy epitaph, could have been taken from the tradition of the family of Mieszko II's spouse, Rycheza daughter of Ezzo of Lotharingia. Its contents however are deeply rooted in the group of views on the past of the Piast dynasty which existed in Poland at this time. In this way, after following the traces of the functioning of the dynastic tradition in the times of Mieszko I and Bolesław the Brave we have an opportunity to obtain information on its form in the times of the reign of Mieszko II.

The Dynastic Tradition embedded in the "Epitaph"

The original two-line inscription on the grave slab of Bolesław in the eleventh century said "Here in this tomb rests the ruler, honourable dove/ they called you 'Chrobry', be blessed for ever".¹⁷⁸ Such

¹⁷⁷ This hypothesis is further supported by the remark of Brygidy Kürbis, *Sacrum i profanum. Dwie wizje władzy w polskim średniowieczu*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii*, pp. 188–189 on the stylistic similarity of the Latin of the "Epitaph" with that which was used in schools at the beginning of the eleventh century.

¹⁷⁸ In relation to the versions known from fourteenth century accounts, we introduce the change proposed by Brygidę Kürbis of exchanging the cognomen "Gloriosus" for "Chrabri".

a formulation of the text refers to the funerary topos “sine fella columba”—“dove without fault”, which has a long tradition going back to Antiquity.¹⁷⁹ The emphasis here was placed not so much on the ‘purity’ of the deceased, but characteristics typical of the ethos of the aristocracy: nobleness and fame. This theme is developed in the subsequent parts of the “Epitaph”. The account begins with a presentation of the two most significant events of his childhood. The first is his baptism, as a result of which Bolesław became the “total servant of the Lord”. The second was the hair-cutting at the age of seven which was a traditional Slavic coming-of-age ceremony, the “Epitaph” records that his cut hair was sent “to Rome”.¹⁸⁰ Thanks to this the prince was placed under the special protection of St Peter and his representative the Pope.¹⁸¹ In this manner, according to the narrative given in the “Epitaph”, even on entering adulthood, he was unlike any ordinary ruler, but as a person as closely associated as was possible with the Christian sacral sphere.

In this context the comment in the subsequent part of the text, that Bolesław as “Christ’s wrestler” came to possess the “kingdoms of the Slavs, Goths and Poles” has the appearance of the logical consequence of the events surrounding his birth and entry into adulthood. The signs of the magnificence of his rule was not restricted to the wide extent of his territory. The emperor himself demanded from him “many princely gifts” (“pellens ducalia plurima dona sibi”), and in answer Bolesław sent him these gifts “as you [i.e. Bolesław—P.W.] liked, for you possessed great riches”. He did not bow before pressure, but on the contrary exhibited his generosity. This explains the acclamation following this: “O magnificent prince, glory to you Bolesław”. The introduction of the adjective “strenuus” is another element (apart from the cognomen “athleta Christi”) accenting the knightly virtues of the commemorated person, and underlining the not entirely peaceful nature of the relationship between Bolesław and the unnamed emperor.

¹⁷⁹ B. Kürbis, *Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego*, pp. 260–261.

¹⁸⁰ It does not seem to be necessary to link the word “Romam” with the verb “posedisti” as Brygida Kürbis (*ibidem*, p. 265) proposed, suggesting that “otherwise that ungrammatical and completely unclear reference to the hair cutting ceremony is without sense”. In accordance with tradition we may accept that the translation “when his hair was cut... to Rome” is clear enough, referring to sending a lock of Bolesław’s hair to the Pope.

¹⁸¹ See *ibidem*, pp. 265–267, with reservations about linking the described events with real political facts.

At the same time it emphasizes his nobility, he was a generous ruler who willingly shared his wealth, but not because he was forced to, but out of his inherent virtues. The work finishes with a summary of the achievements of the deceased ruler and shows the results which crowned his efforts. Here is a son born of an unbelieving father and mother true to the faith who conquered the “earth” through engaging in war. The crowning of these efforts was the fact that “through regard for your good fame Otto gave you a crown”, while “on account of your struggles let you have salvation”. Here the emphasis is placed on the fame Bolesław resulting from his military deeds. Basically, creating a portrait of Bolesław within the framework of the virtues outlined in the first two lines of the text presented a picture of a ruler whose social position had three foundations: being under the protection of St Peter, territorial conquests and resistance to the demands of the emperor, and finally the propriety of obtaining the royal crown.¹⁸²

The picture presented in the “Epitaph” precisely refers to political facts from the life of Bolesław, though is not always in accord with the truth. As we have shown above, the document “Dagome Iudex” may have been evidence of an attempt to exclude the eldest son of Mieszko I from the specific sacral bonds which his father, stepmother Oda and step brothers had made with St Peter. In this situation, it would have been a political necessity for Bolesław to create an analogous, or even better, relationship with the sacral sphere after taking over the patrimony of Mieszko I and the exiling of his stepmother and her sons. It is not important whether or not Mieszko I had really sent a lock of his son’s hair to Rome after the hair-cutting ceremony. If there already existed at this time the tradition that was to be written down a century later by Gallus Anonymus that at his own birthday ceremony the previously blind Mieszko I recovered his sight,¹⁸³

¹⁸² This interpretation was based on the traditional version of the “Epitaph”, we have accepted also the relative—with one change—correctness of the known versions of copies of the text as confirmed by the most important copies, cf. R. Gansiniec, *Nagrobek*, pp. 375–409. Brygida Kürbis, *Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego*, pp. 253–258, has proposed a completely different reconstruction of the “Epitaph” non the basis of acceptance of the suggestions of earlier scholars that the text had become disordered when cut on the new tomb. The changes this scholar proposes in the order of the lines within the text are not necessary to obtain a translation which would give sense to the whole “Epitaph”. There are no reasons therefore to question the form of the work that has come down to us. For more details on the writer’s polemic with the views of Brygida Kürbis see P. Wiszewski, *Domus Bolesłai*, pp. 69–73.

¹⁸³ See below, pp. 178–181.

the story about the dedication to St Peter at Bolesław's would have overshadowed it. Above all it demonstrated a much earlier establishment of privileged contact with St Peter (indeed with Christ himself—of whom Bolesław was a devoted servant), than the ones established by Mieszko I and Oda. Bolesław's rule over the “kingdoms of the Slavs, Goths and Poles” appears to reflect the “imperial” political programme of Bolesław initiated in the reign of Otto III but only developed after his death.¹⁸⁴ Bolesław's power extended over Czech lands, maybe the Bautzen region and Lusatia together with other regions of the Reich since according to Thietmar some Saxon nobles had to submit to his authority.¹⁸⁵ In turn the demands of the emperor mentioned in the “Epitaph” remind us very clearly of the conflict between Bolesław and Henry II, when Bolesław refused to do homage to him for his lands. The gifts which he is said to have given the emperor from his treasury could relate to either Otto III as well as Henry II after the Peace of Bautzen (1018). Finally the report of Bolesław obtaining the crown from Otto is an open challenge to those in the Reich who were intent on hindering Bolesław as well as Mieszko II from being crowned in 1025. It had been suggested that Bolesław took advantage of the death of Emperor Henry II, and as an insult to the ruling emperor Conrad II and prompted by pride had crowned himself and his son did the same.¹⁸⁶ The “Epitaph” contains a double denial of these opinions: in it Bolesław obtained the crown from Otto and not because of his pride but because of his great and good fame.

The topic of the especial dignity of Bolesław's power and especially his lawful use of the royal crown is consistently developed in the whole “Epitaph”. The main theme of the tradition embodied here is power based on the mutual interrelationship between the close relationship of the Piast family with the sacral sphere and with the earthly domination of the imperial authority. Our analysis of the earlier sources have shown evidence of the same values. Here however Bolesław pushes

¹⁸⁴ See the remarks of A. Pleszczyński, *Gorliwość neofitów*, pp. 97–98.

¹⁸⁵ On the possible meanings of the word “Goths” see B. Kürbis, *Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego*, pp. 268–269.

¹⁸⁶ *Gesta Chunradi imperatoris*, Harry Breslau ed. [in:] *Die Werke Wipos*, Harry Breslau ed., Hannover 1915 (=MGH SRG, vol. 61), IX, p. 31, line 33–p. 32, line 1; *Die Annales Quedlinburgenses*, Martina Giese ed., Hannover 2004 (=MGH, *Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, vol. 72), p. 578, line 15–p. 579, line 4, and the later “Magdeburg Chronicles” following the “Quedlinburg Chronicles”, *Annales Magdeburgenses*, p. 169, sub anno 1025.

his father into the shadows, while increasing the importance of his “true to the faith” mother. The written sources created in the milieu of the court in the times of Mieszko I and about the year 1000 are silent about her, but her echo may be found in the stories recorded by Thietmar of Merseburg, and deriving from the milieu of the first hierarchs of the Polish Church, bishops Unger and Jordan. Two currents of the dynastic tradition are therefore becoming more visible due to this, though their full reconstruction is impossible.

The family tradition which is preserved in the “Epitaph” coincides with the political realities of the times of Mieszko II, where the material carrier of the “Epitaph” could have been created. It also matches an account known from a completely (at least formally) independent written source, the dedicatory letter of the “Codex of Matyllda”. It is only formally independent, however, as the latter has certain themes in common with the “Epitaph” (the overshadowing of Mieszko I, the emphasis placed on the dignity and the sacral-military foundations of the royal power of Bolesław and his son Mieszko II). These could have resulted from the transfer to a new environment of Piast traditions through the court of Palatine Ezzo of Lotharingia to Matyllda. This is the subject of our next section.

6. THE CODEX OF MATYLDA

The permanence in the dynastic tradition of the Piasts of a picture of the virtues exemplifying an ideal ruler embodied in the “Epitaph of Bolesław the Brave” is convincingly shown by a dedicatory letter written far from Poland, but in accordance with the ideas existing in the milieu of Polish rulers. It was incorporated into a book of liturgical texts, today known as the “Codex of Matyllda” [Codex Mathildis],¹⁸⁷ which Matyllda countess of Lotharingia gave to the Polish king Mieszko II in the autumn of 1025.¹⁸⁸

The panegyric representation of the Piast rulers in this written source differs fundamentally from the manner of perceiving them known

¹⁸⁷ Investigations on the codex and its modern history have been extensively presented by Brygida Kürbis, *Rękopis*, [in:] *Kodeks Matylldy. Księga obrzędów z kartami dedykacyjnymi*, Brygida Kürbis and collaborators eds, Cracow 2000 (=Monumenta Sacra Polonorum, vol. 1), pp. 9–34.

¹⁸⁸ Brygida Kürbis, *Tezy o proveniencji kodeksu Matylldy*, [in:] *Kodeks Matylldy*, pp. 83, 128.

from other contemporary sources from the lands of the Empire.¹⁸⁹ It seems doubtful that the picture presented in the Codex could have arisen without the inspiration of people associated with the Polish court.¹⁹⁰ This seems confirmed by details contained in the dedicatory letter which refer to the history of Bolesław I and Mieszko II, suggesting the conviction of the creator of this document that her vision of the past of the Piasts is based on incontrovertible—from the point of view of Mieszko II—knowledge, facts which would be accepted as such by the recipient. Seeking the source of the information behind this account it has been suggested that it was Mieszko II himself. Matylda is postulated to have met him during the consecration in 1021 of the church of the Benedictine abbey in Bamberg.¹⁹¹ The presence of the two in Bamberg during this ceremony is however a further hypothesis. In addition in her dedicatory list, Matylda does not make any mention of having met Mieszko II. Since the purpose of her gift was to confirm the political alliance with him, a reference to a personal relationship with the recipient would have been appropriate.

Possibly sufficient information could have been given to her by Palatine Ezzo. His daughter Richeza had been Mieszko II's wife since 1013 and he maintained close relations with his Polish son-in-law as well as the latter's father.¹⁹² At Christmas 1025, the Count Palatine had played the main role in mediating a peace between king Conrad II and the Lotharingian-Swabian conspiracy against him (which was aiming to place another Conrad, son of our Matylda, on the throne).¹⁹³ In order to fulfil this role, Ezzo must have been a person trusted not

¹⁸⁹ Filip Antoni Dethier, the writer of the first monograph on the document noticed this, and following him Max Perlach and Stanisław Zakrzewski, see B. Kurbis, *Tezy*, p. 31, footnote 52.

¹⁹⁰ Similar views were also held by Roman Michałowski, *Princeps fundator*, pp. 96–97, 116–117, though there is no way to prove the suppositions of this author that there might have been some kind of “exchange of thoughts” between Mieszko and Matylda.

¹⁹¹ Such a hypothesis was proposed by Brygida Kürbis, *Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, [in:] *Kodeks Matyldy*, p. 79. She admitted (*ibidem*, pp. 79–80), however, that the presence of both Mieszko and Matylda at this ceremony are hypothetical.

¹⁹² See Ursula Lewald, *Die Ezzonen. Das Schicksal eines rheinischen Fürstengeschlechtes*, “Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter”, 43 (1979), pp. 130–133.

¹⁹³ The elections of 1024 connected with these disturbances were discussed by the authors of two biographies of king Conrad II: Franz-Reiner Erkens, *Konrad II. (um 990–1039). Herrschaft und Reich des ersten Salierkaisers*, Regensburg 1998, pp. 13–16, 37–41, 69–72, and Herwig Wolfram, *Konrad II. 990–1039. Kaiser dreier Reiche*, München 2000, pp. 60–63, 91–94, there also the earlier literature.

only by Conrad II, but also the conspirators. That was possible and understandable since about 1020 Ezzo's brother Hezeline, had married Adeleid, the daughter of Matylda and Conrad of Carinthia, the sister of the pretender to the throne of the Reich.¹⁹⁴ Acceptance of the hypothesis of the mediation of another party between Mieszko II and Matylda whether of Ezzon, or of the Saxon families connected to the Piasts,¹⁹⁵ has crucial importance for our discussion. It means that indicating from which elements the picture of the Piasts in Matylda's dedicatory letter was composed may aid the definition of the shape of the dynastic tradition that was alive in the court of Mieszko II, but also that propagated on the initiative of the Piasts among the elite of the Reich.

The dedicatory list is an extended and elevated glorification of Mieszko as the incarnation of the idea of a priest-king.¹⁹⁶ Writing of the successful beginning of his rule, the text asks rhetorically: "who among your predecessors/ancestors built so many churches? Who to

¹⁹⁴ Helmuth Kluger, "Propter claritatem generis". *Genealogisches zur Familie der Ezzonen*, [in:] Köln. *Stadt und Bistum in Kirche und Reich des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Odilo Engels zum 65. Geburtstag*, Hanna Vollrath, Stefan Weinfurter eds, Köln/Weimar/Wien 1993 (=Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, vol. 39), pp. 242–244.

¹⁹⁵ There is not very much which is certain about the relations which, in the period under discussion, could have linked Matylda either with the relatives of Emnilda, the mother of Mieszko II, or the Ekkehardings who were also related to the Piasts. These families would have formed, in the words of Gerard Labuda, "a group of devoted friends [of Mieszko II—P.W.] in Germany", *Ibid.*, *Mieszko II król Polski (1025–1034). Czasy przełomu w dziejach państwa polskiego*, Cracow 1992 (=Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego), p. 61. Regelinda, the daughter of Bolesław the Brave, was the daughter-in-law of Ekkehard I, the Margrave of Meissen, a close associate of Otto III, and at the same time the Saxon candidate for the royal throne in 1002, see Danuta Borawska, *Margrabia Miśni Ekkehard i Ludolfingowie*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 86 (1979), nr 4, pp. 933–934, 937–940. In 1002, when Regelinda's father-in-law contested for the throne, apart from the future Henry II, his opponent was also Herman of Swabia, Matylda's father, supported in fact by her first husband, see F.-R. Erkens, *Konrad II.*, p. 26. We may suspect that Matylda remembered about this when in 1024 she attempted to gain the crown for her son. This hypothesis concerning the relations between Matylda, Herman and Regelinda is however very complicated and dependent on assumptions which go beyond what our sources can tell us. Apart from that, the same arguments that can be used to claim the existence of contacts between Matylda and Herman about 1024, can also be used to support the thesis of her maintaining contacts with Ezzo—the royal blood of the Ludolfings also flowed in the veins of his sons. It is difficult therefore to attain any kind of resolution of these problems, apart from indicating that there were many possible relationships between Mieszko II and Matylda through several aristocratic families of the Reich.

¹⁹⁶ See Brygida Kürbis, *Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, pp. 49–60.

the glory of God joined so many languages? It was not enough for you to praise [the Lord] in your own [language] and Latin, you wanted to add Greek.¹⁹⁷ The mention of "praedecessoribus tuis" has a rhetorical character, but this does not justify omitting it in the interpretation of the text.¹⁹⁸ By this means the writer of the letter placed Mieszko in a certain group of people going back deep in time. The king stood at their head in a double sense, living at the time of writing, but equally superior to the others in the assessment of the letter's author of his deeds. Who then did the author have in mind writing of the "praedecessoribus" of Mieszko? It seems that those scholars who translate the term as "your predecessors" rather than "your ancestors" are right.¹⁹⁹ This phrase is introduced after the earlier information about Mieszko successfully having acceded to power and having dedicated its beginnings to God.²⁰⁰ No suggestion appears here which might turn the reader's attention to Mieszko's family life. The whole narrative concentrates on the topic of the exercising of power. This is a topic which fills the greater part of the letter, making it into a treatise on the ideal ruler.²⁰¹ Mieszko therefore is given a place in the social order among his predecessors in office, rather than his biological forebears.

This does not mean that family matters were excluded from the text. An attempt was made to link the deeds of the (unnamed) father and Mieszko: "Without doubt you are wholly involved in heavenly matters following the example of your father, who in the part of the world you now rule was like the source and beginning of the holy and apostolic faith. Those who the holy preachers could not rectify with their words he punished with iron, bringing this wild and barbarian people to the Lord's table".²⁰² Is there not a conflict between these words and the earlier praise of Mieszko II? If his father played such an important role in the propagation of the Christian faith, how is it possible that the son, having just begun his reign could have raised more churches

¹⁹⁷ *Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, Brygida Kürbis ed., [in:] *Kodeks Matyldy. Księga obrzędów z kartami dedykacyjnymi*, Brygida Kürbis and collaborators eds, Cracow 2000 (=Monumenta Sacra Polonorum, vol. 1), p. 139.

¹⁹⁸ In the course of an analysis of this interesting sentence, Brygida Kürbis (*Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, p. 53) omits this phrase: "[...] the information was embedded in a rhetorical question, which was at the same time praise: *quis—tantas erexit aeclesiae*, which has the comparative meaning: who built so many churches as you?"

¹⁹⁹ *Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, p. 140, footnote 1.

²⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 139.

²⁰¹ B. Kürbis, *Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, pp. 53–56.

²⁰² *Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, p. 139.

than his predecessors, and therefore his father? On account of these difficulties, some scholars have suggested that the codex was created about 1033, in order to give Mieszko II time in which to have founded some churches.²⁰³ Such a thesis however is rather improbable,²⁰⁴ and it seems that closer to the truth would be to link those words with the activities of Mieszko II and Rycheza, not only in Poland, before he gained power over the dominions of Bolesław the Brave.²⁰⁵ This would be in agreement with regarding the Palatine Ezzon (Rycheza's father) as Matylda's source of the information about the traditions of the Piast family. Since many of Mieszko's foundations were created under the influence of Rycheza,²⁰⁶ so her father might well have been concerned to present his son-in-law as the most generous founder of churches among Polish rulers. Similarly accepting that Herman of the Ekkehardings and his spouse Regelinda, the sister of Mieszko II gave Matylda some information about the traditions of the Piast house, might explain the emphasis placed on the activity of Mieszko as a church founder. Most probably at the initiative of Regelinda Mieszko had given the abbey at Bamberg a magnificent donation, the statues decorating the lectorium of the church of St Michael there, during which he was written into the "Book of the Living" of that house.²⁰⁷ This foundation in particular would have corresponded closely to the picture Matylda created of Mieszko II. The magnificent element of sculpted decora-

²⁰³ Thus Stanisław Zakrzewski, [Review:] Max Perlbach, *Zur Geschichte einer verlorenen Handschrift. Der Brief der schwäbischen Herzogstochter Mathilde an König Mieszko von Polen*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 30 (1916), fasc. 1/2, pp. 134–135. See also an overview of hypotheses concerning the dating presented Jerzy Pietrusiński, *Epistola Mathildis Suevae. O zaginionej miniaturze*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 26 (1981), pp. 58–59, 69.

²⁰⁴ This was rejected by Max Perlbach in his reply to the review of Stanisław Zakrzewski, Max Perlbach, *W sprawie Listu Matyldy do Mieszko II* [Reply to the review of Stanisław Zakrzewski], "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 30 (1916), p. 432. Political events occurring in Germany indicate that the time of the creation of the Codex was 1025, at the latest the beginning of 1026.

²⁰⁵ This seems to be the conclusion to which Brygida Kürbis (*Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, pp. 78–79) inclines, and also Marek Derwich, *Rola Tyńca w rozwoju monastycyzmu benedyktyńskiego w Polsce*, [in:] *Benedyktyni tyńcecy w średniowieczu. Materiały z sesji naukowej Wawel—Tyniec, 13–15 października 1994*, Klementyna Żurowska ed., Cracow 1995, pp. 101–102. It should however be emphasised that the opinion that Mieszko ruled over Cracow after his marriage to Rycheza and his activities founding churches there is hypothesis resting mainly on analogies, see Gerard Labuda, *Mieszko II*, pp. 41–47.

²⁰⁶ See G. Labuda, *Mieszko II*, pp. 44–50.

²⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 59–61.

tion of the church would have made a great impression on the visitor to the monastery and create the picture of the donor as a generous founder.²⁰⁸ The actual activities of Mieszko in this field, of which we essentially know very little, need not have actually been greater than those of his father. The people from whom Matylda could have gained her information had reasons for accenting that side of the efforts of the young Polish king—probably not without his agreement, and Matylda in turn by emphasizing this would have fulfilled the expectations of the recipient of her letter. In such a situation, the author of the letter would probably not have seen any conflict between her praise of Mieszko and the activities of Bolesław which she mentioned. Both of them, though in different ways, were putting into action those same values, dedication of their rule to honouring God.

Brygida Kürbis proposed a different interpretation of that passage, suggesting that the author of the dedicatory letter was intent on representing Mieszko as a superior ruler to his father, by resigning from violence in favour of active involvement in cultural activities.²⁰⁹ Since the author of the letter emphasised the knightly features of the ruler's character, this scholar suggested that Matylda in her portrait of the ruler placed the greatest value on his honesty in faith and the reward for that virtue was to be "triumph over the physical and spiritual enemy".²¹⁰ We note that this dependence—virtue leading to victory—did not have to denote that there was a graduation according to which spiritual virtue is better than triumph (including military ones) over an enemy. In the salutary formula, the author of the letter gives them equal status: "Lord Mieszko, most steadfast believer in true virtue and unvanquished king, Matylda [wishes you] the greatest joy in Christ and fortunate victory over your enemies".²¹¹ In her conclusion of the text as translated by the same scholar, Matylda returns to the same theme: "Let Almighty God, by whose will you are crowned with the

²⁰⁸ Brygida Kürbis (*Studia nad Kodeksem Matyldy. Sekwencja "Ad celebres rex çelice"*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii*, p. 315) has already indicated this donation as the possible inspiration of Matylda's words pointing out that the sequence "Ad celebres rex çelice" accompanying the dedicatory letter was intended for the day dedicated in the Roman calendar to the Archangel Michael, who was the patron of the Abbey at Bamberg.

²⁰⁹ B. Kürbis, *Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, p. 56.

²¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 60.

²¹¹ *Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, p. 139, Polish translation by B. Kürbis *ibidem*, p. 140, footnote 1.

royal diadem, give you strength above all enemies, and grant a long life and the palm of victory”.²¹² These words may be treated allegorically, but that would seem to be a somewhat artificial response in the light of the tendency visible in the description of the ruler in the letter to link the aspect of heavenly gifts and the human response to them on earth.²¹³ The concept of the unity of the aspects of warrior-king and priest-king was obvious to the author of the letter. It does not provoke surprise that in her portrait of Mieszko about 1025, she emphasised his services to Christianity as a church founder and in his care of his subjects and not as a warrior. Mieszko had not yet fought any wars with a non-Christian enemy. It is certain however that in his father’s lifetime, he had fought with imperial and Czech armies.²¹⁴ Could the victories gained then be praised by the author of a letter written in the lands of the Reich?

If we accept that the author of the letter placed the activities of Mieszko II above those of his father, how can one understand the references to his father’s example which were to “set an example” to him so that he almost totally turned to spiritual matters? Could the author of the letter condemn the deeds of Bolesław, or at least value them less than those of Mieszko II, but at the same time write that he was the “source of belief” in the country over which Mieszko was now ruling? This seems very unlikely, which B. Kürbis herself noted.²¹⁵ At the same time she proposed the thesis that in the light of this letter it would seem that the success of Bolesław the Brave in the Christianisation of the country was “incomplete, since that which could not be attained by the words of the holy preacher he enforced by the sword, wishing to place the conquered pagans under the care of the Church once again [...]”.²¹⁶ The scholar rejected the possibility that the praise of Bolesław the Brave concerned his contribution to the acceptance of baptism by Poland. She thought that in the Reich it must have been known that Mieszko I had brought Christianity to the country.²¹⁷ A description of Bolesław introducing Christianity to Poland would not have corresponded to existing historical knowledge. The author of the letter most

²¹² See the Polish translation by B. Kürbis, *Ibidem*, p. 140 and footnote 1.

²¹³ B. Kürbis, *Epistola mathildis Suevae*, pp. 64–56.

²¹⁴ G. Labuda, *Mieszko II*, pp. 55–59.

²¹⁵ B. Kürbis, *Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, p. 82.

²¹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 82–83.

²¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 82.

likely had not made use however of the chronicles with information concerning the history of Poland. She based her opinions and text upon literary models and oral tradition obtained from people related or associated with Mieszko II and referring to the family traditions of the king which functioned in his court at that time. We are unable to resolve the question whether or not she was able to ascertain who had introduced Christianity into Poland. There is no reason to ascribe to Matylda and her milieu any deeper knowledge of the history of a distant eastern neighbour of the empire. In the monastery of Sankt-Gallen, connected with Matylda's family, in which Brygida Kürbis suggests our codex took shape,²¹⁸ the chroniclers writing down the events as they happened did not have enough knowledge, or perhaps desire, to establish the name of the ruler against which Conrad II was fighting in 1032.²¹⁹ In the monastery of Reichenau which was also connected with Matylda's family,²²⁰ the name Mieszko was remembered—but it was Mieszko II, and also the expedition of Emperor Henry II against Bolesław the ruler of the Poles.²²¹ There seems not to have been any knowledge of Mieszko I.

Probably the writer of the letter had no means of verifying the information she received. We must accept that the tradition which Matylda made use of showed Bolesław as strictly trying to enforce Christianity in Poland, including by the use of force. A similar picture appears in the discussion of Poland in the "Chronicon" of Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg. It is very probable that this element of his chronicle also came from the version of the history of Poland supported by the court of Bolesław the Brave.²²² While Thietmar turned the significance of this account into a criticism of the ruler and his subjects, in Matylda's letter it has an unambiguous positive characteristic. Bolesław as a patron of the Church used arms to support the true faith where the preachers had failed. The story of Bolesław the Brave was presented from the

²¹⁸ Brygida Kürbis, *Tezy o powstaniu kodeksu Matyldy*, pp. 129–132.

²¹⁹ A mention of Polish matters appears in the context of the conflict that broke out in over the kingdom of Burgundy in 1032. At the time it was noted that the emperor "was engaged in war with the Poles (Pulani) and Slavs", *Annales Sangallenses Maiores*, Ildefons von Arx ed., [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 1, Hannover 1826, p. 83.

²²⁰ Although at the time of the creation of the Codex they were in conflict with each other, B. Kürbis, *Tezy o powstaniu kodeksu Matyldy*, pp. 128–129.

²²¹ *Herimanni Augensis Chronicon*, [in:] *Annales et chronica aevi Salici*, Georg Heinrich Pertz ed., Hannover 1844 (=MGH SS, vol. 5), p. 118 (sub anno 1004) and p. 121 (sub anno 1032 r.).

²²² See P. Wiszewski, *Domus Boleslai*, pp. 589, 593.

point of view of his involvement in matters of faith, the affirmation of a warrior coming to the aid of the churchmen faced with the “wildest and most barbarian peoples”. The picture of Mieszko’s father closing the laudatory part of the letter indicated the roots of the praiseworthy actions of the addressee.

We do not learn anything more about the other ancestors in the clan of the addressant. The priority of the relationship between father and child above those with other ancestors but in the scope of the activities of the subject of the account is mirrored in the text referring to Matylda accompanying the miniature illustrating the dedicatory letter.²²³ In this brief text is written that “this book is given to King Mieszko by Matylda, born of Duke Heriman, famous among the Swabians”.²²⁴ Here Matylda wished to be identified through her relationship with her father. She was not always and not everywhere seen as such; the definition of the aristocrat depended on the pragmatic purpose of a specific record.²²⁵ The choice of such a form of self-definition of the donor can therefore be understood as the result of the acceptance of a certain convention of the person of the father permanently influencing the fate of his children—as is clearly seen in the letter.

Is therefore the picture of the father of Mieszko II as the source of Christianity in Poland and his son strengthening it by his ecclesiastic foundations an element taken from the traditions promoted by the court of Mieszko II? Or was it merely a rhetorical development of the manner of envisaging the tradition of aristocratic families that existed in Matylda’s own country? If we regard this as an element of the tradition of the Piast dynasty which existed in Poland, it would be necessary to admit that in the milieu of Mieszko II, the significance of the deeds of Mieszko I was no longer being emphasised. This would be a new element not only with respect to the tradition known to us

²²³ See for example comments by Brygida Kürbis, *Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, [in:] *Kodeks Matyldy*, p. 53. Bogdan Bolz, *Księga obrzędów dla króla Mieszko II (około 1025)*, Düsseldorf, *Universitätsbibliothek, C 91*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*”, 28 (1983), p. 169 treated it as an element of the dedicatory letter which was lost together with the miniature. It is however organically linked with the miniature as a caption to it, rather than with the text of the letter.

²²⁴ *Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, p. 140, together with the Polish translation.

²²⁵ In the records of the monastery of Einsiedeln she was commemorated as “sister of Empress Gizela”, see Hagen Keller, *Kloster Einsiedeln im ottonischen Schwaben*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1964 (=Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte, vol. 13), p. 161 (29 July). This resulted from the engagement of Gizela, wife of Conrad II, in gaining the patronage of the emperor over the abbey, *ibidem*, p. 123.

from the “Chronicon” of Thietmar of Merseburg, where Mieszko I and Dobrawa were represented as bringing their subjects into the bosom of the Church.²²⁶ Such a vision of the past of Poland and its rulers would drastically differ from that which is represented by the fragments which we found in the “Passion of Tegernsee”. On the other hand it seems to us most unlikely that the author of the letter who could give in such detail Mieszko II’s linguistic abilities,²²⁷ would at the same time ascribe to his father the deeds of his grandfather only on the basis of a conviction of the nature of family relationships which was current in their own circle. The analysis of the “Epitaph of Bolesław the Brave” seems to show that in the period of the reign of Mieszko II there may have been in existence in the Piast court a version of the story of the dynasty that was not entirely in favour of Dobrawa’s husband. Certainly, as the annalistic records show, memory of the deeds of Mieszko I had not faded in Poland. It is however possible that the royal court tended to accent the achievements of Bolesław at the cost of those of his father. This could result from the political circumstances in which the family traditions of Mieszko II had been formed. Bolesław I had gained the throne through a disregard of the arrangements which Mieszko had established for the succession. Mieszko II had equally come to power in defiance of his grandfather’s will, which would have affected his political acts. He had, therefore, no particular predisposition to honour the memory of Mieszko I. Everything would have been conducive to him stressing a more favourable portrait of his father as the greatest Christian hero in the dynasty.

²²⁶ See above pp. 33–34.

²²⁷ It is difficult to accept the suggestion that the author of the letter was writing of the unification under the sceptre of Mieszko II three rites (Latin, Slav and Greek) of the Christian Church, and this is whether or not we understand this as parallel Church organizations, or individual churches in which the liturgy was celebrated in different languages, Roman Michałowski, *Princeps fundator*, pp. 89–90. We have no certain evidence for the times of Bolesław I or Mieszko II that there were any Churches in Poland of Greek or Slavic rite, see Stanisław Szczur, *Misja cyrylo-metodiańska w świetle najnowszych badań*, [in:] *Chryścianizacja Polski południowej. Materiały sesji naukowej odbytej 29 czerwca 1993 roku*, Cracow 1994, pp. 7–22. The author of the letter in the “Codex of Matylda” clearly is concentrating on the personal characteristics of Mieszko. In this context would much better fit an expression of respect for a ruler who—knowing the liturgy in two languages—was able to devote time to learn a third for liturgical purposes (as also suggested B. Kürbis, *Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, pp. 53, 56), rather than a suggestion that he introduced a third liturgical language (Greek) into Poland (see R. Michałowski, *Princeps fundator*, pp. 90, 112).

Let us remember that in the light of what the letter affirms, the elevation of Mieszko II occurred as a result of God's will, rather than human efforts.²²⁸ The importance of the paternal heritage for the fate of Mieszko II was limited in the tradition embodied in the letter. Bolesław provided only "paterna exempla"²²⁹ in literal terms, from which Mieszko could draw certain guidelines for his own life, but which do not determine his fate.

In the final analysis therefore the analysed fragments of the "Codex of Matyllda" show that around 1025 the person of Bolesław I was a dominant element in the Piast tradition known in the Reich among families who were closely associated with the Polish rulers, but also in the milieu of the royal court of Mieszko II. In support of the latter statement, apart from the theoretical premises presented in the introductory chapter, is that considerable similarity of the letter with the "Epitaph" not only in terms of the idea and values they embody but also specific and significant pictures from the tradition of the dynasty (the pagan Mieszko I).

Remembering all the nuances of the picturing and evaluating the past of the dynasty presented above, it cannot escape attention that in the dedicatory letter the significance of the will of the currently reigning descendent of the dynasty in the creation of his own fate is clearly emphasized. His fate was not determined by the histories of ancestors, though were presented to him as the road to wisdom fitting a monarch. Without going into who could have been the origin of such a train of thought, it prompts us to seek the manner in which the Piasts regarded their forebears. The written sources analysed previously suggest rather a somewhat pragmatic approach to a dynastic tradition which embraces both living and dead members of the clan. In addition, it is not possible to perceive in any of the three rulers from Mieszko I to Mieszko II that any special attention was paid to perpetuating the memory of many generations of ancestors. The boundaries of memory are here, in its different spheres, very limited.

7. GERTRUDE'S PRAYER BOOK

The prayerbook of duchess Gertrude in a manuscript codex now preserved (Ms. CXXXVI) in the municipal museum of Cividale, Italy, has

²²⁸ R. Michałowski, *Princeps fundator*, pp. 88–89.

²²⁹ *Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, p. 139.

a special place among the written sources concerning the dynasty of the Piasts in the period of interest to us. The prayers it contains were compiled under the dominating influence of a member of the Piast family—Gertrude, daughter of Mieszko II, the wife of Izjaslav Yaroslavich (1024–1078), the duke of Kiev.²³⁰ Part of them contain requests for the support of the Saviour for the people with whom the owner felt closely associated. Due to this they allow us to define the circle of people regarded by the duchess as her closest. The written sources analysed above led us to the form of the different currents of Piast tradition concentrated on the most important members of the dynasty. Due to the “Gertrude’s Prayer book” we have the chance to define who in the dynasty the Piasts could have treated as their nearest associates, in other words, who constituted their family, which in turn as we saw earlier is a fundamental question in defining the characteristics of the dynastic tradition of the Piasts. Equally, it allows us to answer the question to whom it was addressed. At the same time it helps us to consider the question of why this circle encompasses such a small number of members of the clan.

The prayers of duchess Gertrude were incorporated into the so-called “Egbert Codex”. Although both parts of the manuscript have attracted a copious literature,²³¹ there is a lack of agreement concerning the date and place of origin of its individual parts. In the case of the pages with the prayers (the so-called “Folia Gertrudiana”), at least a few generally accepted facts have emerged from the discussions: the owner of the manuscript at the time of the writing of the prayers was a member of the Piast family which has been identified with the Gertrude named as the person offering these prayers.²³² There has been, however, no agreement about the precise date when the portion of the codex which interests us here came into existence. The majority of investigators

²³⁰ The biogram of the duchess was presented by Brygida Kürbis, *Gertruda—historia jej życia*, [in:] *Na progach historii*, vol. 2, pp. 286–298 together with collecting the earlier references.

²³¹ The state of investigation to the end of the 1990s was presented by Dorota Leśniewska, *Kodeks Gertrudy. Stan i perspektywy badań*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 61 (1995), pp. 143–168 (on the pages with Gertrude’s prayers pp. 153–160), and Brygida Kürbis in the most recent Polish edition of the prayer book (eadem, *Opracowanie*, [in:] *Modlitwy księżnej Gertrudy z Psalterza Egberta z kalendarzem*, Małgorzata H. Malewicz, B. Kürbis, eds Cracow 2002 (=Monumenta Sacra Polonorum, vol. 2), pp. 6–94 and Teresa Michałowska (eadem, *Ego Gertruda. Studium historycznoliterackie*, Warszawa 2001, pp. 45–54).

²³² B. Kürbis, *Opracowanie*, pp. 8–9, 41–42, 48–49.

dates it some time within the broad range of 1075–1086.²³³ Neither is the place where it was written known. We accept the verdict of those scholars who, on the basis of the fact that in the prayers there is no mention of the husband of Gertrude, date the final redaction which is the one that is preserved today to the period after his death, that is after 1078. It does not however seem possible to definitely resolve the question of the place in which the manuscript containing the prayers was created. Scholars have suggested recently a long period of writing of the prayers, both in Germany and Russia, and also see a similar range of places involved in the creation of the miniatures accompanying the text.²³⁴ Despite the popularity among Polish scholars of ascribing these miniatures an origin in the western European milieu (most probably in Regensburg), in the most recent monograph about them, Kiev is shown as the place where they were created.²³⁵

What is worse, the question of the author of these prayers or the identity of the writer has not been resolved. The hypothesis that the Gertrude herself was the author (compiler) or even the scribe is the least commonly accepted.²³⁶ Certain elements of the prayers seem to suggest that she was neither the author nor the scribe, or even had close control over the writing of these pages.²³⁷ There is general agree-

²³³ *Ibidem*, pp. 46–49.

²³⁴ T. Michałowska, *Ego Gertruda*, pp. 47–53, 209.

²³⁵ Małgorzata Smorąg Różycka, *Bizantyńsko-ruskie miniatury Kodeksu Gertrudy. O kontekstach ideowych i artystycznych sztuki Rusi Kijowskiej XI wieku*, Cracow 2003, pp. 222–224; eadem, *Miniatury w Kodeksie Gertrudy: kilka słów uzupełnienia*, [in:] *Lapides viventes. Zaginiony Kraków wieków średnich. Księga dedykowana Profesor Klementynie Żurowskiej*, Jerzy Gadomski, Adam Małkiewicz, Teresa Rodzińska-Choraży, Andrzej Włodarek eds, Cracow 2005, pp. 116–120. They are presented as closely related to the western Ukrainian miniature workshops by Patriarch Dimitrij (Jarema), *Ikonopis zachidnoj Ukraini, XII–XV st.*, Lviv 2005, pp. 28–29.

²³⁶ Scholars who ascribe the writing of the prayers to Gertrude herself include Walerian Meysztowicz, *Manuscriptum Gertrudae filiae Mesconis II regis Poloniae*, Romae 1955 (=Antemurale 2), p. 107 and Małgorzata H. Malewicz, *Rękopis Getrudy Piastówny, najwcześniejszy zabytek piśmiennictwa polskiego*, “Materiały do Historii Filozofii Średniowiecznej w Polsce”, 5 (16) (1972), pp. 38–41, 54–55. The special role of Gertrude in the creation of the volume is emphasised by Teresa Michałowska, *Ego Gertruda*, pp. 49, 53–54, though she unambiguously refers to her only as a compiler of the volume.

²³⁷ The title of Prayer nr 85, according to the edition of Brygida Kürbis, is “Oratio ad sanctam mariam pro amico et seipsa”, *Liber precum Gertrudae ducissae*, Małgorzata H. Malewicz, Brygida Kürbis eds, [in:] *Modlitwy księżnej Getrudy*, p. 159. This “friend” turns out to have been Piotr (*ibidem*, p. 160), unambiguously identified by scholars as Gertrude’s son, Jaropełk—Piotr. The phrase “pro...se ipsa” in turn suggests that the title was composed by someone seeing the subject of the prayer as someone other than

ment though that it is likely that the duchess was influential in the creation of the collection through the selection of the iconographic motifs of the miniatures²³⁸ and the more common prayers.²³⁹ This concerns especially those texts in which her name appears as the supplicant.²⁴⁰ It is possible to differentiate two groups in this collection of prayers: those in which the influence of the duchess could have been significant (there is a prayer written in the first person singular, or in which the name of the duchess appears), and those where the evidence of her influence is weaker. This has significance in indicating the manner in which she created a hierarchy of different types of family/clan relationships. The presence in one of these groups of prayers for people mentioned by name and degree of family relationship to the supplicant could allow us to become acquainted with the form of the group of relations who comprised her circle of closer family and those of more distant memory.

Analysed from this point of view, this source reveals somewhat surprising results. Undoubtedly, in accordance with the whole of the tradition of interpretation until now, we should recognise the privileged place in these prayers of “Piotr”,²⁴¹ identified by the supplicant sometimes as “my only/beloved son”.²⁴² In the prayer to St Helena “your servant Gertrude” the supplicant turns to the saint on behalf of “your servant Piotr”.²⁴³ Gertrude and Piotr appear alongside each other in the litany praying—though separately—for God’s protection.²⁴⁴ Apart from Piotr, however, no other member of Gertrude’s family appears

himself. Otherwise in the title should be found the phrase “pro...me ipsa”. In the same text however prayers are offered to the Blessed Virgin Mary “pro unico filio meo PETRO”, *ibidem*, p. 161, nr 87. It seems likely therefore that the prayers were written for the personal use of the duchess (thus explaining the possessive pronoun “meus”), but certainly not by her (thus the differentiation of the writer from the supplicant indicated in the title of the prayer).

²³⁸ See M. Smorąg Różycka, *Bizantyńsko-ruskie miniatury*, p. 25, and in the context of the whole manuscript *ibidem*, pp. 223–227.

²³⁹ Here we accept the erudite resolution of Teresa Michałowska, *Ego Gertruda*, pp. 55–67.

²⁴⁰ Cf. Edward Potkowski, *Kobiety a książka w średniowieczu (wybrane problemy)*, [in:] *Ibid., Książka i pismo w średniowieczu. Studia z dziejów kultury piśmiennej i komunikacji społecznej*, Pułtusk 2006, pp. 314–315.

²⁴¹ *Liber precum Gertrudae ducissae*, nr 15, p. 125; nr 58, pp. 147–148; nr 85, p. 160.

²⁴² *Ibidem*, nr 87, p. 161.

²⁴³ *Ibidem*, nr 18, p. 127.

²⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, nr 93, pp. 167–169.

in these prayers.²⁴⁵ In the group of prayers which contain Gertrude's name, only the last—bringing the collection to a close—mentions her “parents”. Even here it does not necessarily refer specifically to Gertrude's parents, but parents generally, or more generally ancestors of the “brothers and sisters of our congregation”, a phrase probably taken from a formulation which had served the author of the prayer book as a model.²⁴⁶ There are mentions of parents and other relations in the second group of prayers, those which do not contain Gertrude's name. These however seem likely to have been taken from an existing formula. They always form part of a wider group of people mentioned as the co-creators of prayers of a universal character, for all the faithful.²⁴⁷ The only prayer which focuses to a greater degree on the family and relations of the supplicant has clear signs that it comes from a formula; it includes a place where it is indicated that the supplicant is to insert the names of their sister and friends.²⁴⁸

If we accept that Gertrude had a significant influence on the creation of the prayer book under discussion, we must agree that the only family relationship which was of interest to her was with her son Jaropełk-Piotr. Neither her husband of many years, nor her parents, let alone any other more distant members of the Piast family were important enough to her for their names to be included in her private prayer book. This is despite the fact that it was due to her nephew, Bolesław II that she was twice, in 1068–1069 (1070) and 1073–1077, together with her husband Izjaslav able to return to Kiev from exile.²⁴⁹ It is true that the original shape of the prayer book has become distorted over the years through the loss of at least three

²⁴⁵ We should treat as a loose guess the suggestion of Waleriana Meysztowicz and Brygida Kürbis, that Prayer nr 21 contains a reference “to Gertrude's family life, and maybe to her marriage with Izjaslav” (Brygida Kürbis, *Modlitwy księżnej Gertrudy z Psalterium Egberti. Przyczynek do dziejów kultury dworu panującego w Polsce i na Rusi*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii*, p. 255). At the same time B. Kürbis emphasises that apart from Piotr, no other member of Gertrude's family is mentioned in the prayer book, eadem, *Die Gertrudianischen Gebete im Psalterium Egberti. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Frömmigkeit im 11. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Europa Slavica—Europa Orientalis*, pp. 249–250.

²⁴⁶ *Liber precum Gertrudae ducissae*, nr 95, p. 170.

²⁴⁷ In the prayer on the forgiveness of sins in the last place, after bishops, the emperor, kings etc., *ibidem*, nr 69, p. 152.

²⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, nr 92, p. 167.

²⁴⁹ T. Michałowska presented this problem against the broad background of the political history of Rus, Poland and the Empire (*Ego Gertruda*, pp. 136–188, there also further literature).

pages with prayers, and one surviving page has had the text erased. In total, Teresa Michałowska has estimated that as a result of this, we have lost between 144 to 276 lines of text,²⁵⁰ including prayers for the dead.²⁵¹ In the texts concerning the dead which are preserved in this collection, however, there is no mention of the person's name, only the symbol "N", suggesting that the supplicant themselves chose the relevant name.²⁵² We may therefore with caution²⁵³ assume that the missing texts had a similar character. It would seem that in general terms, in "Getrude's Prayer Book", there is no evidence of an especially strong cultivation of the memory of members of her family by Mieszko II's daughter. This demonstrates the significance, for women of the Piast dynasty, of their relationship with living relatives, but only in the nearest family (in the most narrow sense).

At the same time we should add that the miniature of the adoration of St Peter seems important for the understanding of the question of the continuation of the Piast dynastic traditions (understood as a group of contents not only concerning the past of the family, but also the postulated form of behaviour of members of the clan which is connected with it). Without doubt this miniature belongs among the illustrations of the part of the "Folia Gertrudiana" on which Gertrude had had the most influence. It opens the section of pages containing the prayers and is directly associated with them. Its content is however open to interpretation. Gertrude as penitent turns to St Peter in a manner most humble, but at the same time, in touching his feet, showing the closeness of her relationship with the sacral sphere. Behind her stand a ducal pair, her son Jaropełk and his wife Kune-gunda-Zofia. The definition of Gertrude as the "mother of Jaropełk" has here (apart from maintaining the convention of the Ruthenian court),²⁵⁴ an undoubted additional significance. It links both groups of figures. Let us recall the content of the prayers—in them, Gertrude frequently turns to the highest sphere of the *sacrum* for the protection

²⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 49.

²⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 48.

²⁵² See B. Kürbis, *Opracowanie*, pp. 86–87.

²⁵³ With care, because it is notable that there is an erasure in Prayer nr 7 in the place where the name of the person reigning at the moment of the recital of the prayer by the owner of the prayer book, Cf. *Liber precum Gertrudae ducissae*, nr 7, p. 122, footnote d. This is however the only such place, and it is impossible to determine the place and time when the erasure was made.

²⁵⁴ See M. Smoraż Różycka, *Bizantyńsko-ruskie miniatury*, pp. 24–25.

for Jaropełk. Even if we agree in rejecting the idea of symbolising the papacy by the person of St Peter,²⁵⁵ we are still left with the most probable interpretation which is that the miniature represents a scene of the placing of her son and daughter in law under the protection of St Peter.²⁵⁶ Such an action would relate in full to both the contents of the document “Dagome Iudex” as well as the hypothetical interpretation of the “Epitaph of Bolesław the Brave” which seems likely to have been created during the reign of Gertrude’s father.

In the final analysis, due to the examination of the “Folia Gertrudiana” we obtain some highly interesting information about the functioning of the dynastic tradition in the Piast family. The members of the family do not seem to have been overly concerned about the more distant family members. In the light of this source, we should reject a picture of the Piasts carefully guarding the memory of the distant generations of ancestors and a broader group of relations. It seems that it was only the closest family that was important. This would explain the tendency mentioned above to concentrate on a narrative which records the traces of the family tradition reduced to a narrow circle of people—those closest to the person for whom a given account was created. This did not, however, exclude the acceptance, probably already in childhood, and cultivation of the values kept alive in the narratives functioning within the family, even when a given person did not feel responsible for the cultivation of the memory of members of his clan. The lack of mentions of members of Gertrude’s own family in her prayers would not have meant her loss of awareness of the values or the patterns of behaviour expressing them transmitted by the family tradition.²⁵⁷ Instead it would suggest a form of their expression other than one which we would expect, limited to the closest family members.

²⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 69–70.

²⁵⁶ Małgorzata Smoraż Różycka (*ibidem*, p. 72) drew attention to the fact that the identity of the Christian name of Jaropełk (Piotr) with that of the Saint which many scholars emphasise was not perceived in that way in the Rus court. The dedication of the ducal pair to St Peter would not relate to that fact, but must have been due to a more general veneration of St Peter in the whole of Christendom, *ibidem*, pp. 72–73.

²⁵⁷ On the evidence of the prayers written by Gertrude of her feeling of a connection with tradition—here understood as belonging to the Roman faith—see B. Kürbis, *Die Getrudianischen Gebete*, p. 260.

8. LETTER OF WŁADYSŁAW HERMAN TO THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER IN BAMBERG

In our analysis of the document of Mieszko I known as “Dagome Iudex”, we could reflect on the pragmatics of the definition of the circle of close family of a ruler within their own family group. The establishment of the extent of such a circle would bring us closer to the group within which a family tradition developed in the milieu of a ruler could have functioned and to whom it is addressed. In the case of the letter of Władysław Herman discussed here, we have the possibility to examine the same problem with regard to the situation a century later than that evidenced by the previously-discussed written source. Here we also pose an additional question, is the circle of close family members of the ruler linked together in any manner by the traditions of the dynasty?

The undated letter of Władysław Herman containing a confirmation of his donations for the cathedral chapter at Bamberg has aroused the interest of scholars for many years.²⁵⁸ The exceptional nature of this source, the earliest preserved example of a document issued by a Polish ruler forces us to leave unanswered a number of questions connected with its formulation. Since its authenticity has never been questioned, and there are many reasons to believe it was written in Poland,²⁵⁹ the information it contains concerning the topic of our deliberations require close attention.

Herman gave his gift to the church at Bamberg with the clearly expressed intention “for my soul, that of my wife Judith and all my parents/forebears”. This formulation defines the understanding of the scope of the ruler’s family extant in the Polish court. The letter was written between 22nd March 1087 and seventh September 1095,²⁶⁰ and

²⁵⁸ A classic analysis together with a presentation of the earlier literature is given by Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Repertorium*, nr 14, p. 17.

²⁵⁹ The use in the document of the first person singular, and detailed reference to the situation in Poland (a gift “obtained at my own cost”—two round crosses of gold that were unlawfully taken from the church at Bamberg and were now to be found “on my territory”) seem to suggest that the creator of the wording of the document was in a close relationship with the donor, who was thus able to directly transmit to him his will. On the topic of the person who wrote the document, see also below.

²⁶⁰ See Kazimierz Jasiński, *Dokument Władysława Hermana dla katedry bamberckiej*, “Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu”, 23 (1969), p. 50; Aleksander Gieysztor, *Bamberg i Polska w XI i XII wieku*, “Studia Źródłoznawcze”, 15 (1971), p. 74.

thus in the time when the duke already had two sons—Zbigniew and Bolesław. The lack of mention of them in the above-mentioned formulation could be regarded as natural, it may be assumed that since they were still alive there was no need for them to be mentioned in such a list because it was only the dead who were commemorated in this manner.²⁶¹ This is however not true, not least because the soul of the donor was commended to the prayers of the Bamberg canons while he was still alive. We can find contemporary documents of the imperial chancellery in which we find mentions of the commemoration of the souls of both the living and the dead.²⁶² A resolution of this problem might come from considering the identity of the “wife Judith” mentioned in the text. Some scholars suggest that this must have been Herman’s first wife, Judith of Bohemia, who died before 1085.²⁶³ Kazimierz Jasiński was inclined however to see this as a reference to Herman’s second wife, also named Judith (Judith Maria of Swabia, d. 1095).²⁶⁴ In this connection we need to take into account that, due to the foundation for the cathedral which is described in this letter, Władysław Herman obtained honorary privileges which were almost those of a lay canon of the cathedral chapter.²⁶⁵ The bishopric itself was founded by Henry II and his wife and from its beginnings was closely related to the imperial court. Rupert (1075–1102), the bishop of Bamberg at the time was a close collaborator of Emperor Henry IV.²⁶⁶ In such a situation, it would be natural in a letter connected with the introduction of Herman into the circle of canons associated with the imperial court, to emphasise Herman’s relationship with the person of Judith

²⁶¹ A good example of such a tendency could be the contemporary document of emperor Henry IV for the church at Speyer, in which he motivated his generosity as being an act for the salvation of his own soul, his grandparents and parents, as well as “dilectissime coniugis Berthe imperatricis et fratris nostri Conradi filieque nostre Adelheide et filii nostri Heinrici”, *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV.*, part 2: 1077–1106, Dietrich Gladiss ed., Weimar 1959 (=MGH, *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae/Die Urkunden der Deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, vol. 6,2), nr 426, p. 571, lines 37–40. None of the relatives mentioned in the document were alive at the time.

²⁶² “pro nostra igitur notrorumque parentum et carorum nostrorum vivorum ac defunctorum salute (...)”, *ibidem*, nr 327, p. 430, lines 11–13.

²⁶³ See Erich von Guttenberg, *Die Regesten der Bischöfe und des Domkapitels von Bamberg*, Würzburg 1963 (=Veröffentlichungen für fränkische Geschichte, VI. Reihe), nr 551, p. 277 (here the earlier German literature is given).

²⁶⁴ K. Jasiński, *Dokument Władysława Hermana*, p. 50.

²⁶⁵ As Roman Michałowski noted, this hypothesis was also accepted by Jerzy Strzelczyk, *Bamberg a Polska w średniowieczu*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 62 (1996), p. 78.

²⁶⁶ See below, pp. 490–491, the section on “Bamberg”.

of Swabia, daughter of the deceased emperor (Henry III) and sister of the reigning emperor.

In the final analysis, of the greatest significance to us is indicating the importance which Herman attached to defining in detail the relationship between him and his wife, while only expressing his relationship to his forebears in very general terms. The letter of Władysław Herman mentions “all my forebears/parents [*parentes*]”. An abbreviated version of that phrase appears in the conclusion of the letter, in which the duke indicates the Bamberg clergy who were to pray “for my soul and those of mine”, by which we understand “*parentes*”. In the documents of Henry IV the term “*parentes*” concerns both the actual parents²⁶⁷ as well as the parents and grandparents of the issuer.²⁶⁸ In the case of the general, and at the same time rather wide formula of our letter, it is the second interpretation which seems likely to be the more appropriate one.²⁶⁹ Especially as, in contrast to the great majority of the documents of the Salian rulers,²⁷⁰ in the diploma of the Piast ruler, no other name nor precisely defined relationship with the commemorated dead is mentioned. The use of the word in such a meaning

²⁶⁷ As for example in a document of 1087: *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV.*, cz. 2: 1077–1106, nr 396, p. 524, line 35: “animabus parentum nostrorum pie memorie Heinrici imperatoris et Agnetis imperatricis”.

²⁶⁸ *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, part 2: 1077–1106, nr 310, p. 406, lines 23–24: “animabus parentum nostrorum, id est avi, avie, matrisque nostris imperatricis A. et cari patris nostri H. imperatoris augusti”, a forged document, but the portion of interest was taken however from an unpreserved document of Henry IV of thirtieth July 1079 (see the commentary of the publisher *ibidem*, p. 405). The relevant portion of that original document is even more strongly associated with the dictate of Władysław Herman’s document: “pro animae nostrae et parentum nostrorum, id est cari patris nostri Heinrici imperatoris augusti matrisque nostre Agnetis imperatricis avi avieque animarum”, *ibidem*, nr 313, p. 413, lines 32–33. In a document of 1086, we read, in turn: “pro remedio anime nostre ac memoria parentum nostrorum, patris Heinrici, matris Agnetis, avi Cvonradi, atque avie Gislæ”, *ibidem*, nr 385, p. 510, lines 27–28. In a document of 1091 his grandparents are actually labelled the “*parentes*” of the ruler: “pro anime nostre nostrorumque parentum Conradi imperatoris et coniugis eius Gisle patrisque nostri Heinrici imperatoris”, *ibidem*, nr 426, p. 571, lines 37–38.

²⁶⁹ The same in *Die Regesten der Bischöfe und des Domkapitels von Bamberg*, nr 551, p. 276.

²⁷⁰ Especially since Henry IV willingly used documents like this as a form of commemoration of his closest family, his forebears and also close associates, see Karl Schmid, *Die Sorge der Salier um ihre Memoria. Zeugnisse, Erwägungen und Fragen*, [in:] *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, red. Karl Schmid, Joachim Wollasch, Münster 1984 (=Münstersche Mittelalter Schriften, vol. 48), pp. 673–679.

also has its—admittedly rare—analogy in the documents issued by the imperial chancellery.²⁷¹

This is another example, like that perceptible from the document “Dagome Iudex” and on the pages of “Gertrude’s Prayer Book”, when it seems that for the Piast family the circle of their close family turns out to encompass only the nearest relations, and only those they chose. Even the most direct ancestors and relations were not referred to by the dynastic rulers when they listed those whose eternal salvation they had in mind and whose memory they wished to commemorate and preserve for eternity. They were not included among those who were to be heroes remembered for eternity to form the core of tradition of the ruling family of Poland.

Is not this picture of the scope of memory of the family of the founder a mirage, created by the influence of the use of an appropriate formula of a document on the creator of the letter? In this letter the chancellery formulae are very general, having more the character of a development of brief notes. They have also only very distant analogies in documents from the territory of the empire.²⁷² The members of the delegation from Bamberg which had come to retrieve the crosses could have had a limited influence on the contents of Herman’s letter. Their contribution seems to be suggested by the precise manner in which Rupert’s place among the bishops of Bamberg is indicated (“Rotp[er]ti ei[us]de[m] loci vii epi[sco]pi”). An argument however against them having a decisive influence on the creation of the letter is the labelling

²⁷¹ Here too one can give examples of the use of the word of interest in the general sense of “forebears”. It may also be used not only to ancestors, but collaborators, whose salvation the donor wished to obtain due to his generosity: see *ibidem*, nr 454, p. 613, lines 36–39.

²⁷² Promulgations of a form close to those known from the source under discussion appear in the note prepared (in the opinion of its publisher) without the participation of the imperial chancellery in 1078 and concerning the property of the monastery of St Gumpert in Ansbach. It begins with the words: “notum sit in Christo fidelibus cunctis tam sequacibus quam natis”, *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, part 2: 1077–1106, nr 307, p. 403, line 10. In documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the chancellery of the Cathedral in Bamberg in turn, we find formulae which only in very general outline recall those of our document: “notum sit omnibus Christi fidelibus tam futuris quam presentibus”, Alexander Huber, *Die Originalurkunden des Bamberger Domkapitels aus dem 11. und 12. Jahrhundert: ihre Schrift und ihre Schreiber. Ein paläographisch-diplomatischer Beitrag zur Bamberger Bistumsgeschichte*, “Bericht Historischer Verein für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg”, 117 (1981): *Zum 150-Jahres-Jubiläum* (zweiter Teilband), pp. 28–29.

of two of the delegates, Eberhard and Henry, as “bishops”. With a high degree of probability they can be identified as, respectively, the deacon and custodian of the Bamberg chapter.²⁷³ As such they had the right to wear bishops’ insignia,²⁷⁴ which might have led observers, not knowing in detail the realities of the Bamberg chapter to infer incorrectly that they were bishops.²⁷⁵

In such a situation, it seems very likely that it was Władysław himself or a person from his closest milieu who deliberately decided to introduce into the document a mention of his wife and “all ancestors”. He would be acting in the same way as the emperor and other crowned heads who took care that their grants would bring not only them spiritual benefits, but also those close to them. Such an intention could be the impetus for the building of a family tradition in a broader sense, not limited only to commemorating male antecedents and successors on the throne. We should note however that Herman’s letter does not make reference to specific named persons, apart from his wife. In this way he does not exhibit a desire to awaken the “presence of the dead” as individuals among the contemporary and future readers at Bamberg,²⁷⁶ but only emphasizes by such generalization the differentiation of the closest family of the ruler from the generally, impersonal group of “his” “ancestors”.

Herman’s letter demonstrates a continuation of the tendency of the Piasts towards the reduction of the number of people included in that attention paid to the commemoration of their memory and assuring their salvation. We do not see in this phenomenon any important change between the end of the tenth to the end of the eleventh century. The dedicatory letter from the “Codex of Matylda” seems to show that it was not only among members of the family that the Piasts informed about this narrow group of people which they endowed with the benefits of commemoration among successive generations. It could

²⁷³ *Die Regesten der Bischöfe und des Domkapitels von Bamberg*, pp. 250–251.

²⁷⁴ Exact term: mitres, *ibidem*, nr 258, p. 115.

²⁷⁵ Such a convincing proposition of translating the title “episcoporum eiusdem babenbergensi ecclesie” was presented by Johann Looshorn, *Die Geschichte des Bisthums Bamberg*, vol. 1: *Gründung und I. Jahrhundert des Bisthums Bamberg oder Die heiligen Kasier Heinrich und Kunigunda*, Bamberg 1967 (reprint of the edition of 1886), p. 486, footnote * [sic!]. Also A. Gieysztor (*Bamberg i Polska*, p. 74) accepts it.

²⁷⁶ Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Die Gegenwart der Toten*, [in:] *Death in the Middle Ages*, Herman Braet ed., Werner Verbeke, Leuven 1983 (=Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series I, Studia IX), pp. 31–32.

have successfully functioned as the official means of transmission of tradition to people outside the family. We should, however, introduce one important cautionary note into this picture. Analysed from the point of view of the mechanisms of cultivating the family traditions of the Piasts, this Letter includes one novelty with respect to the earlier manifestations: attention paid to the commemoration of “ancestors”. This took on a very generalised form, but chronologically this is the first evidence of deliberate and public reference by the Piast court to the earlier past of the family. We cannot exclude the possibility that this had occurred under the influence of models brought to the court from the Reich by clergymen, either those accompanying Judith of Swabia or those who attained the office of bishop in Poland.²⁷⁷ In the final analysis however it is the evidence of a new trend in which a deeper chronological dimension of tradition appears alongside the commemoration of the closest family. This is the case even if it lacks an individual personal aspect.

9. DOCUMENT OF THE LEGATE GILLES, CARDINAL OF TUSCULUM

The letter of Władysław Herman presented above confirms the persistence among the Piasts of the custom of commemorating only their nearest family. In it, we discerned also a tendency, though only a weak one, to widen the extent of commemoration to their ancestors. They were conceived however in only very general terms, as a group within which individuals were not differentiated. We will now consider a document which was created 25–30 years later, in the reign of Herman’s son, Bolesław Wrymouth which is interesting for the fact that it represents not only an attempt by the ruler to commemorate the memory of the nearest members of his family. It also retains evidence of a precision of memory of the milieu of the ruler concerning his genealogical ties with other members of the family. We shall see however that this memory was not actually so precise, which once again indicates that astonishing characteristic of the trend of the dynastic tradition functioning in the closest milieu of the ruler, the elimination of the commemoration of ancestors and more distant relations as individuals.

²⁷⁷ On the role played by immigrants from the Reich played in the Polish church at that time, see Aleksander Gieysztor, *O kilku biskupach polskich XI wieku*, [in:] *Europa—Słowiańszczyzna—Polska*, pp. 322–326.

The text in question the so-called “Tyniec Document” was issued about 1124 under the name of Cardinal Gilles de Paris bishop of Tusculum, Papal legate to Poland and Hungary in the reign of Pope Calixtus (1119–1124). It is known only in the form of interpolated transcriptions.²⁷⁸ It contains a confirmation of three earlier legal acts: of King Bolesław the Bold, one of 1105 of Judith of Swabia the widow of Władysław Herman, and one of Bolesław Wrymouth.²⁷⁹ The details of the historiographic disputes²⁸⁰ concerning the document have less significance for our discussions than the general statements that it really was created with the agreement of Bolesław Wrymouth and his son Władysław II mentioned in the document.²⁸¹ Later (thirteenth and fourteenth century) alterations of the text concern the economical matters, but did not affect its formula.²⁸² We may suspect that the reference to the ancestors of Bolesław and his son who appear in the text as the witnesses of the document of Cardinal Gilles refer to the form of the family tradition accepted by them.

The references to this topic were however extremely modest. The relationship between Bolesław Wrymouth and his predecessor “King Bolesław” (II—the Bold) and “Queen Judith” (of Swabia) remained undefined. While it is understandable that in 1124 the relationship

²⁷⁸ This document has been published in several editions: *Kodeks dyplomatyczny klasztoru tyńskiego*, part 1, Wojciech Kętrzyński, Stanisław Smolka eds, Lviv 1875, nr 27, 36, pp. 54, 79; *Album paleographicum*, Stanisław Krzyżanowski ed., the texts of the document were prepared for printing by Władysław Semkowicz and Zofia Budkowa, Cracow 1935, nr 18–19; *Nadania Bolesławów Chrobrego i Krzywoustego*, August Bielowski ed., [in:] MPH, vol. 1, August Bielowski ed, Lviv 1864, pp. 516–520. The state of previous research to the 1930s was presented by Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Reperitorium*, nr 26, pp. 29–33. The basic older literature was presented by Antoni Gańsiowski, *Tyniecki dokument*, [in:] *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol. 6, Wrocław 1977, pp. 239–241.

²⁷⁹ The discussions about the document were presented by Gerard Labuda and he convincingly argues these points—Gerard Labuda, *Szkice historyczne XI wieku. Klasztor Benedyktynów w Tyńcu*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Szkice historyczne X–XI wieku*, pp. 241–249, 262–267, 275 (oryginal article: *Szkice historyczne XI wieku. Początki klasztoru Benedyktynów w Tyńcu*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*”, 35 (1994), pp. 23–63), further literature *ibidem*, p. 468; see also Marek Derwich, *Monastycyzm benedyktyński w średniowiecznej Europie i Polsce. Wybrane problemy* (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 2019, Historia 135), Wrocław 1998, p. 187, where a survey of the more recent literature is given.

²⁸⁰ The literature is collected, together with references to earlier summaries, by J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, pp. 134–140, 167–169.

²⁸¹ See G. Labuda, *Klasztor Benedyktynów w Tyńcu*, p. 276; *Nadania Bolesławów*, p. 517.

²⁸² G. Labuda, *Klasztor Benedyktynów w Tyńcu*, pp. 269–272.

between Judith (his stepmother) was omitted as obvious, the genealogical relationships between Bolesław the Bold and the present ruler was less obvious to contemporaries. The ruler appeared as a witness to the document to confirm that all the privileges granted to the monastery at Tyniec by King Bolesław and Queen Judith had been “preserved with piety by him and all his grandfathers and great grandfathers”.²⁸³ In the opinion of Gerard Labuda this was a later interpolation in the original text of Cardinal Gilles “because the person dictating was not aware who this Bolesław and Judith were and when they reigned”.²⁸⁴ The scholar however does not justify this belief, which is also in conflict with his suggestion that these interpolations concerned solely economic matters. If however we reject this hypothesis we should accept that in the court of Bolesław III, while a certain form of family tradition existed, very little importance was attached to the precision of establishing genealogical links. It seems very unlikely that it was not realized that King Bolesław was the uncle of the current ruler. It is possible, however, that the phrase “a omnibus auis proavis suis” was treated rhetorically, and taken as referring to all the ruler’s ancestors. Its use reminds us of the presence of the phrase “omnes parentes mei” used in the Bamberg document of Bolesław’s father, Władysław Herman, also to refer to all deceased forebears. Quite clearly, there was seen to be no reason why individuals should be singled out from the dynasty of rulers for placing in the narrative concerning the reigning ruler persons if they were not the members of his closest family. Even if they do not appear there under a specific name and with a specified status, they would have functioned for the court as “ancestors, forebears” of the ruler and his family.

An analysis of the majority of the written sources presented in this chapter suggests that the Piast family tradition which was alive in the court of the Early Medieval Polish rulers was constructed on the basis of a contrast between the relatively well-remembered history of the closest family of the ruler (wife, children, sometimes father) and the extremely generalized recollections of his ancestors and predecessors. The chronological depth of these recollections was not very extensive,

²⁸³ *Nadania Bolesławów*, p. 517.

²⁸⁴ G. Labuda, *Kto i kiedy ufundował*, p. 31.

but it was around them that memory and curation of memory of the Piasts themselves were entwined.

The information gathered from certain passages in the “Chronicon” of Thietmar suggest that the memories of rulers maintained in the milieu of the clergy comprised an exception to this general rule. Here more attention was paid to both the genealogical details and to the aspect of the continuation of the dynasty. This is justified by the pragmatic function which genealogical knowledge had for the clergy. It was they after all who scrutinized the degree of blood relationship in the case of proposed dynastic marriages. They had therefore to have very detailed information—though restricted to genealogical aspects in its scope.

The situation in the royal court was different. Here of more importance were facts which accented the significance of the current ruler, rather than those which referred to a whole gallery of his predecessors as specific individuals who could overshadow the ruler. It is therefore characteristic that the threshold of memory shifts forward with each generation. In the times of Bolesław the Brave, the deeds of his father Mieszko I are commemorated, but we learn nothing of the deeds of his grandparents. In the reign of Mieszko II, memory of the new ruler’s father (Bolesław I) overshadows that of Mieszko I. It seems it was the same in the reign of Bolesław III Wrymouth, when the deeds of Władysław Herman were remembered, but the details of the story of his unlucky brother Bolesław the Bold, not to mention his grandfather Kazimierz, slowly began to fade from memory. This could have had its political justification, but it cannot be excluded that it is here we meet the pragmatics of dynastic memory, that which is defined by the label the “communicative memory” of a society, with a shallow chronological dimension, functioning without the involvement of specialized entities maintaining and replicating knowledge about the past. Its opposite must be “cultural memory”, this is characterized by reaching deep into the past, the structuralisation of a picture of the past, and its reliance on specialists for its creation and maintenance.²⁸⁵ Is it possible that such a memory of the past of the Piasts was cultivated only in the milieu of the Church? If so, was it then the property of the dynasty, or did it exist independently of its needs?

²⁸⁵ J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*, pp. 48–65.

It is thought provoking that only the “Chronicon” of Thietmar gives us an insight into a version of the dynastic tradition in which the fate of the Piasts and their subject people is closely entwined with each other. Such a vision of the past of the ruling dynasty was set aside for a certain time, though it does not seem to have been totally abandoned. Luckily through other written sources offering a more developed and coherent narrative, the annals and the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymous, we are able to look at the Piast tradition from a different perspective than that which has been offered by fragments of thoughts and written evidence. It is through them, also that we are able to learn of changes which took place in that tradition.

CHAPTER TWO

ANNALISTIC RECORDS

Scholars engaged in discussions on the functions of Early Medieval annals are in agreement about the multidimensionality of their presence in the societies of that time. The transmission of knowledge about the past is regarded as the result of the realisation of the aims of the writing of these works which had been earlier accepted and which were regarded as more important by their creators. Among them are a liturgical function and commemorative tasks connected with this. Also emphasized are the political aims of annalistic behaviour, especially connected with works which arose in the courts of rulers or in connection with people closely collaborating with rulers. Discussions on the genesis of the works is of fundamental significance in the case of research into early Polish annals,¹ with regard to the first preserved examples in manuscripts of the first half of the twelfth century (the so-called “Old Annals”) and the second half of the thirteenth century (“Annals of the Cracow Chapter”).

For our discussions one thread in this broad discussion is of especial importance, namely the problem of the genesis of the records concerning the history of the Piasts. The search for traces of the Early Medieval family or dynastic traditions in Polish annals may seem a banal task. After all, for the period before 1138 they contain a whole series of pieces of information about genealogical and political facts concerning the Piasts. Are they, however facts which derive from clergymen writing down events worth remembering as they happened? Or are they examples of literary activity preceded and inspired by a certain family/dynastic tradition, or did the written annals maintain these traditions

¹ The discussions and a survey of the most important literature concerning them have recently been presented by Tomasz Jasiński, *Początki polskiej annalistyki*, [in:] *Nihil superfluum esse. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, Jerzy Strzelczyk and Józef Dobosz eds, Poznań 2000 (=Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, 33), pp. 129–134 and Wojciech Drelicharz, *Mittelalterliche Krakauer Annalistik*, “Quaestiones mediaevi novae”, 8 (2003): *Intellectual Milieu*, pp. 231–244.

or even participate in their formation? Finally, in what milieu did the tradition recorded in the annals function?

1. THE WRITTEN SOURCES

The documents which are of the most importance for our studies are those containing records which derive from lost annals written in Poland before 1138. Among them are the "Old Annals" ("Rocznik dawny"), the "Annals of the Cracow Chapter" ("Rocznik kapitulny krakowski"), the "Kamieniec Annals" ("Rocznik kamieniecki"), and to a somewhat lesser degree the "First Poznan Annals" ("Rocznik poznański I") and the "Annals of the Poznan Chapter" ("Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej"). In the case of the first two there is agreement² that in the parts covering the period up to 1119 they are based on a common source now lost. The latter is known conventionally as the "Older Annals of the Cracow Chapter" ["Roczniki kapituły krakowskiej (dawne)],"³ or more recently "Annales regni Polonorum deperditi" (henceforth: "Annales deperditi"), the latter name is becoming more generally used.⁴ It is these documents, especially those of the Cracow Chapter which most fully represent the contents of the earliest Polish annalistic records.⁵ In the case of the other texts, though their dependence on the "Annales deperditi" is stressed, it can be demonstrated that the degree of interference of their authors with the part taken from the original version was much greater.

From this second group, the greatest number of new interpolations concerning the history of the Piasts in the tenth and eleventh centuries compared with the three earlier chronicles is to be found in the "Kamieniec Annals".⁶ It was written, or rather, to be more accurate, compiled

² See the summary of discussions on this topic W. Drelicharz, *Mittelalterliche Krakauer Annalistik*, pp. 242–246.

³ Thus for example T. Jasiński, *Początki polskiej annalistyki*, p. 134.

⁴ Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Początki polskiego rocznikarstwa*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 2 (1958), pp. 81–96; eadem, *Wstęp*, [in:] *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz*, eadem ed., Warszawa 1978 (=Pomniki Dziejowe Polski, series II, vol. 5), pp. VIII–XV, XXXIV. W. Drelicharz, *Mittelalterliche Krakauer Annalistik*, p. 237 is also in favour of the name "Annales regni Polonorum deperditi" as being better at differentiating this text from the surviving "Annals of the Cracow Chapter".

⁵ See Gerard Labuda, *Główne linie rozwoju rocznikarstwa polskiego w wiekach średnich*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 78 (1971), pp. 822–830.

⁶ The most extensive analysis of this document to date has been given by Waclaw Korta, *Średniowieczna annalistyka śląska*, Wrocław 1966 (=Prace Wrocławskiego

on the basis of many different sources at the earliest in the second half of the thirteenth century, maybe in the period 1280–1290.⁷ The records of interest to us, concerning the history of the Piast dynasty were most probably taken from the “*Annales deperditi*”.⁸ In the opinion of some scholars the place of compilation of this text should be connected not so much with Silesia, where it finally came to be kept, but with Little Poland (Małopolska).⁹ Apart from the records known from the “Old Annals” and the “Annals of the Cracow Chapter”, in the “Kamieniec Annals” we find records taken from the “*Annales deperditi*” on the births and marriage of Bolesław I and the births and marriage of Mieszko II. Their wording however underwent certain changes under the influence of historiographic communications later in date than the “*Annales deperditi*”.¹⁰

The “First Poznan Annals”, the first part of which seems to have been written at the end of the thirteenth century contains an element unknown to the annals of Cracow, a record of the death of Dobrawa, wife of Mieszko I. Despite the late genesis of the text, this may be regarded as deriving from a record of a contemporary event and also as having originated in a source written in the milieu of the Piasts.¹¹ Tomasz Jasiński is of a different opinion. He indicates the striking similarity between this passage and a portion of the text of the “Chronicle of the Bohemians” of Cosmas of Prague. In his opinion though it was not from Cosmas that this information was taken, together with other

Towarzystwa Naukowego, series II, nr 113), pp. 31–94, and he also presents details concerning studies on these annals in the work *Ibid.*, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad annalistyką śląską do końca XV wieku*, [in:] “*Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*”, 23 (1964), pp. 56–60.

⁷ Gerard Labuda, [Review:] Waclaw Korta, *Średniowieczna annalistyka śląska...*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*”, 13 (1968), pp. 180–181.

⁸ W. Korta, *Średniowieczna annalistyka*, pp. 91, 94.

⁹ The discussions on this topic were presented by Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Średniowieczne roczniki śląskie (u progu prac nad nowym wydaniem)*, [in:] *Przełomy w historii. Pamiętnik XVI-ego Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich, Wrocław 15–18 września 1988 roku*, vol. 2, part 1, Toruń 2000, pp. 110–112.

¹⁰ Cf. *Rocznik kamieniecki*, August Bielowski ed., [in:] MPH, vol. 2 Lviv 1872, p. 777 on the filiation of the wife of Mieszko II. The broad connections of these annals and the work of Gallus Anonymus were presented by W. Korta, *Średniowieczna annalistyka*, pp. 65–67.

¹¹ Gerard Labuda initially indicated other possible sources of this record (*Ibid.*, *Rocznik poznański*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*”, 2 (1958), p. 111), in the final analysis however he inclined to seeing it as dependent on the “*Annales deperditi*” (*Ibid.*, *Główne linie*, p. 831; *Ibid.*, *Jeden czy dwa roczniki niemieckie u podstaw polskiego rocznikarstwa?*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*”, 39 (2002), pp. 13–15).

records of the years 929–1038, but Czech annals which are now lost.¹² But at least some of these records are known from Polish annals and most probably come from the “*Annales deperditi*”.¹³ Comparison of the records in Cosmas’ chronicle and the “First Poznan Annals” reveals extensive dissimilarities.¹⁴ In the final analysis, we regard the records in the “First Poznan Annals” in their present form could not have arisen as extracts from a Czech source, because the tradition there was not interested in the genealogical details of the history of the Piasts on which the Poznan source places emphasis.

Nevertheless the definition of Dobrawa as “mater [...] Boleslay” could have been an addition of a later compiler, as could also have been the case with the adjective “pii”.¹⁵ In the “First Poznan Annals”, this phrase is a parallel to that of another record: “Anno Domini DCCCCLXXV Strezislaua mater sancti Adalberti obiit”.¹⁶ The connection between these two neighbouring pieces of information on the death of the mother of the “devout” Bolesław and “holy” Wojciech seems not to be accidental. According to general opinion, we may also regard the note on the death of Mieszko I in the “Annals of the Poznan Chapter” as coming from the “*Annales deperditi*”.¹⁷ The mistake¹⁸ in the year given—999¹⁹ instead of 992 (as given in German sources)²⁰—

¹² Tomasz Jasiński, *Rocznik poznański. Ze studiów nad annalistyką polską i czeską*, [in:] *Aetas media, aetas moderna. Studia ofiarowane prof. H. Samsonowiczowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 669–670.

¹³ W. Drelicharz, *Mittelalterliche Krakauer Annalistik*, pp. 252–253.

¹⁴ “Anno Domini DCCCCLXXVII Dambrouca materi pii Boleslay obiit”, *Rocznik poznański I*, [in:] *Roczniki wielkopolskie*, Brygida Kürbis ed., in collaboration with Gerard Labuda, Jerzy Luciński, Ryszard Walczak, Warszawa 1962 (=MPH, n.s., vol. 6), p. 129.

¹⁵ “Anno dominice incarnationis DCCCCLXXVII. Obiit Dubrauca, quae quia nimis inproba fuit, ima mulier provecete etatis cum nupsisset Poloniensi duci, peplum capitis sui deposuit et puellarem coronam sibi imposuit, quod erat magna dementia mulieris”, *Cosmae pragensis chronica*, p. 49, lines 1–5.

¹⁶ Most probably added as a result of reading “The Greater life of St Stanisław”, W. Drelicharz, *Mittelalterliche Krakauer Annalistik*, p. 253.

¹⁷ *Rocznik poznański I*, p. 129.

¹⁸ See Brygida Kürbis, *Wstęp*, [in:] *Roczniki wielkopolskie*, pp. XXXI–XXXII.

¹⁹ The reliability of the date 999 was already rejected by Oskar Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, second edition, introduction by Jan Tęgowski, Cracow 2005 [first edition 1895], p. 47. Kazimierz Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, Warszawa 1993, p. 60 however fully accepts its reliability.

²⁰ *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, Brygida Kürbis ed., [in:] *Roczniki wielkopolskie*, Brygida Kürbis ed., in collaboration with Gerard Labuda, Jerzy Luciński, Ryszard Walczak, Warszawa 1962 (=MPH, n.s., vol. 6), p. 23, nr 3, footnote 6.

²¹ *Kronika Thietmara*, IV, 58, p. 225; *Annales Hildesheimenses*, wyd. Georg Waitz, Hannover 1878 (=MGH SRG in usum scholarum, vol. 8), p. 25; See also below: Chapter 7, point 2, the section on “Fulda”.

seems to be the result of a copyist's mistake by writing XCIX instead of XCII. Such a conclusion is indicated by the fact that although the text of the "Annals of the Poznan Chapter" are generally in strict chronological order, this particular note is placed earlier than the record of the date of St Wojciech (which occurred in 997).²¹

From among the numerous Polish annals preserved, we have attempted to find those which contain records written in the period of interest to us and concerning the history of the Piasts. Without, however, defining the circumstances in which these records were initially formulated and put together in the "Annales deperditi", we would not be able to utilise them in our studies of the Piast dynastic tradition. This problem has evoked up to now a lively discussion among scholars, and so we must present a more detailed account of the genesis of Polish annalistic literature. Due to this, the information obtained will allow us to define who had the deciding influence on the shape of the story of the Piasts, the skeleton of which is presented by the brief mentions in the annals.

2. TWO MODELS OF THE BEGINNINGS OF POLISH ANNALISTIC WRITING

In discussions on the genesis of Polish annalistic writing, it has long been accepted that if we regard the records concerning the beginnings of the Polish state as reliable, this must mean that they had arisen in the territory of the Piasts.²² They were written either in the circle of the court creating the so-called "court annals" (or "Annals of Rycheza") and/or in ecclesiastical circles in Poznan or Gniezno as the so-called "Annals of Jordan", later continued as the "Annals of Gaudentius" (sometimes also known as the "Gniezno Annals" or "Poznan-Gniezno Annals").²³ The thesis of the creation of the first annals in the milieu of the rulers is maintained both by those researchers who accept the traditional vision of the development of Polish annalistic writing,²⁴

²¹ *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, p. 23, nr 4.

²² This concerns the records of the arrival of Dobrawa in Poland, the baptism of Mieszko, the birth of Bolesław I, S. Zajączkowski, [Rec.:] *Pierre David, Recherches*, pp. 88–89.

²³ See Gerard Labuda, *Gdzie pisano najdawniejsze roczniki polskie?*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 23 (1957), pp. 95–96.

²⁴ G. Labuda, *Główne linie*, passim.

as well as those negating elements of this vision.²⁵ All agree that the manuscripts of this oldest series of annals were lost at the time of the revolt in Mieszko II's lifetime or as a result of the Czech invasion of 1038. The situation was different however when we discuss the later stages of the keeping of records about the Piasts.

In the opinion of one group of scholars, Czech annalistic writing owes its origins to Polish annals containing information on the life of St Wojciech removed to Bohemia in 1038. These records had earlier, however, been amalgamated by churchmen in the milieu of Mieszko II's queen Rycheza with records deriving from German chronicles. The resultant compilation was then taken by Rycheza to Germany but later returned to Poland with Kazimierz the Restorer. Here the annals were continued in the milieu of the court until the death of Bolesław III Wrymouth. From the first half of the twelfth century to the second half of the thirteenth century, as the "Annales deperditi" they served as the starting point of the various branches of Polish annalistic tradition.²⁶

The interpretation of a second group of scholars stresses the dependence of Polish annals on Bohemian ones. According to them, after Bolesław the Brave had obtained power in Cracow in 984 at the will of the Bohemian ruler Boleslav II, an Easter Table transferred to Cracow from Mainz with annalistic additions which was found here²⁷ was enriched with entries from the hypothetical "Court annals" which later were destroyed in the course of the invasion of Břetyslav in 1038.²⁸ The "Annales deperditi" which thus arose were later continued exclusively

²⁵ Tadeusz Wasilewski, *Dwa utracone roczniki: Rocznik biskupów dworu polskiego i Rocznik tyński (starszy)*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 54 (1988), pp. 8–11; T. Jasiński, *Początki polskiej annalistyki*, p. 144.

²⁶ The Little Polish ("Old Annals", "Annals of the Cracow Chapter"), Great Polish ("Annals of the Poznan Chapter", "First Poznan Annals"), and also Silesian ("Kamieniec Annals"), see Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Początki polskiego rocznikarstwa*, passim; Gerard Labuda, *Główne linie*, passim.

²⁷ The archdiocese to which the diocese of Olomouc (which at that time included Cracow) were subject, see Tomasz Jasiński, "Rocznik obcy" w "Roczniku kapituły krakowskiej", [in:] *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne* (Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, vol. 44), Danuta Zydorek ed., Poznań 2001, pp. 222–224, and a summary of his views *Ibid.*, *Niemieckie dziejopisarstwo X wieku i początki annalistyki polskiej*, "Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej", 2 (2004), pp. 44–45. For more on the connections of the "Foreign Annals" ["Rocznik Obcy"], that is the oldest core of the "Annales deperditi", concerning events of the eighth to tenth centuries with the "Augijski Annals" and Mainz, especially Bishop Wilhelm, see *Ibid.*, *Zagadnienie autorstwa Rocznika obcego*, pp. 8–9, 12–14, 22–25; and *Ibid.*, *Rola Rocznika augijskiego w rozwoju annalistyki polskiej i niemieckiej*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 69 (2003), pp. 76–77.

²⁸ T. Jasiński, *Początki polskiej annalistyki*, pp. 139, 143–144.

in Cracow, and came into the hands of the Cathedral Chapter there. In the incumbency of Bishop Suła-Lambert (1061–1071) notes concerning St Wojciech which had been created in Czech circles,²⁹ together with a few records connected with the history of the Piasts were added to the “*Annales deperditi*” from the “*Annals of the Prague Chapter*”.³⁰

The propositions of previous researchers summarised briefly above have considerable significance for the topic under investigation here. In the case of the first model, the records concerning the Piasts always arose in the closest milieu of the royal court. Their writing by the chaplain of Rycheza, the wife of Mieszko II meant the first “codification” of the historical traditions connected with the dynasty took place, and further records added to were a development of this tradition, or maybe also documentation of current events—but still created in the closest milieu of the ruling Piasts. The second proposition forces us to accept that apart from the period of the direct rule of Bolesław the Brave and Mieszko II in Cracow, Polish annalistic writing created the tradition of the Piasts was seen with the eyes of persons who were outside the circle of people permanently in close contact with the royal court.³¹

3. STAGES OF THE RECORDING OF TRADITION

In order to resolve the dilemma posed by these opposing models of the genesis of the annalistic records that are of concern to us, let us look at the structure of the records known to us which derive from the “*Annales deperditi*”. Erudite discussions starting from a consideration of the external conditions of the writing of these records have not produced a generally accepted model of their genesis. Maybe therefore it is necessary to look at the internal structure and content of the layers of information from the “*Annales deperditi*” which are superimposed on each other. It is here that we may seek traces of the milieu in which they were written.

²⁹ Dušan Třeštík, *Die Anfänge der böhmischen Geschichtsschreibung. Die ältesten Prager Annalen*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*”, 23 (1978), pp. 1–37; and after him T. Wasilewski, *Dwa utracone roczniki*, pp. 10–11.

³⁰ T. Jasiński, *Początki polskiej annalistyki*, pp. 144–146.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 146.

In the records which until 1138 form the “Old Annals” and the “Annals of the Cracow Chapter”, the part dedicated to Bolesław III Wrymouth dominates. In the part of the “Old Annals” which are thought to have been copied from the “*Annales deperditi*” between 1119–1120,³² this phenomenon is less marked. Dependence of the “Annals of the Cracow Chapter” written in the thirteenth century and based on the continuation after 1120 of the “*Annales deperditi*” is more obvious. In both cases, however, notes concerning the military prowess of Bolesław III is given clear prominence in comparison to the records referring to any of his predecessors. As such they form a separate group among the surviving annalistic records referring to the Piasts. The reign of Wrymouth then, seems to have been a period of especial importance for the practice of commemorating the Piasts in Polish annals; we will return to this topic below.

From among the rest of the records coming from the “*Annales deperditi*” concerning the history of Poland, one can indicate several blocks which differ from each other in content. The information concerning Mieszko, son of Bolesław II has a unique character. Although he never gained power over Poland,³³ there is a group of annalistic records referring to him, which in the “*Annales deperditi*” is a characteristic restricted to rulers (births, marriages, important events in their lives, death).³⁴ Quite clearly both for the creators of the “*Annales deperditi*”, who were contemporaries of the events described, as well as for later compilers, this information had a special value, important for the whole tradition recorded in the annals.

A separate part of these records is the group associated with Kazimierz the Restorer. In the “Old Annals” the records referring to him

³² See Janusz Bieniak, *Autor Rocznika dawnego*, [in:] *Kultura średniowieczna i staropolska. Studia ofiarowane Aleksandrowi Gieysztorowi w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*, Warszawa 1991, pp. 430–431, where the older discussions are also presented.

³³ Scholars have long disputed whether Mieszko inherited by the will of Władysław Herman a part of his father's patrimony. The problem has been extensively presented together with the literature by Krzysztof Benyskiewicz, *Mieszko Bolesławowic, 1069–1089. Źródła i tradycja historiograficzna*, Cracow 2005, pp. 71–74, 84–87, 114–120, 124, 142–150.

³⁴ *Rocznik dawny*, Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa ed. [in:] *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz*, p. 10, nr 23; p. 11, nrs 27–28; *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa ed. [in:] *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz*, p. 50, nr 106; p. 52, nr 116; p. 53, nrs 118–119.

mention his birth, his sending for schooling,³⁵ death and also indirectly the birth of his son Mieszko.³⁶ The number and detail of these records is exceptional in the context of these Annals as a whole.³⁷ At the same time in the “Annals of the Cracow Chapter” the record of the birth of Kazimierz exceptionally gives the exact date of the birth of the person, not only giving the information about the day, but also the phase of the moon.³⁸ In these annals only the birth of Mieszko, son of Kazimierz the Restorer was dated in an identical manner.³⁹ In the latter case, the detailed nature of the record has inclined scholars to believe that this note must have been made at a time contemporary with the event.⁴⁰ This special character of the records concerning Kazimierz the Restorer is clear when seen in the context of the other records from the “*Annales deperditi*”. This has long since led scholars to see in them traces of a fundamental change in the activity of annalists in Polish lands. As a consequence the information preceding this also has the characteristics of a thematically coherent group. They are devoid of such precise dating as in the case of the records associated with Kazimierz the Restorer, concentrating on the three basic events in the life of the rulers: their birth (Bolesław I, Mieszko II), marriage and death (Mieszko I, Bolesław I, Mieszko II).

Taking into account the division of the structure of the notes taken from the “*Annales deperditi*”, one can indicate the existence of two stages of the formation in this source of a picture of the past of the Piasts before 1138. The first was the recording of the history of the dynasty from the baptism of Mieszko I to the birth of Kazimierz the Restorer. Until those referring to Kazimierz, the records that are preserved were taken from the collection of annalistic records already existing, maybe related to the source which documented the genealogical traditions about the Piast dynasty which was used by Thietmar.⁴¹ This source associated with the Piasts however did not contain an equally detailed collection of information as that lying behind the narration

³⁵ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 8, nr 15, 18; p. 9, nr 22.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 9, nr 20.

³⁷ Mieszko I and Bolesław the Brave are only mentioned in two records each here, one refers to Mieszko II, and it is only the son of Kazimierz, Bolesław II who is mentioned three times.

³⁸ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 45, nr 86.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 48, nr 99.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 48, footnote 119.

⁴¹ See above, pp. 42–43.

of the German bishop.⁴² It is possible that together with the imprisonment in 1004 of Bishop Unger in Magdeburg,⁴³ we lost without recall some detailed records from the history of the ruling dynasty.⁴⁴

It is difficult to provide an answer to the question of whether in commemorating the date of birth of Kazimierz the Restorer, a new series of annals was initiated,⁴⁵ or whether an existing one was merely continued.⁴⁶ The precision of the dating of this record referring to Kazimierz suggests that there was only a short span of time between the event and its recording. In which case, the annals were at that time in the closest environment of the ruler's court. Since neither any of the previous events, nor later ones which do not concern Kazimierz, were recorded in similar detail, we may connect the inspiration of this specific record with the mother of the child, Rycheza, daughter of the palatine Ezzo. The annalistic tradition was already well developed in the Imperial Church, the need to commemorate events from the history of the ruling family in the form of annalistic notes was not questioned. At the same time neither Bolesław I nor his son Mieszko II seem not to have attached much importance to the precision of the annalistic records created in Poland concerning their lives. The excep-

⁴² It would be otherwise difficult to explain why the marriage of the mother of Mieszko II with Bolesław the Brave, a union mentioned by Thietmar was not entered in the annals, but only Bolesław's marriage in 984 with an unnamed partner. Kazimierz Jasiński has produced convincing arguments on this matter, *Genealogia pierwszych Piastów*, pp. 83–84, his arguments were also accepted by Tomasz Jasiński, *Początki polskiej annalistyki*, pp. 140–142.

⁴³ *Vita quinque fratrum*, p. 72, lines 3–5, see also Johannes Fried, *Otton III i Bolesław Chrobry. Miniatura dedykacyjna z "Ewangeliarza" z Akwizgranu, zjazd gnieźnieński a królestwa polskie i węgierskie. Analiza ikonograficzna i wnioski historyczne*, trans. Elżbieta Kaźmierczak, Witold Leder, Warszawa 2000, pp. 116–117.

⁴⁴ Unger departing for Rome in order to demonstrate the holiness of the Five Martyred Brothers could have taken with him Easter Tables with notes concerning the most important events of interest to the circle of people connected with the Church of the Piasts and the ruling dynasty. On the political aspects of the mission see J. Fried, *Otton III i Bolesław Chrobry*, pp. 118–121.

⁴⁵ As proposed by Gerard Labuda, *Główne linie*, p. 817.

⁴⁶ The concept of the existence of something like "Annals of Rycheza" in the court has rejected by Jarosław Wenta, *Koncepcja memoratywno-liturgiczna funkcjonowania zapisek w tablicy paschalnej a sprawa Rocznika Rychezy*, [in:] *Venerabiles, nobiles et honesti. Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa Polski średniowiecznej. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Januszowi Bieniakowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestopięciolecie pracy naukowej*, Andrzej Radzimiński, Anna Supruniuk, Jan Wroniszewski eds, Toruń 1997, pp. 570–571, who suggested that the first Polish annals were in use in the circle of the clergy of Gniezno. Since such annals would have been compiled by the clergy of the court (*ibidem*, p. 571), it is unclear how this would have differed from annals "kept by the milieu of the court".

tional record of the birth of Kazimierz must therefore have arisen at the inspiration of a new person amongst the Piasts and strongly emotionally attached to the child—and such a person without doubt was Rycheza. For this purpose she did not need to initiate a new book of annals, but only assure the continuation of the existing, official one, carrying the memory of the ruling family. A feeling of responsibility to record the history of the ruler, independent of the relationships within the family, could be the explanation of the inclusion in the annals of a record of the death of Otto, the son of Emnilda and Bolesław the Brave.⁴⁷ This was despite the fact that Otto only gained power over part of Poland due to the fall of Mieszko II and died as the result of the actions of his brothers, and so including Mieszko II.⁴⁸

The annals of the Piast court were continued after the return of Kazimierz the Restorer to the country in 1039/1040. The evidence for the continual updating of these annals in the milieu of the rulers is the maintenance of the same character of the contents of the records concerning the Piasts, those to the death of Mieszko II do not differ from those created after his death. Besides that, if the annals were kept in the circle of the court, why would Kazimierz and his entourage leave it behind when departing from their homeland? It was after all proof of his right to rule in the country, important in the light of the rebellion which broke out in about 1038 against him and his family.⁴⁹ A factor which argues against the functioning in Cracow, in the circle of the clergy there, of a separate series of annals that would be continued only after the return of Kazimierz the Restorer is the lack of any mention of the removal of the body of St Wojciech to Czech lands⁵⁰ and the destruction of the Polish province of the Church. After the return of Kazimierz however, its continuation really was conducted by clergymen associated with the court and residing in Cracow.

In the reign of Władysław Herman, the extemporaneous needs of his policies had an influence on the form of the tradition of the Piasts

⁴⁷ *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej*, p. 47, nr 94.

⁴⁸ See G. Labuda, *Mieszko II*, pp. 88–89, 119–120.

⁴⁹ See *ibidem*, p. 200.

⁵⁰ There are some convincing arguments from the scholars who see the records of the translation of the body of St Wojciech known today from the “Annals of the Cracow Chapter” (*Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej*, p. 47, nr 97) as deriving from Czech annals, see the survey of opinions in the commentary of Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa to her edition of the source (*ibidem*, p. 47, footnote 117), and in T. Jasiński, *Początki annalistyki polskiej*, p. 136, footnote 20.

which was recorded in the annals. It was then that the mentions of Mieszko son of Bolesław II were introduced into the “*Annales deperditi*”. It is not possible to infer that Mieszko was then ruling over Cracow, as some scholars suggest. This is not necessary either, if we accept that the introduction of this information concerning Mieszko was due to the influence of the ruler Herman and his court. The record of the death of Bolesław II and his son Mieszko commemorated the peaceful end of the older line of the Piasts, members of which had worn the crown, which was a competitor to Władysław Herman’s power. If the rebellion against Bolesław II in 1079 which brought Herman to power weakened the position of the rulers in their subjects’ eyes, Władysław would have been interested in strengthening it. One of the elements of such an activity would be the emphasis in the official court annals the dignity of the whole family, including Mieszko, the eldest son of the exiled ruler. We will return to this below.

The period of the rule of Bolesław III Wrymouth brought a significant change in the manner of keeping these annals, when the annals’ entries record above all the military deeds of the ruler. It is possible that this was accompanied by the creation of a new set of annals. This would have been written in accordance with the contemporary tendencies to broaden the narrative elements of the material concerning ongoing conflicts, especially in moments of significant political changes.⁵¹ Evidence of the changes taking place in the writing of Polish annals would be the creation about 1120 of the “Old Annals”—a copy of the “*Annales deperditi*”. At the same time the process of the intervention of persons associated with the milieu of the court in the structure of the records present in the “*Annales deperditi*” continued. Such a process seems to be suggested by the lack of any mention of the induction of Czaśław as the bishop of Cracow according to the will of Władysław Herman. He was deprived of the position shortly after Bolesław III Wrymouth became ruler. This fact probably meant that the information concerning Czaśław was removed from the “*Annales deperditi*”, and as a consequence from the whole later annalistic tradition.⁵²

⁵¹ See Joachim Ehlers, *Historiographische Literatur*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Martin Kintzinger, Bernd Schneidmüller eds, Berlin 1996 (=Berliner Historische Studien, vol. 21), pp. 96–98, with an indication of the especial development of annalistic writing in the reign of King Lothair III (1125–1137) (*ibidem*, p. 97).

⁵² It is difficult to accept that there was no such information at all. From the year 1101 in the annals there is preserved a note on the death of the bishop Lambert, *Rocznik dawny*, p. 12, nr 31; *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 53, nr 122. This type of

It is also worth paying attention to the specific change that occurs between the records devoted to Mieszko, the son of Bolesław II in the “Old Annals” and the “Annals of the Cracow Chapter”. In the first, only in the mention of his birth do we receive the information that he was King Bolesław’s son.⁵³ The presence of this remark can be explained in practical terms, a little earlier the birth of another Mieszko, the son of Kazimierz the Restorer had been recorded.⁵⁴ In both cases a note was added explaining whose sons they had been, to avoid the reader becoming confused. In the “Annals of the Cracow Chapter” however, this person was identified as “the son of King Bolesław” as many as three times (apart from at birth also at the mention of his return to the country and death).⁵⁵ If the author’s actions had been for purely pragmatic reasons, we might expect consistency and that in the record of Mieszko’s marriage, written just before the information about his death, there would be the same sort of information about his position in the family. Since however that is not the case, we should accept that for the author of this version of the annals it was very important to emphasise that it was the son of Bolesław II, and nobody else, who had returned from Hungary, and then died. We may doubt that this information was necessary at the moment when these events took place. Then, everybody knew who had returned from Hungary and who had died. In the reign of Bolesław III however there was indeed a need for the demonstration that the rival line of the family originating with Bolesław II the Bold had definitively died out.

Let us also note that in the “Old Annals” we do not find the mention of the death of Judith of Bohemia which in the “Annals of the Cracow Chapter” accompanies the record of the return of Mieszko from Hungary and the birth of Bolesław III. Here in one entry we have as many as three pieces of information, a situation which has no parallel in the earlier records identified as having come from “*Annales deperditi*”. The manner in which the record reports the information:

information was generally accompanied by a mention of his successor. We know the name was known to the Cracow clergy because there is a mention of him contemporary with his nomination in the introduction to the inventory of the treasury of the cathedral: “*datus est episcopatus uenerabili uiro Cazlao ab inuictissimo duce poloniorum wladizlao*”, *Spisy dawne skarbcy i biblioteki kapitulnej krakowskiej*, August Bielowski ed., [in:] MPH, vol. 1, p. 376 with a slight correction by the present author.

⁵³ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 10, nr 23.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 9, nr 21.

⁵⁵ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 50, nr 106, p. 52, nr 116, p. 53, nr 119.

“Judith mater sua obiit” suggests that the creator of the text wrote almost from the point of view of Bolesław III, completely ignoring Władysław Herman. It is worth taking this into account since successive records mention the death in 1087 of Dobroniega, “wife of Kazimierz”, but not referred to as the mother of Władysław who was ruling at the time.⁵⁶ Finally, the annals note the death of Herman’s first wife, but is silent about the second of the same name. This may lead us to accept that the records of the death of Judith of Bohemia had been included in the official annals, but the annals were thoroughly edited in the reign of Bolesław. This would explain her absence from the “Old Annals”.

It is now time to summarise our discussions on the genesis of the Polish annals. The official court annals, initially kept in the time of Mieszko I and Bolesław the Brave, after preliminary remarks concerning the christianisation of Poland would have concentrated on events concerning the genealogical aspects of the ruling dynasty. For this reason it would be difficult to see them as having been kept anywhere else except in the closest environment of the court of the ruler. Additional evidence of this is the lack of interest of the authors of the “*Annales deperditi*” in the events of the year 1000 when the Polish church was created. It is characteristic that among the group of facts connected with this, in the Polish annals, the only one recorded is the ordination of Gaudentius, the archbishop of Gniezno. The names of the other bishops however, are omitted. There is for example no mention of the bishop of Cracow—whose name, Poppo is known from other Polish sources.⁵⁷ This seems to indicate that the annals at the source of the “*Annales deperditi*” were created in central Poland and not in Cracow.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 53, nr 117.

⁵⁷ The name is known also in a list of bishops of Cracow, see Józef Szymański, *Wstęp*, [in:] *Catalogi episcoporum Cracoviensium*, Ibid. ed., Warszawa 1974 (MPH, n.s., vol. 10, z. 2), pp. 8–9. For a section of the oldest catalogue with the name Poppo, see *Redakcja I krakowska*, [in:] *Catalogi episcoporum Cracoviensium*, p. 24. The discussion concerning the genesis and development of the catalogues of bishops of Cracow are summarized by Gerard Labuda, *O katalogach biskupów krakowskich przez Długoszem*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*”, 27 (1983), pp. 83–96. Thirteenth century chronicles give the years of his incumbency as 1014–1023, but these are false, Gerard Labuda, *Kraków biskupi przed rokiem 1000. Przyczynek do dyskusji nad dziejami misji metodiańskiej w Polsce*, “*Studia Historyczne*”, 27 (1984), z. 3, pp. 338–339.

⁵⁸ The older discussion is summarized by Gerard Labuda, *Gdzie pisano*, pp. 79–85, conclusion pp. 95–96 and *Ibid.*, *Główne linie*, pp. 818–821.

The availability of the records which had been created during the reigns of Mieszko I and Bolesław the Brave could have been affected if Bishop Unger had taken with him the fullest version of the original records (Easter Tables?) when he left Poland.⁵⁹ This would have left only a copy or perhaps another parallel series of annals remaining in the country. A new impulse was given to the continuation of the annalistic tradition by the arrival in Poland of Rycheza the wife of Mieszko II. From that moment, and after the arrival of Kazimierz the Restorer from the Reich, the annals were continued in the milieu of the court, most probably in Cracow,⁶⁰ until the times of Bolesław III Wrymouth. They then underwent a further modification, maybe even a new version was begun which would have become the direct predecessor of all the oldest Polish annals preserved today except the "Old Annals".

As a result of our discussions, we will accept that the annalistic records which survive today reflect the shape of the tradition of the Piasts which was alive in the ecclesiastical milieu connected with the royal court. This was most fully preserved for the period c. 1119–1121 (the creation of the "Old Annals"). The picture of their earlier development has been obscured by the complicated fates of earlier annalistic compilations. In such a situation we can only speak in general terms about the form of the dynastic tradition from before the times of Bolesław III Wrymouth as recorded in the annals. The next section will present and analyse the information we do have.

4. HYPOTHETICAL SHAPE OF THE TRADITION

Let us attempt to create a list of the information which has been transmitted to us by the annalistic literature as witnesses to the history of the dynasty and which derives from records made in Poland before 1138:⁶¹

⁵⁹ See above, pp. 42–44, 53–54, the sections "Three Ladies" and "One or Many Traditions?".

⁶⁰ G. Labuda, *Główne linie*, pp. 806, 820–821.

⁶¹ I omit the embellishments present in the "Kamieniec Annals" which scholars are in agreement come from a much later time.

1. 965 – Dobrawa comes to Mieszko⁶²
2. 966 – Mieszko is baptised⁶³
3. 967 – Bolesław is born of Dobrawa⁶⁴
4. 977 – Dobrawa, mother of Bolesław died⁶⁵
5. 984 – Bolesław the Great took a wife⁶⁶
6. 990 – Mieszko son of Bolesław is born⁶⁷
7. 992 – duke Mieszko, the first Christian dies⁶⁸
8. 1013 – Mieszko, the son of Bolesław I took a wife, the sister of emperor Otto III⁶⁹
9. 1015 – Vladimir duke of the Rus, dies⁷⁰
10. 1016 – the birth of Kazimierz, the son of Mieszko II⁷¹
11. 1018 – Bolesław is victorious over the Ruthenians⁷²
12. 1025 – King Bolesław the Great dies⁷³
13. 1025 – Lambert is his successor⁷⁴
14. 1026 – Kazimierz is sent to be schooled⁷⁵
15. 1033 – Otto dies⁷⁶
16. 1034 – the death of Mieszko king of the Poles⁷⁷
17. 1045 – the birth of Mieszko⁷⁸
18. 1048 – duke Otto dies⁷⁹
19. 1058 – the death of duke Kazimierz⁸⁰
20. 1065 – the death of Mieszko, son of Duke Kazimierz⁸¹

⁶² *Rocznik dawny*, p. 4, nr 6; *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 43, nr 71; *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, p. 23, nr 1; *Rocznik kamieniecki*, p. 776; *Rocznik poznański I*, p. 129, nr 5.

⁶³ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 5, nr 7; *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 43, nr 72; *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, p. 23, nr 1; *Rocznik poznański I*, p. 129, nr 5.

⁶⁴ *Rocznik kamieniecki*, p. 776–777; *Rocznik poznański I*, p. 129, nr 5, “natus est pius Boleslaus”.

⁶⁵ *Rocznik poznański I*, p. 129, nr 8: “Dombrouca mater pii Boleslai”.

⁶⁶ *Rocznik kamieniecki*, p. 777.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 777.

⁶⁸ *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, p. 23, nr 3.

⁶⁹ *Rocznik kamieniecki*, p. 777.

⁷⁰ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 45, nr 85.

⁷¹ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 8, nr 15; *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 45, nr 86: the day the event happened is given; the *Rocznik kamieniecki*, p. 777 gives the date 1015.

⁷² *Rocznik dawny*, p. 8, nr 16; *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 45, nr 88.

⁷³ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 8, nr 17; *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 45, nr 89; *Rocznik kamieniecki*, p. 778; *Rocznik poznański I*, p. 129, nr 14.

⁷⁴ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 45, nr 89; *Rocznik poznański I*, p. 129, nr 14.

⁷⁵ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 8, nr 18; *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 45, nr 90.

⁷⁶ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 47, nr 94.

⁷⁷ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 8, nr 19; *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 47, nr 95.

⁷⁸ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 9, nr 21; *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 48, nr 99.

⁷⁹ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 48, nr 100.

⁸⁰ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 9, nr 22; *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 48, nr 101.

⁸¹ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 49, nr 105.

21. 1069 – the birth of Mieszko, son of Bolesław⁸²
22. 1076 – the coronation of Bolesław II⁸³
23. 1078 – the king of the Ruthenians dies in battle⁸⁴
24. 1082 – King Bolesław II dies⁸⁵
25. 1086 – the birth of Bolesław III⁸⁶
26. 1086 – Mieszko son of Bolesław II returns from Hungary⁸⁷
27. 1086 – Judith, mother of Bolesław III dies⁸⁸
28. 1087 – Dobroniega, wife of Kazimierz dies⁸⁹
29. 1088 – Mieszko takes a wife⁹⁰
30. 1089 – Mieszko dies⁹¹
31. 1091 – Duke Władysław defeats the Pomeranians⁹²
32. 1102 – Duke Władysław dies⁹³
33. 1103 – Duke Bolesław takes a wife⁹⁴
34. 1105 – Władysław II is born⁹⁵
35. 1109 – Bolesław III defeated the Pomeranians at Nakło⁹⁶
36. 1110 – Bolesław III enters Bohemia⁹⁷
37. 1111 – Bolesław defeats the Bohemians⁹⁸
38. 1113 – Bolesław III takes Nakło and other strongholds⁹⁹
39. 1115 – Bolesław III ravages Prussian lands¹⁰⁰
40. 1115 – Leszek, son of Bolesław is born¹⁰¹
41. 1116 – Bolesław III defeats the Pomorians¹⁰²

⁸² *Rocznik dawny*, p. 10, nr 23; *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej*, p. 50, nr 106.

⁸³ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 10, nr 24; *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej*, p. 50, nr 111; *Rocznik poznański I*, p. 129, nr 16 gives the date 1077.

⁸⁴ *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej*, p. 51, nr 112. Scholars believe that this refers to Izjaslav Jaroslavich, husband of Gertrude, aunt of Bolesław II, see the commentary *ibidem*, footnote 134.

⁸⁵ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 10, nr 25; *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej*, p. 52, nr 114.

⁸⁶ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 10, nr 26; *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej*, p. 52, nr 116.

⁸⁷ *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej*, p. 52, nr 116.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 52, nr 116.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 53, nr 117.

⁹⁰ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 11, nr 27; *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej*, p. 53, nr 118.

⁹¹ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 11, nr 28; *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej*, p. 53, nr 119.

⁹² *Rocznik dawny*, p. 11, nr 29; *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej*, p. 53, nr 120: “Władizlaus cognominatus Hermannus...”.

⁹³ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 12, nr 32; *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej*, p. 53, nr 123: “Hermannus dux Polon[ie] cognominatus Vladizlaus obiit”.

⁹⁴ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 12, nr 33; *Rocznik kamieniecki*, p. 777 gives the date 1104.

⁹⁵ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 13, nr 34; *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej*, p. 54, nr 126.

⁹⁶ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 13, nr 35.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 13, nr 36.

⁹⁸ *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej*, p. 55, nr 130.

⁹⁹ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 14, nr 37; *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej*, p. 55, nr 131.

¹⁰⁰ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 14, nr 38.

¹⁰¹ *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej*, p. 55, nr 132.

¹⁰² *Rocznik dawny*, p. 14, nr 39.

42. 1118 – a rebellion of the Count Palatine against Bolesław III, the rebel is blinded¹⁰³
43. 1119 – Bolesław by force of arms resisted two Pomeranian dukes, one was taken prisoner, the second forced to retreat¹⁰⁴/Bolesław beat the Pomeranian dukes and occupied their lands¹⁰⁵
44. 1127 – Bolesław IV¹⁰⁶ [‘the Tall’, son of Władysław II] was born
45. 1131 – Kazimierz II, son of Bolesław III died¹⁰⁷
46. 1132 – Bolesław fights in Hungary, he gives his daughter Judith as a wife to Borysław Kolomanovich¹⁰⁸
46. 1138 – Duke Bolesław III died¹⁰⁹
47. 1138 – Kazimierz II was born.¹¹⁰

The above list leaves no doubt that the reign of Bolesław III was an especial period in the process of the formation of the surviving form of the Piast tradition as recorded in the annals. Of the 47 selected records from the years 996–1138 listed above, as many as 19, more than a third, concern Bolesław III, his mother and sons. There is a clear change in the content of these records. In the times of Bolesław III, beginning from 1103, there are seven records concerning his military deeds and one on the quelling of an internal rebellion. In the case of the rest of the rulers mentioned, we find two records concerning military victories, of which one is a reference to Bolesław’s father and his victory over the Pomeranians in 1098. If we treat the records concerning Bolesław III as a group and compare them with the mentions of his forebears, it turns out that in the latter group we find that 24 annalistic notes¹¹¹

¹⁰³ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 15, nr 40; *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 55, nr 133 gives us the name of the rebel: Skarbimir.

¹⁰⁴ *Rocznik dawny*, p. 15, nr 41.

¹⁰⁵ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 56, nr 135.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 56, nr 138.

¹⁰⁷ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 57, nr 140.

¹⁰⁸ A late addition deriving from the “Annals of Sędziwoj”, but, in Ryszard Grzesik’s opinion, going back to the times of the “*Annales deperditi*” (*Ibid.*, *Obraz stosunków polsko-węgierskich w czasach piastowskich w rocznikach polskich*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*”, 41 (2003), pp. 7–8).

¹⁰⁹ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 58, nr 143; *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, p. 23, nr 5; both annals give the date (day) according to the Roman calendar.

¹¹⁰ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 58, nr 143.

¹¹¹ Without the mention of the death of Judith, the mother of Bolesław III, which could have been added during the reign of her son.

(that is 80%) concerning genealogical facts (births, marriages, death), while in the presentation of the history of Bolesław III such matters concerned somewhat less than 50% of the records (9 records). The change in character of the picture of the past of the ruling dynasty created in the “*Annales deperditi*” version and written in the milieu of the Cracow court after about 1120–1121 is therefore striking.

Was this annalistic picture of the deeds of the predecessors of Bolesław Wrymouth created in his time as a result of the removal of the records concerning the military might of his forebears? The pragmatic sense of such an act would be obvious, to emphasise Bolesław’s prowess as a warrior-ruler by omitting mention of comparable feats among his forebears. This would mean that the records made in Bolesław III’s reign were a continuation of a certain model of editing the picture of the past. Its current version was written in the times of Bolesław III, but earlier records of similar character would have existed, accenting first the victories of Mieszko I, then Bolesław I followed by those of Mieszko II etc. In such a situation, we cannot talk of any change in the creation of the dynastic tradition falling in the first half of the twelfth century. Such an assessment would seem however to be premature.

Among the records surviving from the “*Annales deperditi*” the mention (nr 10) of the victory of Bolesław I over the Ruthenians is worthy of attention. The presence in a text edited at the time of Bolesław III of a mention of the triumph of his father Władysław Herman over the Pomeranians (nr 30) can be regarded as an element relating to current policies. It need not be related to the real number of records concerning Herman and his wars in the earlier version of the chronicle rewritten in the times of Bolesław III. It concerns after all conflict with the same enemy as was faced by Wrymouth and thus this record emphasises his continuation of the work of his father. We cannot use this argument in the case of the mention (nr 10) of the victory of Bolesław the Brave however: the border with the Ruthenians had no crucial significance for Bolesław III.¹¹² His most important conflicts were played out against the Pomeranians, the Reich and the Czechs. If the compilers of the annals were led therefore by the need to emphasise the

¹¹² To the degree that the only serious conflict on the eastern border (with the Volodar Rostislavich, duke of Przemyśl) was carried on and solved not by the Duke Bolesław himself, but his Court Palatine, Piotr Włosotowic.

close political parallels between Bolesław III and his forebears, they should either omit the references to the Kievan expedition of Bolesław I, or—if suitable material was to be found in the “*Annales deperditi*” about the wars of Bolesław I which was in as much detail as those referring to the deeds of Bolesław III—they would have utilised those that referred to his expeditions against the Czechs, Pomeranians, and especially battles with Henry II. We find, however, no trace of such operations in our version of the annals.

If the milieu of Bolesław III were interested in commemorating the military deeds of his forebears by mentions in the annals, as the presence of record nr 10 suggests, why are there so few records of this type? If suitable material in the earlier annals used as a source had existed, these records should have been included in the later edition referring to Kazimierz the Restorer (Bolesław III’s grandfather), as well as Mieszko II, even if we assume that it was preferred to maintain silence over his uncle, Bolesław II. This is especially the case since the traditions of the great military exploits of these rulers was available. We will see in our later analysis that these traditions were used by Gallus in his “*Chronicle of the Poles*”. Quite clearly these facts did not function in the annalistic records. If however we postulate that records of the military triumphs of the direct predecessors of the current ruler were systematically omitted from the “*Annales deperditi*”, why is there a relatively detailed account of the victory of Bolesław I in Kiev? It seems therefore, more likely that even if in the creation of another version a selection had taken place in the milieu of Bolesław III of the records in the “*Annales deperditi*” referring to earlier Piast rulers, the character of the work was preserved as a whole. That in turn leads us to the conclusion that before the times of Bolesław III, the annalistic records which arose in the milieu of the court served to commemorate the most important of the events in the family life of the Piasts, mainly genealogical facts.¹¹³ The reign of Bolesław III saw a dramatic change in this situation.

The group of records covering the period from the baptism of Mieszko I to the death of Bolesław II, despite some similarities in themes covered, are very heterogeneous. In the 24 records covering a

¹¹³ Scholars are well aware of this fact, most often referring to the “courtly” character of the records, Cf. G. Labuda, *Główne linie*, pp. 818–820.

century (965–1082), four make direct reference to the life of Bolesław I (nos. 3, 5, 11, 12), but in addition three further ones (nos. 4, 6, 8) mention the relationship of other people (mother, son) to him, while at least one other is included in the annals as the result of a relationship which though not stated, existed (no. 9, the Kievan ruler Vladimir, father in law of Gertrude, Bolesław's granddaughter). One third of the records recounting the story of the dynasty before 1082 refer to Bolesław I. The author of the "Kamieniec Annals" in turn, who did not know the number or names of sons of Bolesław III (and so therefore had no access to the version of the "Annales deperditi" maintained in his court), gives us three records connected with Bolesław I found only in his version, and two other ones which are common to other versions of the annals. Undoubtedly, for the compiler of these annals, the detailed presentation of the significance of Bolesław I was important, as seems to be indicated by the extended narration of the military triumphs of the ruler in the record of his death (1025). He probably attempted to include in his annals as many records as possible which were directly connected to this ruler and which he found the version of the "Annales deperditi" available to him. This would suggest that already in this version of the annals dating back to the beginning of the twelfth century, and thus predating the "Chronicle" of Gallus Anonymus, Bolesław I was especially distinguished. Already then, in the "Annales deperditi", he bore the cognomen "Magnus".¹¹⁴

The life of Mieszko I is however surprisingly badly represented, this is despite his story and that of his wife being a link between the history of the Piasts and holy history, the story of man's Salvation.¹¹⁵ The annals of central (Great) Poland are especially careful to present the beginnings of Polish history, but only able to give the date of his marriage to Dobrawa, his baptism and death (nos. 1–2, 7). Even the death of Dobrawa is noted only as the death of "the mother of Bolesław" (no. 4) almost as if he, and not her husband Mieszko, was the initiator of Polish history. It is clear that the information in this form could have

¹¹⁴ Mieszko's story was repeated in a similar way by the "Old Annals", the "Annals of the Cracow Chapter", the "Poznan Annals" and the "Kamieniec Annals", and thus by works which had only one common source, the original "Annales deperditi".

¹¹⁵ Rosamond McKitterick, *Constructing the Past in the Early Middle Ages: The Case of the Royal Frankish Annals*, "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society", series 6, 7 (1997), p. 113.

been added to the annals at a date later than the compilation initiated by Rycheza. Even if we are in agreement over that, we should note that only in the case of this wife of Mieszko is the date of death recorded in the “*Annales deperditi*”. There is nothing to suggest that any mention of Bolesław I’s stepmother, Oda would have been found in it. There is also a similar lack of information about the fates of her children. It was Thietmar who gives us the information about their birth,¹¹⁶ and he probably based his account on the contents of the oldest notes from the milieu of the clergy attached to the Polish court. This information however was not found in the version that in about 1013 the compiler from the milieu of Rycheza used as a basis for his work, and no care was taken to supplement the missing information. Thus, in the official dynastic tradition which was recorded in the lifetime of Bolesław I, and then systematically developed by, Mieszko I had an important, but not dominant role. The most important individual mentioned was the duke, and later king Bolesław I. Through accident, it was in his reign that the writing of the version of the court annals that was to be continued in later times was begun. It is worth noting though that the descendents of Bolesław I, in whose reign successive records were added, did not attempt to change the character of the family tradition to concentrate more on themselves. This situation was not to change until the reign of Bolesław III.

Kazimierz, the son of Mieszko II has a privileged place in the annalistic records in another manner. Although as many as five records in total refer to him, three of them (nos. 10, 14, 19) directly and two concern his sons (mentioning their relationship to him, 17 and 20), it is only in the case of his birth, and the birth of his son Mieszko, that the actual day is given (based on the Roman calendar and the lunar calendar).¹¹⁷ Of equally exceptional character is the information (no. 14) about the sending of ten-year old Kazimierz for schooling. It is exceptional in that the annals do not generally give us any information about the childhood of the Piasts. The fact that these notes about Kazimierz survived in later versions demonstrates the pietism with which he was treated. Nevertheless the model of the family tradition that was proposed by the milieu of first Rycheza, and then later

¹¹⁶ *Kronika Thietmara*, IV, 57, p. 225.

¹¹⁷ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 45, nr 86; p. 48, nr 99.

Kazimierz the Restorer, that is the detailed documentation of the lives of the ruler and his family, quite clearly was not accepted. After the death of Kazimierz, the day on which the birth of a royal son occurred was never again recorded in the surviving annals.

After Kazimierz's death, at the forefront of the annalists' attention are records which refer only to the history of the ruler, a tendency that was already visible in the case of the records concerning Bolesław the Brave and Kazimierz the Restorer. In the notes from the period of Kazimierz there is no mention of the birth of his two first sons, Bolesław II and Władysław Herman, but the date of the birth of the third, Mieszko, and his death at the age of 20 are both given (nos. 17, 20). This probably relates to this son of Kazimierz being destined as the successor to the throne. We do not learn much of Bolesław II from the annals, but we are told the basic facts about the story of his first-born, from birth, marriage until death. Still in the part of the annals relating to Władysław Herman we find the date of birth of Bolesław III, but there is no trace of Zbigniew, Władysław I's firstborn son. Maybe this is connected with the editing of the record in the times of Bolesław III. It seems however that this fact could equally be explained as due to the destiny of Bolesław to be Herman's successor from the moment he was born of Judith (Premyslid) of Bohemia.

From Kazimierz's death onward, the annals record therefore with great consistency the history of the family, however in a form planned to be beneficial to the persons exercising power or destined to exercise power. Until the death of Władysław Herman, the annalistic records do not describe the history of the whole family but the story of each successive member of the family who gains power as ruler. The situation changes after the inclusion of notes concerning Bolesław III, when there are not only a significant number of records referring to his military triumphs, but we also find for the first time information about the birth of more than one sons, and in addition a mention of the name of Judith, the dead mother of Bolesław III.

The question must of course remain open whether these records would have survived to our times if after Bolesław Wrymouth's death the throne had been occupied only by his oldest son, Władysław II. It seems likely that they would. The basic source for reconstructing the annalistic practice in Poland are the Cracow annals. If after 1138 it had been wanted to maintain the form of the tradition present in the Polish annals to the time when Bolesław III came to power, so in the

manuscripts from Cracow there should only be preserved the name of Kazimierz, the posthumous son of Bolesław III. It was his line that was maintained in Cracow until the times of Bolesław V (the Chaste, reg. 1243–1279). This however was not what happened. We may therefore suggest that in the times of Bolesław III a fundamental change took place in the way the tradition of the family of the ruler was perceived. Certainly one of its elements, and maybe even the decisive reason for it, were the efforts of the protectors of Gallus Anonymus, the chronicler who attempted to write a full version of the history of Poland in the first quarter of the twelfth century. It is no accident that Gallus in writing his “Chronicle” accuses the clergy of the court a lack of willingness to record the deeds of the forebears of the ruler.¹¹⁸ In reality, their deeds were not recorded in the annals. This left an empty space which could only be filled with oral tradition, based on earlier records, but also invention and anecdote. Let us note that in the history of culture, it is the writing down of a full version of the “cultural memory”, in addition a version that is intended to be ceremonially repeated by the community,¹¹⁹ which is treated as the indicator of the transition from an oral to a written culture.¹²⁰

It is not surprising therefore that the chronicler and the milieu associated with him presented a vision of tradition in opposition to that of which they accuse the clergy. This new vision was of broader scope than the existing one. Until the times of the description of the reign of Bolesław III, there is a lack in the annals of clear traces of an attempt to maintain a tradition which aimed to emphasise the participation in a past which they had in common with their subjects. Of course there are visible attempts to create a family tradition, but this exists somewhat in isolation from events concerning Poles as a whole. In this perspective, the emphasis placed on the military triumphs of Bolesław III together with the earlier record concerning Władysław Herman seems to represent a watershed in the development of annalistic practice. Until that time the manuscript of the annals fulfilled the function of a memorial commemorating the history of the family as part of a history which is part of the story of our Salvation. At the same time

¹¹⁸ See below, pp. 133–134.

¹¹⁹ Which was after all Gallus’ aim, see below p. 125.

¹²⁰ Aleida Assmann, Jan Assmann, *Schrift und Gedächtnis*, [in:] *Schrift und Gedächtnis. Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation*, München 1983 (=Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation I), p. 272.

this was a medium embodying the vision of the rightful inheritance of power by successive members of the dynasty in accord with the ideal flow of history.¹²¹ In the reign of Bolesław III, that function of the court annals begins to be replaced by a new one, proclaiming the glory of the ruler, who gains it in the participation of both sacral and worldly history, and in addition together with his subjects.

¹²¹ A similar function, reflecting the state of the “family memory” of the Kievan Rurikid dynasty in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, has been proposed for the Ruthenian annalistic writing on the basis of the concept of “patrimony” by N.F. Kotliar, “*Otczina*” Jarosławiczej (*rodowaja pamiat’ w lietopisi*), “Driewniejszije Gosudarstwa Wostocznoj Ewropy”, 2001, pp. 115–117, 120.

PART TWO

THE TIME OF THE GREAT NARRATIVE

CHAPTER THREE

THE SHADOW OF THE GREAT BOLESŁAW. THE "CHRONICLE" OF GALLUS ANONYMOUS ON THE DESCENDANTS OF PIAST

In order to examine the questions discussed here, the use of the "Chronicle" of Gallus Anonymus is indispensable. Written in Poland at the beginning of the twelfth century, this was the first coherent narrative of the whole of the history of the Piasts. In its analysis we attempt to focus above all on reaching the group of values which are being transmitted by the picture of the past of the ruling dynasty; the picture which the creator of the "Chronicle" could suggest to its readers and transmit to them by its means. We will not attempt to determine the deeper source of the narrative schemes used in this work, nor to try to reveal the historic facts which lie behind the stories.¹ We will therefore refer to the hypothesis of other investigators who have examined these topics only when it allows us to more fully reveal the meaning of the stories suggested by the structure of the text. This is not a result of our own assumptions as an author but due to the realities of the history of historiography. Gallus' "Chronicle" is part of the trend of the "new" historiography of the twelfth century. From the eleventh century (but in the opinion of scholars especially in the twelfth century), besides the traditional allegorical historiography another form of narrative about history which was composed of a sequence of pictures and anecdotes began to become more important. They were meant to be taken literally, but within that they contained a moral which was important for the reader and reaching this was by means of the

¹ Gerard Labuda (*[Review:] Czesław Deptuła, Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski...*, Lublin 1990, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 34 (1993), p. 114) has suggested that there are three ways in which the "Chronicle" can be read: as a source for describing history, as a source for history at the moment of its writing and as a myth. We choose the second of these options. It is obvious that the analyses conducted here do not challenge the determinations of investigators (Janusz Bieniak, Tadeusz Grudziński) using its text in the first manner, nor those who examine it in terms of the third model (Jacek Banaszkiwicz, Czesław Deptuła, Edward Skibiński), since their results to some extent overlap.

application of pure logic.² Since the work of Gallus is not a “pure” example of this category of literature, in the places where he himself suggests that events were allegorical we will attempt to respect that.

The basic criterion for the decoding of the information incorporated in the “Chronicle” is the assumption that the author at each moment was observing the internal logic of the work which can be established both by the universal principles of coherence of the communication as a whole,³ as well as examining the context of the aim of the creation of the whole narrative. This is either the aim that is expressed by the author, or the suggested connection between the contents or structure of the “Chronicle” and the historical circumstances of its composition. We will attempt to use here this method, close to the phenomenological approach,⁴ with regard to individual episodes, whole themes and the linguistic layer of the narrative. That which for the purposes of this study is the most important, the attempt to reach an approximation of the form of the tradition of the Piast family that functioned in Poland at this time, can only be achieved through ensuring the coherence in the interpretation of two areas of significance: within the rules governing the narrative world of the “Chronicle” and with regard to the cultural-political circumstances of its creation.⁵ We give priority

² Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories. Studies in the reconstruction of the Past*, Cambridge/New York/Port Chester/Melbourne/Sydney 1992, pp. 286, 290, here also the literature.

³ This coherence is not our preconceived assumption. The chronicler specifically declares that his ultimate aim was to write a story of the ruling dynasty from its beginnings to the period of the reign of Bolesław III (see below). This internal unity is not contradicted by the loose construction of this narrative, because that results from the type of text to which the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymous belongs—as was shown by Marian Plezia, *Kronika Galla na tle historiografii XII wieku*, Cracow 1947 (=Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego, Series II, vol. 46 (71), nr 3), p. 77.

⁴ See with regard the studies of literature by medievalists: František Graus, *Littérature et mentalité médiévales: le roi et le peuple*, “Historica. Les sciences historiques en Tchécoslovaquie”, 16 (1969), pp. 18–19.

⁵ We have introduced this attempt at a compromise between a semiotic and pragmatic understanding of the history of culture (see Krzysztof Pomian, *Historia kultury, historia semioforów*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Historia. Nauka wobec pamięci*, Lublin 2006, pp. 118–120) to avoid both formalism (the creation of systems of meaning not connected with the conception of culture functioning at a given moment in past time) and the subjectivism of the investigator (the initial ascription of significances to the analysed stories on the basis of a priori accepted models of past culture). Such a strategy should act as a control with regard the author’s analyses and prevent the hasty acceptance of a coherent vision, created solely by the investigator, of a world of significances of which the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymous would have been a part.

to the first factors which should themselves define the manner of interpretation of specific passages of the "Chronicle". Behind this lies the assumption mentioned above that the whole work has a coherent character as a narrative and is linked together by a common set of senses. We will also attempt to verify these assumptions in the course of this discussion. Only in the next step, after determination as close as possible of the significance of the passage for the contemporary readers of the chronicle, do we turn to the contemporary historical conditioning which influenced the sense and form of the chronicler's expression. This seems to limit—though by no means does it eliminate—the possibilities of the domination of the interpretation of the text by knowledge, emotions, aims of the contemporary interpreter, a partner in the continuing dialogue begun several centuries ago by the writing of a certain "Chronicle".

Let us repeat once again our declaration in the "Introduction" to this work. We treat our role instrumentally, as a translator presenting the results of analysis of the source text for the modern reader. The result of the adoption of this initial principle is a rather detailed and maybe for the taste of some readers what may be seen as an excessively scrupulous analysis of the significance of the contents of the work. This seems to be indispensable in order to be able, after presenting the senses contained in the narrative material, to pass on to an attempt to indicate the network of affirmed values forming the tradition of the history of the royal family embodied in the "Chronicle". Only defining this "skeleton" of the narrative will allow us to properly compare it with the propositions concerning the "dynastic tradition" of the Piasts which we have reconstructed in the earlier parts of this work.

It is no accident that we divide our analysis of the "Chronicle" into two parts, the first concerning the ancestors of Bolesław III and the second which presents the history of Bolesław himself. In both parts of the "Chronicle" there are many differences in the values constructing the story of the Piasts. As we explain below, the parts of the "Chronicle" referring to both chronological periods could also have been written at different times and with different aims. For this reason, we should start with a few remarks concerning the genesis of the work analysed in this chapter and the next.

1. THE GENESIS AND STRUCTURE OF THE “CHRONICLE”

Although investigations of the Chronicle of Gallus Anonymus have been going on since the second half of the nineteenth century, many aspects of its genesis remain a mystery. With regard to the chronological extent of the events described in it, the time of its creation has been defined as the second decade of the twelfth century, more precisely, 1112–1117/8, and more narrowly even, 1113–1115.⁶ In the manuscripts of the work that have survived until today, the “Chronicle” is divided into three books, each of which is preceded by a letter of dedication and an “epilogue” (i.e. versified summaries of the contents of the individual books). The first describes the history of the dynasty from Piast to the birth of Bolesław Wrymouth. The second describes the events until the latter gains sole rule over Poland, the third describes events taking place in the years 1109–1113. The “Chronicle”, despite its traditional title is treated as a “historical story”, the “gesta” of Duke Bolesław Wrymouth,⁷ sometimes more broadly “gesta regum et ducum Poloniae”.⁸

For the needs of our study, it is unnecessary to determine whether the first or second proposition of the date of creation of the work is more believable. What however is indispensable is to define the fundamental principle or principles underlying the ordering of the material and the aim of writing the work, and the potential informants of its writer.

⁶ The basis of most of the studies using the “Chronicle” are the determinations of Marian Plezia, *Kronika Galla*, pp. 190–193, who defines the date of the writing of the work as 1113–1115, later widening it slightly to 1112–1116, see Marian Plezia, *Wstęp*, [in:] Anonim tzw. Gall, *Kronika polska*, pp. XI–XII. In the course of further discussion it has been shown that the upper date for the writing of the work could have been as late as 1117. See the literature collected in: *Editors’ Introduction (in cooperation with Wojciech Polak)*, [in:] *Gesta Principum Polonorum/The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, translated and commentary by Paul W. Knoll, Frank Schaer, forward by Thomas N. Bisson, Budapest/New York 2003 (Central European Medieval Texts, vol. 3), p. XXXI.

⁷ Aleksander Brückner, *Pierwsza powieść historyczna*, “Przegląd Humanistyczny”, 3 (1924), pp. 117–136, more precisely M. Plezia, *Kronika Galla*, pp. 51–58.

⁸ For a classic presentation of the structure of the chronicle and discussion of the type of literature to which it should be assigned, see M. Plezia, *Wstęp*, pp. XVII–XX, L–LVI.

The aim of writing the “Chronicle”—only the glorification of Bolesław Wrymouth?

Traditionally it is accepted that the basic aim of writing the “Chronicle” was to serve the glorification of the duke reigning at the time, Bolesław III Wrymouth. The anonymous creator defining the group of direct recipients of the first book of his work does not however include Duke Bolesław himself among them. In the letter preceding the text, he addressed his words solely to Marcin, the archbishop of Gniezno, the bishops who were subordinate to him and chancellor Michał.⁹ At the same time, although in the “Chronicle” there is no dedication directly addressed to the duke, certainly the chronicler took into consideration the ruler’s reaction to his words. It is no accident that he emphasised before beginning his first book that he is devoting his efforts to describing the history of the ruler.¹⁰ In two places he mentions that he hopes to receive some kind of reward for his efforts.¹¹ This most probably was not just a rhetorical remark. In the twelfth century not only Gallus Anonymous came to Poland from the West with the hope of finding here a means to make a living.¹² If however the contents of his work were to find their way to the court, according to the words of the chronicler himself, this would have only been through the means of the persons mentioned in the text itself as its recipients. In the letter preceding the first book, the author points indicates that these men are to obtain a reward from the duke.¹³ The royal chaplains to whom the author addresses the letter attached to the third book would be those who would recommend the reading of the text out aloud in the palace or in the palace school.¹⁴

The duke himself appears in the letter attached to the first book in two separate contexts. Throughout it however, the author addresses

⁹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, Epist., p. 1, lines 4–7. See also Alheydis Plassmann, *Origo gentis. Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen*, Berlin 2006 (=Orbis mediaevalis. Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters, vol. 7), p. 293.

¹⁰ For example *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, Proh., p. 9, lines 2–5.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 4, lines 11–12; III, Epist., p. 123, lines 11–13.

¹² See the letter of Guibert of Gembloux to the anonymous scholastic Arnulf, dated to the second half of the twelfth century. For an edition of parts of the letters: Olgierd Górka, *List Gwiberta z Gembloux (w. XII) do scholastyka Arnulfa*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 40 (1926), p. 33.

¹³ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, Epist., p. 4, lines 9–12,

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, III, Epist., p. 122, lines 9–11, p. 123, lines 7–10.

the clergy mentioned in the introduction. It is to them that he entrusts his work, due to their protection he had no fear of critical comments and for this reason he wished to include their names in its narration. This was certainly a further conventional element (topos) in his narrative,¹⁵ but this does not exclude the possibility that the creation of the work was under the real protection of the hierarchy of the Church. This is especially the case since the writer tells us that it was not the duke or anybody else who had encouraged him to write it. It was Fortuna—and in the mouth of a clergyman such an undefined factor could mean a complex of elements guided by divine providence but fulfilled by the hand of man—which had made the persons he mentions the guardians of a just cause (“fautores... iuste rei”). The phrase “iusta res” should be linked with the next sentence. The writer starting with the word “nam”—“for” indicates that in their time and through their prayers God had ornamented Poland with the famed and—what is important—worthy of memory, acts of duke Bolesław.¹⁶ It is in such a context that the next sentence becomes understandable, in which the author indicated that he had omitted certain “gesta” which had occurred in the lives of the bishops, though some he had recorded.¹⁷ It is the period of the lifetimes of the ecclesiastics mentioned not that of Bolesław which defines the chronological boundaries and the choice of subject matter here. This is undoubtedly an exposition of the contents of the work,¹⁸ but this should be treated cautiously. In reality, the first book of the “Chronicle” to a great degree concerns events which occurred long before the lifetimes of the bishops mentioned in the letter.

There is another mention of the ruler himself when in the book itself, Gallus defines the general aim of his efforts, to sing the praises of Bolesław. This thought appears for the first time after the ending of the letter preceding the first book, in the summary (“Epilogue”) of that book which is in effect a panegyric in honour of the ruler. It appears a second time in the forward to the narrative part of the book

¹⁵ Gertrud Simon, *Untersuchungen zur Topik der Widmungsbriefe mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreiber bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts*, part 2, “Archiv für Diplomatik. Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde”, 5/6 (1959/1960), pp. 130–132.

¹⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, Epist., p. 3, line 4.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 3, lines 2–8.

¹⁸ Jan Wikarjak, [Review:] *Anonim tzw. Gall, Kronika polska, przeł. Roman Grodecki, przekład przejrzał... Marian Plezia, Biblioteka Narodowa... Wrocław... 1965, “Studia Źródłoznawcze”, 12 (1967), p. 188.*

itself, which follows the “Epilogue”.¹⁹ In the latter case, the words concerning Bolesław Wrymouth are incorporated in a passage which could have functioned without them. Gallus writes: “opere pretium duximus quasdam res gestas Polonicorum principum *gratia cuiusdam gloriosissimi ducis ac victorisissimi nomine Boleszlau* stilo puerili pocius exarare, quam ex toto posterorum memorie nihil imitabile reservare”²⁰ (emphasis P.W.). While in the dedicatory letter, the duke and his history were one element (an important one though not the most important group of events) which led to the writing of the work, here presentation of the history of the duke is indicated as the dominant reason for the creation of the work. Although this work is above all a “res gestas Polonicorum principum”, in all of the “memory of things past” there is nothing else similar to the history of Bolesław, who was conceived as a result of the intervention of St Gilles. It was also that saint which assured him permanent protection.²¹ Let us take a closer look therefore at the narrative of Gallus concerning the conception of the duke.

A “Chronicle”, about what or whom?

The story in the “Chronicle” about the circumstances surrounding the birth of Bolesław Wrymouth hides a certain constructional inconsistency in the context of the manner in which the earlier history was presented. The author, as may be expected from the form of the narrative in the first book, began his story from the ascension to power of Władysław Herman and a few comments on events which occurred in his reign, his marriage, the birth of a son. Directly following this, without developing those topics further he indicates that he has reached a specific point in his story; after a brief consideration of “the tree from the roots up”, he attempts with his pen and mind to add to the catalogue “the fruit-bearing branch”.²² We should refer here to the final passage of the “Introduction” to the first book, where the author wrote: “therefore we begin the material [of the story] we will proceed starting from the roots to the branches”.²³ The coincidence

¹⁹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, Epylogus, p. 4, line 16—pp. 6, line 2.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, I, Proh., pp. 6, 7–11.

²¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 6, lines 11–13.

²² *Ibidem*, I, 30, pp. 56, line 19—pp. 57, line 2.

²³ *Ibidem*, I, Proh., p. 9, lines 2–6.

of these phrases does not seem to be an accident, especially since it is the only case in the whole book where the author refers to the metaphor of a “genealogical tree” which is present in the “Introduction”. This suggests that this is a trace of the framework of the construction of the text. At the beginning Gallus says he will begin with the roots before discussing the last of the branches, and the process finishes with incorporating Bolesław III into the “catalogue of rulers”. The transparency of the composition is disturbed only by the sentences cited above from the “Introduction” and “Prologue” which suggest that the whole “Chronicle” had the aim of praising Bolesław.

Beginning his story of Władysław Herman in the first book, the chronicler indicated that Duke Władysław “who took Judith the daughter of the Czech king Vratislav as his wife/who bore him a son, Bolesław the third/ of which (de quo) our intention gave [this work its] title,/ as the story which follows will tell”.²⁴ In the understanding of this fragment the words “de quo” cause some problems. They may be translated as “of which” and refer this to the birth of Bolesław. If however we translate the phrase as “of whom”—that is “of Bolesław”,²⁵ the penultimate line of that sentence is not logically connected with the rest of the whole passage and the contents of the part of the narrative which it introduces. If “de quo” means “about Bolesław”, we would expect that—in accordance with such an introduction, the following narrative series would concentrate on his person. This however is not what we find. The story concentrates on the efforts of Władysław Herman and his wife to obtain an heir and concerns Bolesław himself only indirectly. It is no accident that the first words introducing the story of interest are: “Because the parents of the future son were childless...”.²⁶ The introduction of the conjunction “enim” indicates a reference to some earlier information connected with the lack of children. It is present in the narrative sequence discussed above: Władysław had a wife who bore him a son “as the story which follows tells us”.²⁷ If we were to assume that the phrase “de quo” means “of Bolesław”, then the use of the word “enim”—“because/for” is meaningless: Judith had

²⁴ *Ibidem*, I, 30, p. 56, lines 16–19.

²⁵ For example in the translation of Roman Grodecki: “and she bore him a son, the third Bolesław whose fame we would like to praise, as the following story will show”, Gallus Anonymous, *Kronika polska*, p. 54.

²⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 30, p. 57, lines 2–3.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, I, 30, p. 56, lines 18–19.

a son, the author wants to write “of him”, and that intention gave the work its title, for the parents were childless... Matters look somewhat different if we translate the phrase as “of this/of which”: Judith bore a son, the author wants to write “of this” [fact], which gave the work its title, for the parents were childless...

The Epilogue to Book I

It is in such a context that the contents of the “Epilogue” to the first book become understandable. It completely omits the ancestors of Bolesław III and was in its entirety concerned with his miraculous birth.²⁸ Only the two last lines indicate that it is Wrymouth who will be the focus of the whole of the chronicler’s efforts. What is interesting is that the narrative concerned with the life of the Bolesław III only occur in book two of the work. In addition there, at the end of the “Epilogue” the “writing” of the duke’s history is discussed, while in former lines of the “Epilogue” the author speaks only of the “recounting” of his conception, without necessarily indicating its recording in writing. This probably results from the specific situation in which the “Epilogue” itself arose (see below), and also indicates that these last two lines (“the writing of whose deeds/it is high time to begin”)²⁹ could have been introduced after the ending of the first book (although the “Epilogue” was inserted at the beginning of the book). If the description of the birth of Duke Bolesław had been completed there, Gallus would not have to write in the “Epilogue” that he wants to write of that history. He could have freely left the phrase concerning its recounting from the book written before. The history of the duke’s deeds however were not written down, it was necessary now to begin.

In the present construction of the “Chronicle” in which the “Epilogue” is now found after the dedicatory letter and before the prologue of the first book, this means that it could mislead the reader as to the contents of the book and its meaning. This is probably no accident. The placing in this position of the “Epilogue” discussing from the outset the miraculously born Bolesław whose history is to be presented by the whole work suggested to the reader a specific perception of the discussion in the first book of his Piast ancestors. That which originally could have been intended as the conclusion of the work, the miraculous

²⁸ *Ibidem*, I, Epylogus, p. 4, line 16—p. 5, line 21.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 6, lines 1–2.

birth of the son of Władysław Herman and Judith, later thanks to the “Epilogue” became the beginning of the whole story.

This displacement of the “Epilogue” is only one of the symptoms of the inconsistent structure of the “Chronicle”. The “Epilogue” of the first book has a different structure from the epilogues of the second and third book. In the second book, the “Epilogue” fulfils the function of a rhetorical explanation of a break in the writing of the work.³⁰ The “Epilogue” of the third book however is very close in form to that of the first one. Here also we find a summary, but this time of the whole book, in which the motif of the glory of the duke occurs throughout.³¹ Let us add to this that the “Epilogue” of the first book was written in 56 syllabic iambic metre, while the two successive epilogues are in a thirteen syllable trochee.³² The differences can be explained by the original independence of the aim of the creation of the work which today comprises the “Epilogue” of book one of the “Chronicle” from the aim of the author in creating the text of the book itself. This suspicion is strengthened by the fact that its contents presents a different vision of the conception of Bolesław than the basic narrative of the “Chronicle” (see below). There are certain factors that suggest that the future “Epilogue” arose after the writing of the first book of the “Chronicle”, but initially as an independent work,³³ maybe one which Gallus prepared for a special occasion at the court. This would explain the change in focus analysed below in the account of the birth of the duke relative to the narration of the main part of the “Chronicle”. Only in a later period when it became clear that the “Chronicle” would be continued did Gallus add this passage to his manuscript as the “Epilogue” to his first book and by adding the two last lines created a link between the first book and the other parts of his “Chronicle”. This however changed the sense of the first book. For its aim, as our analysis below will show was not necessarily praising the glory of Bolesław III, and not even glorifying the royal dynasty itself.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, II, Epylogus, p. 62, lines 19–20, p. 63, line 1.

³¹ *Ibidem*, III, Epylogus, p. 126, line 15.

³² Feliks Pohorecki, *Rytmika kroniki Galla-anonima*, Cracow 1930, pp. 39, 43, 55, 64.

³³ For more on the topic, see P. Wiszewski, *Domus Boleslai*, pp. 139–141; *Ibid.*, *At the Beginnings of the Piast Dynastic Tradition. The Ancestors of Mieszko in the “Chronicle” by Gallus Anonymus*, “Questiones Medii Aevi Novae”, 9 (2004) [druk: 2005]: *Family*, pp. 159–161.

Poland and Sclavinia

In the “Prologue” of the first book of Gallus’ work there is a relatively extensive description of the boundaries of Poland and the Slav territories. Its presence in the work is not clearly justified by the author. Initially he indicates that he included it because the scene of his story, Poland was “far from the routes of travellers”.³⁴ This information is often used by researchers as the basis of suggestions that Gallus intended his work to reach readers outside Poland.³⁵ This purely informative function was connected with a political theme, when the mention in this description of Prussia and Pomerania led to a long digression on the struggles against them of the duke of Poland—Bolesław III—with the aim of converting them to Christianity.³⁶ After this, Gallus again returns to a geographical description of the northern islands and the whole of the territory of the Slavs. The end of the prologue is somewhat surprising. The author distances himself from his description of the location and qualities of the Slav lands as a “digression” and indicates his intention to return to the main topic of his work, which was “(...) de Polonia et duce principaliter Boleslao describere eiusque gratia quedam gesta predecessorum digna memoria recitare”.³⁷

If a presentation of the history of Poland, the Poles and their duke was to be the aim of the author, then comments on the location and economy of the country were important and necessary, while the boundaries of the Slav lands in general which Gallus defined could be as Brygida Kürbis suggested “an expression of Polish political ambitions”.³⁸ In the same way in the contemporary “Chronicle of the Czechs” by Cosmas we find a lengthy passage which discusses the geography of Czech lands. This occurs however in a notable context, as an element

³⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, Proh., p. 6, lines 13–14.

³⁵ Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Bogu czy ludziom? O motywach twórczości dziejopisarskiej*, [in:] *Causa creandi*, p. 97, suggested also that this could have been connected with the desire of the chronicler to take his work to the place where he took his monastic vows. However in a similar situation, it would have been enough to give a short description locating the scene of events in geographical space. It seems however that the chronicler wanted in this passage to attain several aims, including make the work usable by readers from outside Poland.

³⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, Proh., p. 7, lines 5–11.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 9, lines 2–5.

³⁸ Brygida Kürbis, *Kształtowanie się pojęć geograficznych o Słowiańszczyźnie w polskich kronikach przeddługoszkowych*, “*Slavia Antiqua*”, 4 (1953), pp. 274–275.

of the *origo gentis Boemorum*,³⁹ describing how the nation's founders came to those territories.⁴⁰ There were similar descriptions of the lands of the Huns in the lost "Gesta Ungarorum", or of Britain in Henry of Huntingdon's "Historia Anglorum".⁴¹ Polish historians consider that this description in Gallus' work fulfils an important function in the definition of the significance of Poland and the Poles as themes for a chronicler's narrative.⁴² Maybe however we should go one step further and indicate the significance of the role played in the historiographic concepts of medieval nations by the self-identification of a community with a specific geographical space—their homeland.⁴³

Investigators examining the question of national (or pre-national) identity in the Middle Ages indicate the function within it of two components: a tribal-dynastic awareness and a territorial one, emphasizing the former as more appropriate to the situation in those times.⁴⁴ In the case of Gallus Anonymous, the "tribal" theme does not appear, though the dynastic one is obvious. The territorial one is clearly visible. This is expressed not only through the passage examined here, but also the use of the term "patria" for the description of the place where the Poles live. In this situation we may consider it justified to include Gallus' "Chronicle" in the series of works concentrated on the history of a single people along with the works of Cosmas of Prague and Henry of Huntingdon.⁴⁵ It is worth noting that the inclusion of

³⁹ See Marie Blahová, *Die Anfänge des böhmischen Staates in der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung*, [in:] *Von sacerdotium und regnum. Geistliche und weltliche Gewalt im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. Festschrift für Egon Boshof zum 65. Geburtstag*, Franz-Reiner Erkens, Hartmut Wolff eds, Köln/Weimar/Wien 2002, pp. 68–72, on the arrival of the Czechs in Bohemia *ibidem*, p. 69.

⁴⁰ *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica*, I, 2, pp. 5–7.

⁴¹ See M. Plezia, *Kronika Galla*, p. 64.

⁴² Andrzej Feliks Grabski, *Z zagadnień genezy polskiej wspólnoty narodowościowej*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego", Nauki humanistyczno-społeczne, Ser. 1, fasc. 12 (1960): *Historia*, pp. 45–46, 49–51, 53, 59–60; Czesław Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski. Studium z historiozofii i hermeneutyki symboli dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego*, [Second edition, amended], Lublin 2000, pp. 153–155.

⁴³ See Benedykt Zientara, *Świt narodów europejskich. Powstawanie świadomości narodowej na obszarze Europy pokarolińskiej*, Warszawa 1985, pp. 17, 25–28.

⁴⁴ Jörn Garber, *Trojaner—Römer—Franken—Deutsche. "Nationale" Abstammungstheorien im Vorfeld der Nationalstaatsbildung*, [in:] *Nation und Literatur im Europa der Früheren Neuzeit. Akten des I. Internationalen Osnabrücker Kongresses zur Kulturgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit*, Klaus Garber ed., Tübingen 1989, p. 111, review of opinions *ibidem*, pp. 108–119.

⁴⁵ J. Ehlers, *Historiographische Literatur*, p. 101. following him Norbert Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung im Europa der "nationes"*, p. 6, who however drew attention to the complexity of the aims of the chronicler, *ibidem*, pp. 497–498.

the notion of a “homeland” in the introduction opening the work, and in particular the topic of “love of the homeland” became popular in historiographic works from the eleventh century.⁴⁶ In the case of Gallus’ “Chronicle”, a reference to the concept of a homeland would also emphasise the participation of informers, inhabitants of Poland, in the creation of the work.

If, however, the main aim of the writing of Gallus’ work was to be the glorification of the rule of Bolesław III, the extended digression on the geography of Poland and Slav lands in general would be unnecessary ballast.⁴⁷ Maybe the chronicler realized this which is why he introduced the passage about the expeditions of the prince of the Poles against the pagan Prussians and Pomeranians. In this manner an element which at the beginning had nothing in common with the ruler helps to shed light on his deeds. After including this geographical description, Gallus felt he should remind the reader of the main aim of his work and explain his intention of writing first of the ancestors of Bolesław Wrymouth. Apart from the earlier mentioned main aim, of glorifying the ruler, he added that he would order the material of his from the roots (ancestors) to their culmination, the branches—the reader is led to infer that this refers to Bolesław.⁴⁸ This passage is a development of the justification which appears earlier of the devotion of the first book primarily to a discussion of Bolesław’s ancestors. It is interesting that this passage is strikingly similar to that which precedes the description of the geography of Poland mentioned above. These phrases enclose this text in a way which clearly define what the reader should see at the real subject of the “Chronicle”. This repetition would be superfluous if we assume that this “geography of Poland” was from the beginning a part of a history of Poland or rather of the “dukes and kings of Poland” and not just Bolesław.

The passages justifying the author become understandable in the light of the letter preceding the third book of the “Chronicle”. There also the author justifies himself before the royal chaplains and explains why he undertook the writing of the history of “the dukes and kings of Poland” which they might regard as unworthy of record.⁴⁹ The author

⁴⁶ Gertrud Simon, *Untersuchungen zur Topik*, part 1: “Archiv für Diplomatik. Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde”, 4 (1958), p. 58.

⁴⁷ For more on this, see P. Wiszewski, *At the Beginnings*, pp. 160–161.

⁴⁸ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, Proh., p. 9, lines 5–7.

⁴⁹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, Epist., p. 121, line 9.

used the collective phrase cited above to refer above all to the ancestors of the current ruler, but in no way does he suggest that such a criticism would not be applicable to Bolesław Wrymouth himself. In order to justify his whole historiographical activity, at the beginning of the letter⁵⁰ Gallus used as a final argument the ruler and in particular his virtues, his honour and magnanimity.⁵¹ In this context the passage from the “Prologue” to the first book looks like an answer to the accusations which we meet in the dedicatory letter of book three: Gallus wrote of Poland and its rulers out of regard for Bolesław, and of him above all because he was born due to the intervention of St Gilles.⁵² The introduction of that argument means that the first book which could have functioned as a description “gestorum Polonorum regum et principum”, became the introduction to a “gesta Boleslai” with a strong theological background concerning Wrymouth.

The problems which Gallus faced with people looking askance at his efforts, foreseen already in the letter preceding the first book of his work, are part of a long medieval tradition of conflict between those opposed to literature devoted to secular heroes and the practices that such literature encouraged. The authors of such works, beginning from Einhard, the biographer of Charlemagne to Bishop Otto of Freising always attempted to convince the reader of their reasons for deciding to extol knightly virtues rather than restricting their writing to the deeds of saints. Gallus, who so clearly writes that he does not want to write “the Gospels” fits very clearly into this trend. His argument for this is a specific one. Like Einhard, he refers directly to the virtues of Bolesław III the main character of his work, like Wipo (the biographer of the emperor Conrad II) he indicates the events which involve the sacral sphere and which are important for the narrative (here, the intervention of St Gilles), but finally he refers directly to his, real or rhetorical opponents, the royal chaplains and emphasizes the significance of the praise of their people, praise of the Poles. With his conventional concern for his obligations towards those who gave him bread he here (as in the case of Widukind), refers to his obligations with regard the people.⁵³

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 120, lines 6–15.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 120, line 15, p. 123, line 1.

⁵² On the theme of St Gilles presented as the main hero of the “Chronicle” by Gallus Anonymous, see M. Plezia, *Kronika Galla*, pp. 143–144.

⁵³ See Helmut Beumann, *Die Historiographie des Mittelalters als Quelle für die*

A Story about Poland Before the Story about Bolesław?

In the construction of the work, attention is drawn not only by the autonomic character of the section on the geography of Poland, but also the gradual departure from the general intention of writing the “acts” which took place in the lifetimes of the bishops to the history of the kings and dukes of Poland, which had to be written with regard to Bolesław III, in order to become just the introduction to the praiseworthy history of his rule. This creates the impression of the use by Gallus of several different, conventional arguments for the writing of a historical work which were usually present in the chronicles introductions: the presentation of a gift which is an expression of gratitude to his hosts (in return for “Polish bread”), the praise of the individuals that are the work’s heroes in order to record their deeds so that they are not lost (the Piasts in general and especially Bolesław III), and even the increasing of the glory of the saints (St Gilles).⁵⁴ This inclines us to propose the hypothesis that the projected readership and aims of writing the work underwent change with the passage of time. Maybe in the face of comments from the royal chaplains, the chronicler decided to change the contents of some passages of the work,⁵⁵ and place more emphasis on the role of Bolesław III in its creation. As a result, the character of the narration describing the history of Poland and its rulers underwent a change from the version which was initially addressed directly to the members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy mentioned in the letter preceding the first book.⁵⁶ The exceptional character of the summary (“Epilogue”) of the first book, which as we have remarked above is almost totally concentrated on Bolesław III, could have resulted from the deliberate introduction of these constructional elements (the

Ideengeschichte des Königtums, [in:] *Ideologie und Herrschaft im Mittelalter*, wyd. Max Kerner, Darmstadt 1982 (=Wege der Forschung, vol. 530), pp. 147–159.

⁵⁴ Gertrud Simon, *Untersuchungen zur Topik*, part 1, pp. 56–58; *Ibid.*, part 2, pp. 99–100.

⁵⁵ Marian Plezia (*Kronika Galla*, pp. 65–66) has suggested that Gallus’ narrative concerning Bolesław the Brave was several times edited by its author.

⁵⁶ Stanisław Kętrzyński (*Gall-Anonim i jego kronika*, “Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności”, Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny, seria II, 12 (37) (1898), p. 43), concluded that there had been two redactions of the “Chronicle”. Wojciech Kętrzyński (*Niektóre uwagi o autorze i tekście najdawniejszej kroniki polskiej*, “Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności”, Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny, Series II, 28 (53) (1910), pp. 63–65) polemised with this view.

summaries of the three books) into the “Chronicle” when it exceeded the initial plans of restricting it only to a concise history of Poland.⁵⁷

One thing seems certain: Bolesław Wrymouth and his court are not indicated by Gallus as being the intended direct recipients of the first book of the “Chronicle”. What is more, the ultimate point of reference of the first book is not the royal dynasty, but Poland. It is worth from that point of view looking at least at the first book of the “Acts of Emperor Frederick I” in which Bishop Otto of Freising unequivocally and directly addresses the ruler as the intended reader of his efforts.⁵⁸ If we were to assume that the inspiration for the writing of this work came to Gallus from the royal court, we see no reason why he should not have mentioned that fact. Indeed it was Einhard in his “Life of Charlemagne” who emphasized that the great emperor “barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur, scripsit memoriaeque mandavit”.⁵⁹ This would therefore be a reason for praise of Bolesław III if he was concerned to preserve the memory of his antecedents. Let us emphasise that in no way are we denying the obvious fact that the primary purpose of the whole “Chronicle” in the form we have it today is the glorification of the deeds of Bolesław III. We also regard it as probable that in the context of the political situation at the time the work was written, after the conflict between Zbigniew and Bolesław, it might have served as a means of legitimising the rule of the latter.⁶⁰ This would be the case

⁵⁷ Chroniclers contemporary with Gallus had no objection to making changes in works already written with regard to their agreement with the visions of their readers. An example of this can be found in the four redactions of the “Gesta regum Britanniae” of William of Malmesbury, see Michael Winterbottom, *The “Gesta regum” of William of Malmesbury*, “The Journal of Medieval Latin. A Publication of the North American Association of Medieval Latin”, 5 (1995), pp. 160–165.

⁵⁸ The chronicler in *Ottonis Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, [in:] *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, wyd. Georg Waitz, Hannoverae-Lipsiae 1912 (=MGH, SRG, vol. 46), p. 12, lines 1–4 writes directly of this.

⁵⁹ *Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni*, Oswald Holger-Egger ed., Hannover/Leipzig 1911 (=MGH, SRG, vol. 25), c. 29, p. 33, lines 12–14.

⁶⁰ See Roman Michałowski, *Ideologia monarchiczna Piastów wcześniejszego okresu*, [in:] *Imagines potestatis. Rytuály, symbole i konteksty fabularne władzy zwierzchniej. Polska X–XV w. (z przykładem czeskim i ruskim)*, Jacek Banaszkiewicz ed., Warszawa 1994 (=Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia, vol. 1), pp. 197–198; Thomas N. Bisson, *On Not Eating Polish Bread in Vain: Resonance and Conjuncture in the “Deeds of the Princes of Poland (1109–1113)”*, “Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies”, 29 (1998), pp. 275–289. A classic example of the utilization of genealogical continuity as a means of legitimising changes in the family exercising royal rule was the historiographic construction of the history of the Capetian family, see Bernard Guenée, *Les*

both when the first book would reveal, at the will of the members of the Church hierarchy, that the history of the Piast dynasty showed it had been chosen by God to be rulers of the country, as well as when the whole “Chronicle” presented Bolesław III as the culmination of the glory of this line.

Just as it is difficult to indicate the intended recipients of the text of Gallus Anonymus, so it is equally difficult to determine the breadth of the circle of intended addressees of the work, both readers and listeners. Towards the end of his work, Gallus mentions that he undertook the effort of writing it among other things so as to not lose touch with the art of literary composition, and at the same time to take the fruits of his work to the place where he had taken his monastic vows.⁶¹ This declaration comes however only at the beginning of the third book, towards the end of his work on the “Chronicle”, in the context of the complicated explanation Gallus offers to the royal chaplains to the effect that his intention in writing the work was not self-glorification. It is not possible to find anywhere else in the work a statement to the effect that the work was intended for monks, fellow brethren of Gallus. It is a different situation in the case of the more frequent suggestions within the “Chronicle” that the work was to be “recited”—read aloud both in the palace and in the palace school.⁶² Karolina Targosz even thought that it was intended to be presented in the court of Bolesław III in the form of a recital forming some kind of performance.⁶³ We might then suspect that at the end of his work, the chronicler saw the circle of potential recipients as a broad range of the social elite of Bolesław’s state. This would have included the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the royal chaplains, as well as the secular elite, the aristocracy that formed the nearest associates of the ruler. Was this the case at the beginning of the work? It is difficult to give an unequivocal answer to that question, for the author himself does not give us enough information. One thing however is certain, the work was initially addressed to the members of the Polish episcopate.

généalogies entre l’histoire et la politique: la fierté d’être Capétien en France, au Moyen Age, “Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations”, 33 (1978), nr 3, pp. 450–477.

⁶¹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, Epist., p. 120, lines 6–7.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 122, lines 9–11, p. 123, lines 7–10.

⁶³ Karolina Targosz, *Korzenie i kształty teatru do 1500 roku w perspektywie Krakowa*, Cracow 1995 (=Towarzystwo Miłośników i Zabytków Krakowa), pp. 68–88.

It is impossible to determine the overall message of the work before undertaking a detailed analysis of its text. Here we will indicate a few of the previous suggestions for reading the sense of the whole work. The traditional view of the “Chronicle” as a panegyric in honour of the ruler has been in recent years supplemented by more detailed propositions for reading the motivation of the author of the work. Czesław Deptuła has provided the broadest interpretation of the possible senses of the “Chronicle”. He wrote: “we are interested in the significant portion of the text which in the symbolic-operational patterns of the medieval myths of genesis embodies a historiographical ‘answer’ to the ‘challenges’ of the period in which Gallus was writing”. This “challenge” was above all the “glorification” of the conquest of Pomerania (the northern province by the Baltic Sea) by Bolesław and the same ruler’s defence of the “independence of the country against the Germans” and finally the “inclusion of the history of Poland in the circle of the great events of the century that was just beginning”.⁶⁴ In the opinion of Thomas N. Bisson the “Chronicle” was intended above all to strengthen the position of the dynasty in society, one that had been shattered by political crises since the 1030s from the expulsion of Bolesław II to the blinding of Zbigniew. Bisson treats our chronicle as an example of the means used all over Europe to counteract crisis in royal authority.⁶⁵ Zbigniew Dalewski also placed emphasis on the pragmatic significance of Gallus’ text, especially its connection with the conflict between Bolesław and his brother Zbigniew.⁶⁶

These propositions are not in conflict with each other, they reveal the multilevel structure of the functioning of the text and can be used as a point of reference for our further discussions, though with an important reservation. They define the significance of the work entirely from the point of view of the political interests of Bolesław Wrymouth. The suggestions presented above concerning the lack of homogeneity in the structure of the “Chronicle”, and also the variety of intended readers of the work incline us to a more cautious approach. For this reason we would like to draw attention the aspect of the autonomy of the various meanings contained in the work with regard specific political needs. We assume therefore that Gallus attempted to present

⁶⁴ Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, p. 152.

⁶⁵ T.N. Bisson, *On Not Eating Polish Bread in Vain*, passim.

⁶⁶ See Zbigniew Dalewski, *Rytuał i polityka. Opowieść Galla Anonima o konflikcie Bolesława Krzywoustego ze Zbigniewem*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 7–8.

the past of Poland and then the history of its ruling dynasty and then as the culmination of this construction—the reign of Bolesław III Wrymouth.⁶⁷

A study of the aim of the creation of the chronicle of Dudo of Saint Quentin shows that it is not possible to limit it to the transmission of a certain vision of the past; more important was the symbolic aspect of the communication of a text that was written as the history of the dynasty and its subject people; it was evidence of the rank of the dukes and their subjects whose history was thereby written into the Christian cultural circle.⁶⁸ This vision of the symbolic significance of the work is all the more important to us in that the chronicle of Dudo should be treated not as a work devoted to the dynasty, but in accordance with its contents as the “*Historia Normannorum*”.⁶⁹ It is therefore possible that both the first book of the “Chronicle” of Gallus as the “history of the Poles” as well as the whole of the “Chronicle” as the “history of the dukes and kings...” could have fulfilled a complicated social function as pointed out above in the case of Dudo’s work. The basic communication created by the existence of Gallus’ work would be the writing of the histories of Poland and the Poles into the circle of Latin culture and the history of Christianity, in effect, the history of creation. That aim would fit well in the range of duties of a member of the hierarchy of the Church in the period of its reform in Poland and the missions to Pomerania.

The ideological and propaganda layers of the text were implicitly present in the act of the creation of the “Chronicle” itself, but were later presented in detail in the structure of the narrative aims and the choice of elements of the story regarded as worthy of record. It is impossible to separate them when considering the significance of the work at the moment of its creation. We know too little of Gallus Anonymous himself in order to decide to what degree he, and to what degree his informers and addressees, constructed a network of universal and extempore significances to the story. We therefore have to return to the remarks from the “Introduction” of our work, that we

⁶⁷ Thus also recently Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, pp. 152–153.

⁶⁸ Leah Shopkov, *History and Community. Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Washington 1997, pp. 184–186.

⁶⁹ Alheydis Plassmann, “*Tellus Normannica*” und “*dux Dacorum*” bei Dudo von St-Quentin: *Land und Herrscher als Integrationsfaktor für die Normandie*, [in:] *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen*, pp. 234–235.

will interest ourselves in the space of meaning between the intended reader and the author of the “Chronicle”.

The Problem of the Authorship of the “Chronicle”

The Author

From the beginning of Polish critical historiography there has been debate on the identity of the anonymous author of the first written account of Polish history. Among the many hypotheses, the most widely accepted has been that developed by Marian Plezia. In his opinion, the “Chronicle” was edited by a Benedictine monk who had come to Poland from the Hungarian monastery of Samogyvár in the party of Bolesław III when he returned from there after having undertaken his penitential pilgrimage after the death of Zbigniew. This anonymous monk was supposed to have earlier been in the monastery of Saint-Gilles in Provence, and here also obtained his education which allowed him to prepare the “Chronicle”.⁷⁰

In recent years there has been much creative discussion of the topic of the authorship of the work which has been provoked by the ideas of Tomasz Jasiński. He has drawn attention to the similarities in the words used⁷¹ and literary style between the “Chronicle” and the “History of the Translation of St Nicholas the Great” written by an equally anonymous monk from the monastery on the Lido in Venice.⁷² The presentation by the author of a series of strikingly similar fragments and the percentages of presence of the same meters used in both texts is quite convincing.⁷³ We may however apply to them the same reservations as Marian Plezia formulated with regard to the earlier attempt at comparing both works: these similarities might be evidence of a common authorship, but equally they could be symptoms of a common

⁷⁰ M. Plezia, *Kronika Galla*, pp. 135–161, 178–180.

⁷¹ These are more frequent than had been previously thought: See Danuta Borawska, *Gallus Anonim czy Italus Anonim?*, “Przegląd Historyczny”, 56 (1965), nr 1, pp. 115–119 and the critical remarks of Marian Plezia, *Nowe studia nad Gallem-Anonimem*, [in:] *Mente et litteris. O kulturze i społeczeństwie wieków średnich*, Halina Chłopocka (ed.), Poznań 1984 (=Uniwersitet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, seria Historia, nr 117), p. 112 and Gerard Labuda, *Bazoar w Kronice Anonima Galla. Próba identyfikacji*, “Studia Historyczne”, 12 (1969), fasc. 2, pp. 163–164.

⁷² Tomasz Jasiński, *Czy Gall Anonim to Monachus Littorensis?*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 112 (2005), nr 3, pp. 69–89; Ibid., *Rozwój średniowiecznej prozy rytmicznej a pochodzenie i wykształcenie Galla Anonima*, [in:] *Cognitioni gestorum*, pp. 192–193.

⁷³ T. Jasiński, *Czy Gall Anonim*, pp. 74–84.

education, or the acceptance by the author of the "Chronicle" from a work which he knew without being its author.⁷⁴ The analysis of T. Jasiński is fairly convincing that a common education would be too weak a reason for such far-going similarities between the two works.⁷⁵ In order however to exclude a mere fascination of Gallus Anonymus with the vocabulary and style of the work of another author, we would expect to find some ideological themes important in and common to both works. There are no such links, what is particularly striking is the lack of any mention in the "Chronicle", written later than the "Translation", of St Nicholas. If the author of the "Chronicle" really came from Venice, why is there no mention of St Mark, who was the patron of the city and who the author of the "Translation" treated as the equal of St Nicholas?⁷⁶ The problem of the similarities between these two works raised by Tomasz Jasiński undoubtedly deserve close attention and further discussion. From the point of view of our own study, we should draw attention to the certain conclusion that Gallus Anonymus was not by any means unfamiliar with works of a hagiographical character. The problem of the identification of the author of the "Chronicle" still remains however unresolved. It also seems that its definitive and convincing resolution is not going to be possible because of the principles adopted by the author himself; in accordance with what he says in the introductions he did not wish to place any emphasis in the narrative on his own person or any other theme connected with himself.⁷⁷ He wrote explicitly of this in the letter addressed to the chaplains of the royal court, and it would seem, he kept his word.

In such a situation, it behoves us to rephrase the question of the authorship of the work a little differently. Already in the first dedicatory letter which precedes the first book of his work, Gallus cedes responsibility for the shape of the narrative on the members of the Polish episcopate and chancellor Michał. It is no accident also that in

⁷⁴ M. Plezia, *Nowe studia*, pp. 111–120.

⁷⁵ Let us recall in this place that in Polish medieval studies little attention has been paid to the theory of Josef Bujnoch about the possibility that Gallus studied in the monastic school of St Lawrence in Lüttich only a little earlier than Cosmas, the future author of the "Chronicle of the Czechs" was to have done, *Ibid.*, *Gallus Anonymus und Cosmas von Prag. Zwei Geschichtsschreiber und Zeitgenossen*, [in:] *Osteuropa in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Festschrift für Günther Stökl zum 60. Geburtstag*, Hans Lemberg, Peter Nitsche, Erwin Oberländer eds, Köln/Wien 1977, pp. 302–303.

⁷⁶ See T. Jasiński, *Czy Gall Anonim*, p. 79.

⁷⁷ See G. Simon, *Untersuchungen zur Topik*, part 1, pp. 117–118.

the letter which precedes the third book he writes of himself as an exile and pilgrim (“*exul apud vos et peregrinus*”) among the Poles who is writing in order to express his gratitude to Poland whose bread he had eaten.⁷⁸ The words have a specific significance because they refer to the Vulgate text of the Book of Genesis (23:4) where Abraham during his sojourn among the Hittites said of himself “*advena sum et peregrinus apud vos*”. We may consider the degree to which the chronicler’s use of these words was thinly-veiled irony aimed at the royal chaplains who seem to have been unfriendly towards him. Above all however they draw attention to his position in society, analogical to the classical status as an outsider which the patriarch had represented. The intruder from the outside world was always somebody suspicious, deprived of support. His position could have been strengthened by the status of a pilgrim, which it was necessary to cultivate, though this tool had its own clearly defined boundaries.⁷⁹

For all their conventionality, in the chronicler’s letters at the beginning of the three books it is significant that the chronicler calls on the users of his work to concentrate not on the words with which his text is written (the *topos* of modesty), but on the contents, which the users of his work could employ in their own activities.⁸⁰ Ultimately the chronicler, insisting that he was not able to write his work himself and it was not his own literary talents which was the most important for his readers, emphasised the significance of his informants. Their help was extremely necessary, it was they who would have presented the facts and the stories concerning the events which were to be found in the “Chronicle”. It was their influence that was decisive in the scope of the information included in the work, and we may assume that in this manner they became in a certain sense its “co-authors”. Their responsibility was even greater in that they not only supplied information taken from the written sources, but they also bridged the gap between the Latin culture of the Christian west and the local culture which lived

⁷⁸ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, Ep., p. 120, lines 9, 14–15. On gratitude as a conventional motive for writing a historiographical work see Gertrud Simon, *Untersuchungen zur Topik*, part 1, pp. 55–56.

⁷⁹ See Hans-Henning Kortüm, “*Advena sum apud te et peregrinus*”. *Fremdheit als Strukturelement mittelalterlicher “conditio humana”*, [in:] *Exil, Fremdheit und Ausgrenzung in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Andreas Biher, Sven Limbeck, Paul Gerhard Schmidt eds, Würzburg 2000 (=Identitäten und Alteritäten, vol. 4), pp. 119, 121–122.

⁸⁰ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, Ep., p. 121, lines 4–8.

according to the transmission of oral communication.⁸¹ The question concerning the “author” of the work analysed here should therefore concern not only the person who directly wrote the work itself, but all those who took part in the process of the creation and—as we shall see—controlled the process. We therefore treat the “Chronicle” as a “multi-voice” text in which, apart from protectors and informers and the chronicler himself, it is impossible to ignore the participation of the potential creators of the transmitted traditions. The world which they had in common will be the “world of the author” which we are attempting to reach in our investigations.

Gallus and his informants

If the archbishop, bishops and chancellor and not the royal court were the people to whom the supposed first redaction of the first book was basically addressed, we may assume that equally that they were the main informants of the chronicler.⁸² The anonymous author emphasised that only due to their help was he able to cross the stormy ocean on which he had launched his fragile vessel and after being shown the way was able to pass through the immeasurable thick forest. He declares to the bishops that he would have been unable to do this if “your love had not desired to aid my vessel by the guidance of your oars” or “your mercy had not revealed to me in its [forest] depths, the way to get to my destination”.⁸³ These remarks refer equally to all those mentioned in the letter which begins the first book of the “Chronicle”.

The situation is different in the case of the second book. In the letter which precedes it, Gallus describes Chancellor Michał as his “collaborator” and himself as a “dispenser of a modest meal”⁸⁴—“*modicii dispensator obsonii*”.⁸⁵ Historians suggest that the creator of the “Chronicle” was trying to portray himself as a person simply filling out the skeleton

⁸¹ See Haijo J. Westra, *Literacy, Orality and Medieval Patronage: A Phenomenological Outline*, “The Journal of Medieval Latin. A Publication of the North American Association of Medieval Latin”, 1 (1991), pp. 53–54, 57–58.

⁸² In the same way if we accept that the basic and first recipient of the work was the duke, this would indicate that his court was the source of the information, Brygida Kürbis, *L’historiographie médiévale en Pologne*, “Acta Poloniae Historica”, 6 (1962), p. 9.

⁸³ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, p. 2, lines 9–13.

⁸⁴ Gallus Anonymous, *Kronika polska*, p. 57.

⁸⁵ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, Epist., p. 60, line 5.

of the narrative which had been supplied by Michał.⁸⁶ Let us however take another look at this phrase. The word “obsonium” appears in the first book of the “Chronicle” in the description of the feast which Piast, the poor ploughman of the prince, was giving on the occasion of the coming-of-age (postrzyżyny) of his son. Because of his poverty he only wanted “aliquid obsonii pro suo tonendo parvulo preparare et quosdam amicorum et pauperum non ad prandium sed ad gentaculum invitare”.⁸⁷ This modest breakfast of which the chronicler says “was [something like] a meal”, has an important characteristic, it was to have been wholly prepared by Piast. What is more, it was to have been his gift for the invited guests. Modest, but independent. In this context it is worth examining the chronicler’s wording when referring to himself. The term “dispensator” does not appear further in his work, what is worse, because of a lack of sources from Poland we must reach for the context of its use in the Medieval culture of Europe. These however are quite clear, and are rooted in antiquity and the Bible. A “dispensator” is a person appointed by the owner of an estate (house), but also by God, to manage his affairs. This is both in a material sense (a monk cannot be the owner of property connected with the monastery, but only its manager) as well as conceptual (the Apostle Paul was responsible for the “management” of the Divine Revelation).⁸⁸

In the letter preceding the first book of the “Chronicle”, Gallus strongly emphasised his dependence on the persons to whom he dedicates his work. It is in this place also that we meet with the first reference to Chancellor Michał with the words “suus [i.e. Gallus] cooperator”, while the author of the “Chronicle” appears as the “scriptor”.⁸⁹ In the opinion of most researchers these words indicate that Michał was “the initiator of the undertaking of this work”,⁹⁰ and the chancellor was the co-author of the whole work as the person who invited Gallus to Poland and who supplied him with the information he

⁸⁶ Janusz Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku (część II. Wróżda i zgoda)*, [in:] *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej*, Stefan K. Kuczyński ed., vol. 3, Warszawa 1985, p. 26; Tadeusz Grudziński, *Ze studiów nad kroniką Galla. Rozbiór krytyczny pierwszej księgi*, part 1, “Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu”, 17 (1951), fasc. 3–4, pp. 85–87; M. Plezia, *Wstęp*, p. XXII.

⁸⁷ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 2, p. 10, line 15–18.

⁸⁸ See Ulrich Meyer, *Soziales Handeln*, pp. 66–67, 147–150, 153–155.

⁸⁹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, Epist., p. 1, line 7, p. 2, line 1.

⁹⁰ Gallus Anonymous, *Kronika polska*, p. 3.

needed.⁹¹ The author however describing himself as “subsequentis scriptor opusculi”⁹² indicates that he had complete control over the creation of the work. He uses parallel phrasing in the letter preceding the third book in the formulation “presentis auctor opusculi”.⁹³ The word “cooperator” appears rarely in the work of Gallus, not counting the two times when it is used with reference to Michał. It appears the first time in the description of the Gniezno Summit in the year 1000 when Otto III is said to have declared Bolesław I “fratrem et cooperatorem imperii”.⁹⁴ Again, at the beginning of the conflict between Zbigniew and Bolesław III, when the latter asked his brother to take a decision and whether as the elder brother he would take “totam regni curam ac sollicitudinem, sicut maior esse vis”.⁹⁵ If he had decided on this and remained “in vera fraternitate” [with Bolesław], calling on him “pro communi consilio vel utilitate regni”, then he would have in Bolesław “promptum ibi cooperatorem”.⁹⁶ In both cases we see the association of the words *frater* and *cooperator*, in neither case

⁹¹ M. Plezia, *Kronika Galla*, p. 183, a more extreme view J. Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna... część II*, p. 26.

⁹² *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, Epist., p. 1, line 7, p. 2, line 1.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, III, Epist., p. 120, line 4.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, I, 6, p. 20, lines 1–2. On the titlature which Bolesław allegedly obtained as a result of the Gniezno Summit, see Tadeusz Wasilewski, *Zjazd Gnieźnieński w roku 1000 i powstanie królestwa i metropolii kościelnej w Polsce*, [in:] *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia*, p. 109; Tomasz Jasiński, *Tytułatura Bolesława Chrobrego na Zjeździe Gnieźnieńskim*, [in:] *Memoriae amici et magistri. Studia historyczne poświęcone pamięci Prof. Waclawa Korty (1919–1999)*, Marek Derwich ed., Wrocław 2001, pp. 23–31; R. Michałowski, *Zjazd gnieźnieński. Religijne przesłanki*, pp. 124–126, 219. The latter on the basis of the terminological similarities between the text of Gallus and the Vulgate text of the Letter of St Paul to the Philippians indicated the analogues between the two pairs, St Paul and Epaphroditus, his collaborator in Philippi (“frater et cooperator et comilitans meus”), and Otto III and Bolesław I, *ibidem*, p. 125. The author draws the conclusion from this that Bolesław was to “be a helper of the emperor in the spreading of God’s word”, *ibidem*, p. 216.

There are a number of factors that are in favour of the idea that in Gallus’ description of the Gniezno Summit Bolesławs titlature is not evidence of the equality of the emperor and his collaborator, but rather that it draws attention to the inequality between them (see Przemysław Urbańczyk, *Zjazd Gnieźnieński w polityce imperialnej Ottona III*, [in:] *Trakt cesarski. Ława—Gniezno—Magdeburg* (Bibliotheca Fontes Archaeologici Poznanienses, vol. 11), Wojciech Dzieduszycki, Maciej Przybył eds, Poznań 2002, p. 81). These include other elements of Gallus’ narrative, such as the mention of the presentation of the arm of St Wojciech to Otto III by Bolesław I, see Jacek Banaszekiewicz, *Otton III jedzie do Gniezna. O oprawie ceremonialnej wizyty cesarza w kraju i stolicy Polan*, [in:] *Trakt cesarski*, pp. 295–299.

⁹⁵ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 36, p. 105, lines 18–19.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 106, lines 2–4.

however is there an equal status of the two parties. Here cooperation consists of the one recognizing the leading role of the partner whose collaborator they were (Otto III, Zbigniew) with the preservation of their privileged position among others (like their own subjects). The word “cooperator” in the “Chronicle” when associated with Michał therefore had a specific meaning. “Scriptor/auctor...suo cooperatori” would define “the one who directed the process of creation” and “the one who helped him”. It was not Michał who would be the actual creator—as an informant—of the “Chronicle”, but was admitted by the chronicler to the status of co-creator—we can only assume that this was perhaps through the protection he afforded the writer.

“venerable men of old”

Apart from the ecclesiastics mentioned in the letter discussed above, the author indicates that there were other people who had given him the necessary information he needed for writing his work. Their identity however is very unclear. Thus in telling the tale of Piast, the author of the “Chronicle” remarks that “venerable men of old recount” the story of the expulsion of Popiel from the country and was devoured by mice.⁹⁷ It is difficult to say however whether Gallus had in mind any specific informants. On the one hand the authors of Medieval historiographic works make use of the tales of anonymous “old men” when they want to suggest that they obtained their information from a source, but in reality they only took from these tales that which interested them.⁹⁸ Nothing would prevent us from regarding the chronicler’s use of this phrase in the “Chronicle” as a rhetorical anthropomorphisation of the *opinio communis*, heard or read somewhere by him.⁹⁹ On

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, I, 3, p. 12, line 7.

⁹⁸ *Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum*, Bernhard Schmeidler ed., Third edition, Hannover 1937 (=MGH, SRG in usum scholarum, vol. 32), I, 16, p. 34, lines 11–12; *Helmolda Kronika Słowian*, translated by Józef Matuszewski, introduction and commentary by Jerzy Strzelczyk, Warszawa 1974, p. 136, footnote 228; see Stanisław Rosik, *Interpretacja chrześcijańska religii pogańskich Słowian w świetle kronik niemieckich XI–XII wieku (Thietmar, Adam z Bremy, Helmold)* (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 2235, Historia 144), Wrocław 2000, p. 253. See also Stanisław Rosik, *Dokąd sięgają pamięci słowiańscy starcy z kroniki Helmolda? Refleksje na marginesie dyskusji nad historiografią XI i XII w.*, [in:] *Starość—wiek spełnienia*, Wojciech Dzieduszycki, Jacek Wrzesiński eds, Poznań 2006 (=Funeralia Lednickie, spotkanie 8), pp. 233–236.

⁹⁹ See the penetrating analysis of the source and significance of the stories of Gallus by Jacek Banaszkiewicz, *Podanie o Piaście i Popielu. Studium porównawcze nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi tradycjami dynastycznymi*, Warszawa 1986, pp. 156–193.

the other hand the institution of “venerable men of old” who transmit information about the past is well known in the culture of the Slavs in the Early and High Middle Ages.¹⁰⁰ Gallus Anonymous attempts to create the impression that he is distancing himself from the contents of these stories. At the end of this tale he states that he should finish with the recollections of the history of people “whose remembrance has been lost in the forgetfulness of the ages and who were contaminated by the faults of idolatry”.¹⁰¹ By this means he created the impression that the recounted anecdote was just a fable which was not necessarily in accord with the historian’s own concept of historical truth. In his opinion, the latter had been forgotten and the words of the “venerable men of old” he mentioned were only a story.

Why then did he refer to it at all? Why would he introduce the motif of “venerable men of old” thus increase its apparent believability (by emphasising by this means the connections between the story and the realities known to his readers) in order then to reduce it? This contradiction disappears if we accept that, 1) he was working under the control of the Polish episcopate for whom for various reasons the confirmation of the believability of this story would not have been favourably accepted, 2) the motif of the “venerable men of old” did not necessarily have the value of verifying the story but placed it rather in a certain circle of significance, as legend, as a story without a fully believable basis in fact.

The necessity of including the story of the ravenous mice which deprived Popiel of his life and the throne which was then occupied by Siemowit (see below) could have been the result of it being a strong component of the vision of the fabled past of the contemporary inhabitants of Poland. Its omission would have weakened the believability of the whole narrative among those listeners or readers who knew the canon of local legends. Gallus however avoided the domination of his narrative by such local fables which would have weakened the believability of the sources which would have transmitted them. Besides this, Gallus had earlier presented the accepted version of the accession to power of Piast’s son Siemowit: his choice by God who made him a

¹⁰⁰ Lech Leciejewicz, *Legendy etnogenetyczne w świecie słowiańskim*, [in:] *Ibid., Opera selecta. Z dziejów kultury średniowiecznej Polski i Europy*, Marian Rębkowski, Sławomir Moździoch eds, Wrocław 2006 (=Collectio archeologica, historica et ethnologica, vol. 1), pp. 106–107.

¹⁰¹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 3, p. 12, lines 13–14.

ruler. Due to this, in connection with the earlier expressed assurance that the wanderers who visited Piast's hut and led to the miraculous increase in the quantities of food and drink,¹⁰² the chronicler was able to maintain a logical sequence of events indicating the relationship with the sacral sphere as the basic characteristic differentiating Popiel from Piast and Siemowit. It was not due to some legendary curse that mice devouring the ruler led to the change of rule in the country, but virtue based on a positive reaction to the gift of the grace of God.¹⁰³ This undoubtedly corresponded to the vision of the world which the members of the episcopate supporting the Piast rulers promoted. The presence of the tales of old men in the "Chronicle" therefore appears as a complicated element of the broader construction of meanings in the narrative of Gallus' text.

Who were Gallus' informants?

We may ultimately accept that the circle of Gallus' informants—insofar as the author himself wishes to reveal it—could have been broader than has previously been assumed. It would have above all have included clergy who were part of the episcopate of the province of Gniezno to whom the first book of the work was originally dedicated and who would have been desirous of increasing the prestige of the spiritual capital of Poland—Gniezno.¹⁰⁴ The chronicler seems to be indicating that they also acted as controllers of the correctness of the version of the past he was writing, leading Gallus to the significance of the elements present in the various versions of the stories. In the anecdote of Popiel and the mice for example the author's presentation seems to be dependent on the views of the contemporary bishops. Among the clergy there would have also been close knowledge of the genealogical details of the royal dynasty, and together with it a knowledge of the history of its members, not least because of the necessity of giving an opinion on the permissibility of marriage of members of the dynasty in accordance with canon law.¹⁰⁵ The use and creation of

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, I, 1, p. 9, lines 12–13.

¹⁰³ Cf. J. Banaszkiwicz, *Podanie o Piaście*, pp. 125–155, especially p. 155.

¹⁰⁴ Teodor Tyc, *Uwagi nad Gallem Anonimem*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Z dziejów kultury w Polsce średniowiecznej*, Poznań 1924, p. 107 in this matter he saw the informant of the chronicler as a member of the clergy of the town's cathedral.

¹⁰⁵ See Nora Gedäke, *Zeugnisse bildlicher Darstellung der Nachkommenschaft Heinrichs I.*, Berlin-New York 1992 (=Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung/Institut für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster, vol. 22), pp. 194–199.

genealogical tradition of the royal dynasty would not be anything new either among people of the church in the full Middle Ages.¹⁰⁶ Finally, the members of the aristocratic and royal families of medieval Europe utilised the institutions of the Church to create centres of memory for the dynasty through the foundation of churches and monasteries, or allow the creation of narratives describing the history of their families due to the collection in them of information about the past.¹⁰⁷ At the same time it is very probable that besides the narratives which could have been preserved primarily in the milieu of the clergy, a certain role could have been fulfilled by stories known to the informants of Gallus Anonymous from family tradition. In the case of the second and third book of the “Chronicle”, the use by the chronicler of traditions favourable to Bolesław III, probably circulating among members of the court does not seem to be in doubt.

In summary, in any attempt to reach the “world of the author” of the “Chronicle” we encounter a complicated situation. Through the first book we learn of the vision of the past appropriate to the ecclesiastical elite and perhaps aristocracy of Poland, through the second book we learn more of the world view of the aristocracy, but members of the ecclesiastical milieu appear again in the circle of potential co-authors of the third book, but seem to a greater degree to be associated with the court of Bolesław Wrymouth. This same milieu would at the time of the editing, together with the chronicler himself, have been responsible for giving the form to whole work which produced the document which we can read today. In the light of this theory, the character of the narrative, one of many “voices” and the multiplicity of themes of the tradition about the past of the Piast dynasty,¹⁰⁸ would have been ultimately unified by the chronicler in order to be acceptable in the milieu of the court. This did not however completely erase

¹⁰⁶ See Jean-Marie Moeglin, *Les ancêtres du prince. Propagande politique et naissance d'une histoire nationale en Bavière au Moyen Age (1180-1500)*, Genève 1985 (=École Pratique des Hautes Études, IVe Section, Sciences historiques et philologiques, V, Hautes Études Médiévales et Modernes, 54), pp. 5-10, 232.

¹⁰⁷ See Johannes Laudage, “Liudolfingisches Hausbewußtsein”. *Zu den Hintergründen eines Kölner Hoftages*, [in:] *Köln. Stadt und Bistum*, p. 33.

¹⁰⁸ Ernst Karpf (*Herrscherlegitimation und Reichsbegriff in der ottonischen Geschichtsschreibung des 10. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1985 (=Historische Forschungen, vol. 10), pp. 187-196, 201-206) wrote of the functioning of a variety of traditions not only of comprehending the past of the ruling dynasty (Ottonians) among the historiographers of the Empire, but also in comprehending the roles of the dynasty and the continuity of rule within the “house”.

the multivariate nature of the narrative. The complicated pattern of the division of responsibility of individual social groups for the content of the work also draws our attention to the range of sources that the chronicler could have used in the composition of his text.

Gallus' Sources—Written Sources and Oral Tradition

“liber de passione martiris”, the Privileges of Pope Sylvester
Gallus Anonymous makes reference several times to the authority of written sources and in specific situations he quotes the letters of rulers—without exception regarded today as fictional. The situation is different in the case of two other written sources which he said he utilised, but without inserting quotes from them in his text. The first is the “Book of the Martyrdom of [St Wojciech] the Martyr” and a letter of Pope Sylvester II.

Writing of the arrival of Otto III to Gniezno, Gallus presents the aim of the journey not only the desire to pray at the grave of St Wojciech, but also to learn of the origins of the fame of Bolesław I.¹⁰⁹ He suggests that both these aims were “discussed in detail” in the “Book of the Martyrdom of the Martyr”. At the same time however he does not indicate that he made use of this “passion” when preparing the part of his text concerning the story of St Wojciech himself. We regard the mention by Gallus of this “Passion of St Wojciech” as resulting from purely pragmatic factors, by this means he persuaded his audience who would have remembered the recent wars between Bolesław the Wrymouth and the Empire that it was possible for an emperor to come peaceably to Poland to learn more about the “fame of Bolesław”. Due to the confirmation of this fact by an authority greater than the chronicler, it was incorporated in the “real history” of Poland.¹¹⁰ This

¹⁰⁹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 6, p. 18, line 5.

¹¹⁰ See Przemysław Wiszewski, *How Far Can You Go with Emotions? The Gniezno Meeting of the Emperor Otto III and Bolesław the Brave in the year 1000*, [in:] *Meetings with Emotions. Human Past between Anthropology and History (Historiography and Society from the 10th to the 20th century)*, Przemysław Wiszewski ed., Wrocław 2008, pp. 80–81. Aron Guriewicz indicated that for a Germanic audience, the stories about the past transmitted by the heroic poetry on the one hand was real, seen as real events in the past, while on the other hand they were seen as possessing a specific distance, of the epic, which allowed them to be treated as a past coming from a different reality than that to which the audience belonged (Ibid., *On Heroes, Things, Gods and Laughter in Germanic Poetry*, “Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, 5 (series 1: 15) (1982), pp. 109–110). Although the story of Bolesław the Brave may bear some traces of this “epic distance” (the placing of Poland’s ‘golden age’ in distant times), there is

would have especially been the case even if the manuscript might actually have only included information on the devotional aspects of Otto III's pilgrimage and the mention of the "fame of Bolesław" might have been an addition by the chronicler. In such a situation the chronicler made use of a double authority, of a written record containing an account of historical events and on which he based his own narrative, and that of the saint whose cult was connected with that history. We may however ask whether the chronicler used the manuscript. In the passage discussed above, Gallus does not actually say he made direct use of this document, merely that he "read" in it a certain piece of information. He indicates only the manner of functioning of certain knowledge about the past which he presented and at the same time the manner of placing it in the world around him. It seems safe to accept that the argument that he was referring to a written source was of great significance to the chronicler, but the manner in which he actually made use of such sources remains unclear to us.¹¹¹

Less attention has been devoted to the second source mentioned by Gallus, that is the "Privileges of Pope Sylvester". The author mentions it again in a place which is crucial for his own times, namely when he writes of the rights of Bolesław the Brave to organize the Church in the previously-pagan territories he had conquered. It was precisely this matter that was the topic of the discussions in Gniezno between Otto III and Bolesław I and which according to the "Chronicle" was the subject of a document issued by Pope Sylvester II confirming these privileges.¹¹² Unfortunately we know of no other source which would be evidence of the existence of even a copy of this document, let alone its original.¹¹³ The fact that Gallus mentions the existence of the document is no guarantee that there really was such a document that was actually issued by Pope Sylvester II. This is especially the case since its contents so suspiciously correspond to the political realities of the times of the chronicler himself. At the time of the creation of the "Chronicle", Bolesław Wrymouth was attempting to conquer

no doubt that the whole of the chronicler's narrative has the character of a story about events and history that were real (for the chronicler).

¹¹¹ J. Strzelczyk, *Bolesław Chrobry*, pp. 57–58. For more on this topic, see P. Wiszewski, *Domus Boleszlai*, pp. 166–168.

¹¹² *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 6, p. 20, lines 6–7.

¹¹³ It is difficult to accept the judgements on the indisputable authenticity of this document see Gerard Labuda, *Zjazd i synod gnieźnieński w roku 1000*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 107 (2000), nr 2, p. 118.

Pomerania and convert it to Christianity, and at the same time he was forced to face up to the claims of the Church of the Reich and the emperor against the Polish Church. A document containing confirmation of the current rights of the Polish ruler by the authority of Emperor Otto III and Pope Sylvester II would have been very useful indeed. In the light of the fact that the chronicler does not have to have seen this document at all,¹¹⁴ it does not seem therefore that we should accept the reality of its writing about the year 1000, not to mention attempting its reconstruction.¹¹⁵

Annals

More than half a century ago, Gerard Labuda regarded it as possible that in the creation of his “Chronicle”, Gallus based part of it on records from the oldest annals of the Cracow chapter (The so-called “Court-Chapter Annals”). This idea was supported by Brygida Kürbis in the 1960s, suggesting that the chronicler left out the dates because they did not fit with the concept of writing the *gesta* which Gallus had adopted.¹¹⁶ The relationship between the work of Gallus Anonymous and Polish annals seems to have a specific character. The text of the “Chronicle” in no place gives the impression as being a straightforward compilation from annalistic records (as we can see for example in the text of the Czech chronicle by Cosmas). Although in the chronicle of Gallus there are contained to a great degree the same facts as mentioned in the annals, they are not only expressed in other words, but also with a greater degree of detail. The degree of these differences increases even more when we take into account the whole of the narrative of the “Chronicle”, in which—in contrast to the annals—the military deeds of the predecessors of Bolesław III are extensively discussed. The differences between these two accounts of

¹¹⁴ Cf. J. Strzelczyk, *Bolesław Chrobry*, p. 58.

¹¹⁵ Though such attempts have been undertaken with the use as analogies of other documents of Sylvester II, see Gerard Labuda, *Die Gründung der Metropolitanorganisation der polnischen Kirche auf der Synode in Gnesen am 9. und 10. März 1000*, “Acta Poloniae Historica”, 84 (2001), pp. 27–28.

¹¹⁶ Gerard Labuda, *Źródła historiograficzne kroniki Anonima Galla*, “Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk”, 19 (1955) [printed: 1957], nr 1 (44), p. 22; Brygida Kürbis, *Więź najstarszego dziejopisarstwa polskiego z państwem*, [in:] *Początki państwa polskiego. Księga tysiąclecia*, Kazimierz Tymieniecki, Gerard Labuda, Henryk Łowmiański eds, Poznań 1962, vol. 2: *Spółczesność i kultura*, p. 225.

the past is not in any doubt,¹¹⁷ it is to some degree explained by the limitations of the different kinds of literature, including the length of the annalistic records. It would be difficult to expect an annalist to present as much information as would be included in the much more voluminous chronicle.

Following up the remarks formulated three decades ago by Brygida Kürbis,¹¹⁸ we suggest that looking at written records as only an autonomous form of transmission of information is in this case not in accord with the situation of the period in which the annals arose and functioned as a source of knowledge about the past. The annalistic records gave only a form of “narrative skeleton” of schematic pictures which could have served as a mnemonic aid dictating the order of events in an orally transmitted story as well as allowing its verification.¹¹⁹ Without that tradition fleshing them out, however, these skeletal records would have been dead and unable to realise the aim for which they had been created, the transmission of a certain vision of the past.

The question of whether Gallus Anonymous made direct use of the only written records of the past of the country accessible in his time, the annals, seems to be wrongly formulated. While with respect to the story of Bolesław III known from the second and third books of his “Chronicle”, researchers can show a series of pieces of information that could have been taken by the author directly from annalistic sources,¹²⁰ no such observation can be made with regard to the first book of the “Chronicle”. The chronicler made use of information

¹¹⁷ Wojciech Polak, *Uwagi w sprawie rocznikarskiego źródła “Kroniki” Galla Anonima*, “Roczniki Humanistyczne”, 47 (2000), fasc. 2, pp. 447–460, allowed the possibility of the chronicler making use of this type of source, but emphasised that today it is impossible to indicate any example of the annals that Gallus might have made use of as a direct source.

¹¹⁸ B. Kürbis, *Pisarze i czytelnicy w Polsce XII i XIII wieku*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii. Prace wybrane*, Poznań 1994, p. 93 writes of annalistic records that “the weaving of a story around them—together with remains of pre-written tradition on the ancestors of Mieszko I—became the subject of the literary work of a talented monk whose name is unknown to us [i.e., Gallus—P.W.]”.

¹¹⁹ Marry Carruthers, *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge/New York/Port Chester/Melbourne/Sydney 1990 (=Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, vol. 10), p. 122 emphasises that until the twelfth century the task of mnemonic techniques of “memory” was the linking of what was written with what was said, the creation of a bridge between the culture of writing and the spoken word. On the role of pictures and the treatment of written word as pictures, both literally and metaphorically see *ibidem*, pp. 223–226.

¹²⁰ See M. Plezia, *Kronika Galla*, pp. 191–192.

contained in annals, though not directly, but through the stories which reached him. These could have owed their chronological details as well as their believability to being based on the authority of the official court annals.

Oral Tradition in the "Chronicle"

Almost from the beginnings of studies of the "Chronicle", historians have suggested the use by its author of oral stories of Poland and its rulers. This suspicion is prompted by a lack in the earlier historiography of sources which present a synthesis of the history of Poland in a manner closer to that of Gallus. Attempts to add flesh to this probable hypothesis have not generally accepted results. Of exceptional importance are the results of the studies of Jacek Banaszkiewicz who has consistently presented the structural similarities between the narratives known from Gallus' work with the cultural traditions circulating among other peoples of Medieval Europe. Since from the point of view of his own research it was not necessary to look at this problem in more detail, he has only formulated a few general remarks about the question of the possible time and place of the origin of the universal patterns some of which were used by Gallus.¹²¹ Recently however an attempt to assess the influence of "oral culture" on the creation of Gallus' text has been made by Wojciech Polak.¹²² Through a series of analyses of both the contents and the structure of the narrative, he demonstrated the strong and multiaspectual influence of oral communication on the "Chronicle".¹²³ He has not however proposed any answer to the question of the source of the stories which had such a strong influence on Gallus' work. It does not seem likely that there is much chance of a definitive resolution of this problem. It is not provided by the acceptance of the influence of the Polish episcopate suggested above on the creation of the work, especially the first book,

¹²¹ Jacek Banaszkiewicz, *Podanie o Piaście*, pp. 58–60, 75; *Ibid.*, "Podanie bohater-skie" o Mieszku I zanotowane w *Kronice Galla Anonima* (I, 4), [in:] *Homines et societas. Czasy Piastów i Jagiellonów. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Antoniemu Gąsiorowskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin*, Tomasz Jasiński, Tomasz Jurek, Jan M. Piskorski eds, Poznań 1997 (=Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Wydział Historii i Nauk Społecznych, Prace Komisji Historycznej, vol. 55), pp. 36, 45.

¹²² Wojciech Polak, "Gesta" Gallowe a kultura oralna, [in:] *Tekst źródła. Krytyka, interpretacja*, Barbara Trelińska ed., Warszawa 2005, pp. 65–76.

¹²³ *Ibidem*, p. 76.

since it would be necessary to allow the possibility that the bishops were transmitting tales which came from their own families and closest associates. All we can say is that the chronicler made wide use of stories which were circulating among the Polish aristocracy and which were transmitted to him in a form accepted by the Polish episcopate. Nevertheless their gathering and rendering into the form of a coherent narrative, and the possibility of altering their meaning were the work of Gallus Anonymus.¹²⁴

As a consequence, it seems that through Gallus' "Chronicle" we obtain access to the world view of the social elite of Poland at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century. It seems very risky to attempt to push the origins of these partial stories back in time and see in them traces of the views of the tenth or eleventh century inhabitants of Poland. This would require the acceptance of initial assumptions concerning the nature of the culture and the scope of the community to which such a hypothetical "Polish culture" of the postulated period could be ascribed,¹²⁵ and the consistent and extensive use of the analogies both concerning the mechanism of the functioning of culture and the narrative patterns ascribed to that circle.¹²⁶ Such an activity seems to be full of risk since in such an interpretive scheme, the various different approaches of European peoples to "memory" is not taken into account. In this way the problem is avoided of the transition between various systems of commemorating events, and through them, values "worthy of memory".¹²⁷

¹²⁴ In a similar direction were heading the somewhat generalised remarks of Tadeusz Grudziński, *Ze studiów nad Kroniką Galla. Rozbiór krytyczny pierwszej księgi. Dokończenie*, "Zapiski Historyczne", 23 (1957), fasc. 1–3, pp. 7–9.

¹²⁵ See Przemysław Wiszewski, *Po co Mieszko wzrok odzyskał, czyli między historią a "wiedzą o człowieku"*. *Kultura Anonima zwanego Gallem i kłopoty interdyscyplinarnych badań pewnej legendy*, [in:] *Mundus hominis—cywilizacja, kultura, natura: wokół interdyscyplinarności badań historycznych*, Stanisław Rosik, Przemysław Wiszewski eds, Wrocław 2006 [printed: 2007] (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis No 2966; Historia, vol. 175), pp. 472–473.

¹²⁶ The acceptance of variant assumptions about the extent of this community would lead to a fundamental difference in the results obtained. In the case of Gallus' "Chronicle" the debate between Czesław Deptuła and the views of Jacek Banaszkiewicz can be instructive, see Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, pp. 365–368.

¹²⁷ Mary Carruthers, *Boncompagno*, pp. 45, 49, draws attention to the variety of "the arts of memory" even among the literate clergy, let alone in the circle of cultures of local extent in Medieval Europe.

The Complex Structure of the “Chronicle”

The differentiation in both structure and content of the first book of Gallus’ “Chronicle” from the second and third books is unquestionable. In the case of the first book, the core of the story is formed by a structure which lists successive rulers. In the case of the second and third books we are dealing with a story the structure of which is defined by the chronology of the career of Bolesław III as the ruler of Poland. The division of the whole story into two parts and at the same time ensuring its unity and compactness was achieved by Gallus by labelling the whole of the first book the introduction to the story of Bolesław III present in the second and third books. In analysing the contents of the first book which covers the contribution of the core of the dynastic tradition of the Piasts, we must on the one hand take into consideration that the portion of the work that contains these elements might originally have comprised a separate element in its own right, and on the other that it ultimately became only an introduction to the history of Bolesław Wrymouth which comprises the rest of the work. This duality of narration is also enhanced by the difference in informers used by Gallus in creating this work. For book one it was the Polish clergy (mostly), and the court milieu for books two and three. Although this complicates the analysis of the sources, we should assume that the degree of dynastic tradition which can be recreated from the first book of Gallus’ work was above all that of the circle of the Polish clergy, maybe built on the stories from their own families.¹²⁸ The “Chronicle” however introduces it together with the narrative of the deeds of Bolesław III as an authoritative account of the history of the country and dynasty into the world view of the milieu of the court.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Dániel Bagi, *Gallus Anonymus és Magyarország. A Geszta magyar adatai, forrásai, mintái, valamint a szerző történetészlete a latin Kelet-Közép-Európa 12. század eleji latin nyelvű trténétírásának tükrében*, Budapest 2005, pp. 240–241 indicated that when Gallus wrote of Bolesław the Brave he made use of patterns derived from contemporary Hungarian literature concerning St Stephen. Despite, however, many general similarities (which could derive from the common model of the ideal and just ruler), the narrative of Gallus presents a portrait of Bolesław I which differs considerably from that created by the biographers of Stephen at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries. It is worth noting in particular the differences in the treatment of patronage of the Church and the conversion of the ruler’s own people to Christianity.

¹²⁹ A certain analogy for the genesis of the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymus can be found in the observations of Helmut Beumann, *Historiographische Konzeption*

The division accepted by Gallus in the final redaction of the work seems to be a multi-stage one. The first, as we have said above, introduced a clear split in the narrative into the story of Bolesław Wrymouth and the story of his ancestors. Within the individual stories, especially the more extensive ones, there appear thematic threads forming a separate whole and being a consistent element of the structure of the "Chronicle". The structure of the work defined in this manner imposes a network of events which construct Gallus' version of the history of the royal dynasty. This concerns primarily the accession to and exercising of royal power. Other issues connected with this however are the values defining the possibilities and aims of exercising power, the role of rulers in the history of Poland, including above all relationships in the triangle: ruler—people—God. The chronicler introduces all three elements in the first pages of his story of the history of the Piasts and Poland.

2. GALLUS ANONYMOUS' PRESENTATION OF THE DYNASTIC TRADITION OF THE PIASTS

In the hut of Piast

The first clearly divided portion of the history of the Piast dynasty in the "Chronicle" recounts the accession to power of the ancestors of Bolesław III.¹³⁰ As Jacek Banaszekiewicz has indicated, the inclusion of this story fully corresponds to the theoretical structure of "dynastic legends" in which the central point of the tale concerns the matter of the accession to power of the hero or his family.¹³¹ In the "Chronicle" of Gallus Anonymous, this narrative does not have a homogeneous character. Undoubtedly its core consists of a fable of the inhospitable

und politische Ziele Widukinds von Corvey, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Wissenschaft vom Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Köln/Wien 1972, pp. 80–83 concerning the structure of the "History of the Saxons" by Widukind of Corvey. He shows that the first part of this work which was dedicated to the beginnings of the Saxon people was the chronicler's attempt to amalgamate this story within the traditions of the Liudolfing house with which it was not originally associated. We may be dealing with a similar—*mutatis mutandis*—phenomenon in the case of the "Chronicle" in which the history of Poland and the Poles became part of and the basis for the official form of the tradition of the Piast dynasty.

¹³⁰ As the chronicler stated: "in what manner this family achieved royal status is told by the following story", *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, Epylogus, p. 9, line 6–7.

¹³¹ See J. Banaszekiewicz, *Podanie o Piascie*, pp. 25–27.

reception and hospitality offered to strangers by bad and good people of a type which is widely distributed in traditions (both those based on Biblical models as well as local ones), in which the good people are rewarded for their magnanimity shown to strangers.¹³² This core narrative is supplemented here however by details which create a specific complex of related meanings set in the whole narrative of the “Chronicle”.

Gallus begins his story of two mysterious wanderers who arrive in Gniezno at the bidding of the “secret will of God”¹³³ at the time that Prince Popiel who resided in the town was preparing a feast on the occasion of the coming of age ceremony (*postrzyżyny*) of his two sons. The wanderers however were not invited to the feast, but were turned away from the entrance to the royal stronghold “in an injurious manner” (or “unlawfully”)¹³⁴ and “they, horrified at the uncouthness/inhospitality/cruelty of the [town’s] inhabitants” went into the town’s suburbs and reached the hut of the royal ploughman. We are struck by the lack of any details about the events in this story. We do not learn who these wanderers were, nor who precisely drove them from the gate of the stronghold, or why. Attempts have been made to discover the identity of the wanderers through a structural analysis of the text, but the results of this may concern a reality which is different from that in which the “Chronicle” arose.¹³⁵ We will limit ourselves to the observation that according to the Rule of St Benedict which in turn refers to Biblical models, every unexpected guest should be treated in the same way as Our Saviour.¹³⁶ Thus for the anonymous monk writing the chronicle the refusal by Popiel’s servants to admit the wanderers had a specific undertone. It is not the action and its details which is given prominence in the narrative of Gallus, in fact is simply lacking, but that of one characteristic of Popiel, his inhospitality.

¹³² *Ibidem*, pp. 125–135.

¹³³ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 1, p. 9, lines 12–13.

¹³⁴ “cum iniuria”, *ibidem*, p. 9, line 14.

¹³⁵ See J. Banaszkiwicz, *Podanie o Piaście*, pp. 133–142, who indicated the roots of the narrative scheme present in the “Chronicle” in tales in which the gods visit mortals, and whose reaction to them may diametrically alter their fate. At the same time he emphasises that in the “Chronicle” the general scheme of the story has become “saturated” with Christian content, but suspends judgement over the question of the authorship and chronology of this process, *ibidem*, p. 140.

¹³⁶ St Benedict of Nursia, *Regula*, [in:] *Święty Benedykt z Nursji, Regula. St Gregor the Great, Dialogi. Księga druga*, Tyniec 1994, 53, 1, p. 194: “Omnes supervenientes hospites tamquam Christus suscipiantur”.

This is exceptionally clearly visible in the context of the statement that the ruler invited “very many of his nobles and friends“ to the feast he had prepared.¹³⁷

The following part of the story about the arrival of the wanderers in the house of Piast is also characterised by a high degree of generalisation but is at the same time portrayed as a specific—though not complete—mirror image of the preceding events. So it was the will of God that led the wanderers to Gniezno, to the feast which Popiel was hosting, but when they left the gate of the stronghold and went into the town, they arrived at the ploughman’s hut “by chance”.¹³⁸ The owner of the house was the duke’s ploughman, and thus somebody dependent, while the ruler was a free man. This ploughman was not rich,¹³⁹ while Popiel was holding a great feast, and by that very fact was demonstrating his wealth. Piast invited the wanderers into his house, and they entered his home, the “hospitable hut”,¹⁴⁰ while they had been driven away from rich Gniezno. Here however the reverse symmetry of the story ends. The duke’s subject was a “good and compassionate” person¹⁴¹ in contrast however not to the ruler, but the “inhuman” inhabitants of the royal town. That which was contrasted in these two pictures was to serve as the background, a supplement (though indeed a significant one) to the subsequent events. The aim of such a depiction of the situation seems to be the clear juxtaposition of two extreme fates: that of the free man who occupied a significant social position and the man who was subordinated to another man’s will, at the very bottom of the social hierarchy.

The theme of the ploughman’s poverty appears as an important issue together with the appearance of the wanderers. We hear their words for the first time when they enter the hut, they said: “may you truly be glad we have come. Our arrival will bring you abundance of good things and honour and glory in your offspring”.¹⁴² The present state of the ploughman—poverty, is contrasted with his future state, characterized by a richness of things and glory due to his progeny. We may also divine from the words of the wanderers that the term “sua

¹³⁷ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 1, p. 9, lines 11–12.

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 9, line 17.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 19–20.

¹⁴⁰ “*tugurium hospitalitatis*”, *ibidem*, line 20—p. 10 line 1.

¹⁴¹ “*bone compassionis*”, *ibidem*, line 18.

¹⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 10, lines 1–3.

paupertas”¹⁴³ does not concern the purchasing power of the ploughman alone, but also his lowly social status.¹⁴⁴ What is equally important, in their prediction about the future is an indication of the source of the radical changes, which is the arrival of the wanderers themselves—“in nostro adventu...habeatis”. In accord with the logic of the work, the announcement by the wanderers is supposed to be treated by the reader of the “Chronicle” as a prophecy. This is shown not only by the vision of the future which the men present, but also the fact that they used the plural with respect to Piast, the person they were addressing, though the chronicler had not indicated that there was anyone else on the house. It was only later that Piast’s wife, Rzepka appears beside him.¹⁴⁵ The prophetic nature of the words of the wanderers also explains why the couple served them “they considered their sagacity (prudential)”¹⁴⁶. The only evidence of the mental qualities of the guests which the chronicler offers is the above-cited words, if they are to be treated as an expression of wisdom, it is only because it was considered that what they had said contained contents which exceed what is discernable for mere humans. If however it is treated as a statement based on the analysis of the contemporary situation—the material and social poverty of the ploughman, it could be regarded as a wish offered in gratitude for the hospitality—or a not very subtle joke. In both cases the behaviour and words of the wanderers are difficult to regard as indicating an especial “prudential”.

The hosts however saw and valued the wisdom of their guests and for this reason they asked them for advice on a certain matter which was important for them.¹⁴⁷ For the definition of the latter Gallus uses the words “a secret, if such there was”.¹⁴⁸ This is almost as if the chronicler was suggesting that he did not know whether in this specific communicative situation (hosts-guests) it was in fact a secret or not. For the hospitable married couple, their own intentions cannot have been a secret. The word “secretum” could therefore only refer to the knowledge of the second pair—the wanderers. The chronicler’s hesi-

¹⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 9, line 19.

¹⁴⁴ Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, pp. 162–169 wrote of the significance of the problem of the “poverty” and lowly status of Piast for the interpretation of the social function of the story.

¹⁴⁵ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 1, p. 10, lines 5–6.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, I, 2, p. 10, line 8.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 8–9.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, line 8.

tation over the possibility of the existence of a “secret” in Piast’s hut becomes understandable if we assume that Gallus deliberately emphasizes the prophetic nature of the wanderers’ earlier statement. In this light it was obvious that they knew the future. Could there have been a certain secret hidden from them? According to the logic of the story, Piast and Rzepka would have been interested in learning the truth, which is why—understanding the nature of the “prudencia” of their guests—they at once conferred together with them on the matter of their “secret”, something that could be hidden from people, but not from their guests, the wanderers.

The reader of the “Chronicle” is faced however with a question, what kind of secret did the chronicler have in mind? The resolution of this problem involves a number of difficulties. After the presentation of the existence of a “secret”, the author introduces a scene where the hosts and guests have a conversation “de plurimis”.¹⁴⁹ This ended when the guests asked whether their host had something to drink. Piast had only a barrel of beer which had been reserved for the coming of age ceremony of his son. With a certain degree of reservation he said: “but of what help is such a minor matter? If you want, drink”.¹⁵⁰ Later Gallus unexpectedly indicates that Piast had decided to host a modest gathering of “friends and the poor” when his lord, the prince was holding his feast for his sons. At any other time he would not have been able to hold such a celebration on account of his poverty (this is further explained later in the story). In his commentary, the chronicler introduces a new and important piece of information with regard to the words of Piast himself. He only says that he had wanted to organize a celebration on the occasion of the coming of age ceremony (*postryżyny*) of his son, but he does not reveal when. The chronicler however reveals that this was about to happen when the wanderers arrived. He therefore suggests that if he gave his beer to the new arrivals, he would have none for the guests whom he had invited to the celebration. The wanderers however commanded him to serve the beer, assuring him that it would not run out. They did the same with regard to the fattened pig that had been prepared for the occasion.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 9–10

¹⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 12–13.

¹⁵¹ *Ibidem*, line 14—p. 11, line 7.

In the short dialogue there is no mention that Piast sought the advice of the wanderers. He offered them that which was precious to him, and they in return gave him orders (“imperant”,¹⁵² “precipiunt”¹⁵³), which led to the occurrence of exceptional events. The chronicler does not hesitate to write that these were “magnalia Dei”,¹⁵⁴ while the host saw them as “miracula” performed by the wanderers.¹⁵⁵ It was only here that Gallus attempted to explain the nature of the foreseen secret and the advice that was associated with it: the hosts seeing the miracle perceived (more literally felt “something”—“aliquid”) of the great prophecy about their son.¹⁵⁶ On experiencing this feeling they “immediately thought to invite the prince and [his] fellow guests”; from the context it seems that they were being invited to the coming of age ceremony of their son. The whole series of events in Gallus’ story—the prophecy of the raising of the status of Piast due to his son, the multiplication of the food just before the feast thrown on the occasion of his son’s coming of age ceremony which allowed him to invite the ruler to the feast—seems to correspond in sense to the “feeling” Gallus mentions Piast and Rzepka had of the meaning of the words of the wanderers. The fulfilling of the prophecy which the couple perceived using their inborn (natural) wisdom,¹⁵⁷ was to be the change in their social status due to the arrival of the ruler at the feast of their son’s coming of age. This would be the glory and fame prophesied by the wanderers. Gallus shows the connection between the invitation of the prince with the prophecy of the wanderers by mentioning the fact that Piast and Rzepka did not dare to invite the ruler before they had asked their guests for their opinion. Only after “consilio hospitem et exhortatione”¹⁵⁸ did they solemnly invite the guest. The term “consilium” refers to the “advice” which according to Gallus the hosts had sought from the wanderers at the beginning of the story.

The “prudentia” of the wanderers which the hosts were considering was nothing more or less than an ability to foresee the future and

¹⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 11, line 1.

¹⁵³ *Ibidem*, line 6.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 10, line 19.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 11, lines 7–8.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 8–9.

¹⁵⁷ The presence of the two orders, natural and supernatural in the narrative of the “Chronicle” has been clearly emphasized already by Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, p. 307.

¹⁵⁸ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 2, p. 11, lines 12.

do miraculous things. Piast and Rzepka did not fully understand the nature of this power and the consequence of their actions. They did know however that it was at the will of their guests that the miracle of the increase in food (a change in the economic status), and so only at their will (advice) could the second part of the prophecy (change in social status) come about. In the chronicler's narrative, Piast and his wife respected the reality of the events and attempted to understand them to the degree to which it was possible for them. The psychological realism of the presentation of the situation by Gallus—who does not attribute any supernatural powers to the ancestors of the Polish rulers—is striking. They were only normal people, and in addition pagans, and the chronicler does nothing to hide that fact, writing that God rewards hospitality of “even pagans”.¹⁵⁹

Let us return to our story. The poor ploughman invited the prince and his guests to his hut—and the duke “did not disdain to lower himself to his peasant”.¹⁶⁰ Gallus emphasizes that in Poland at this time in comparison to his own times “[...] nor was the duke of the city so haughty and swollen with pride strutting in pomp among crowds of retainers”.¹⁶¹ In the story in the realities of Piast's world, the situation that the duke accepted the ploughman's invitation was nothing exceptional. What was surprising and miraculous was that it was possible in the hut of the peasant to create suitable conditions for the appropriate treatment of Popiel as a guest. In the text of the “Chronicle” there is no mention of anything which would have forced the duke to attend a feast in the hut of his man.¹⁶² The initial situation is not explained, it is

¹⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 10, line 21—p. 11, line 1.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 14–15.

¹⁶¹ *Ibidem*, lines 15–17.

¹⁶² In the translation of Roman Grodecki and Marian Plezia into Polish we read that due to the wanderers the beer increased in the hut of Piast to such an extent that “it filled all the borrowed vessels, while those who attended the prince's feast, found [their vessels] empty”, Gallus Anonymous, *Kronika polska*, p. 13. Among the full translations of the Chronicle the version closest in meaning to that given by R. Grodecki and M. Plezia was that presented by Josef Bujnoch: the beer increased in such quantities “(...) bis sich so im Wechsel alle Trinkgefäße füllten an und des Fürsten Zechgenossen ihre Becher fanden leer”, *Polens Anfänge. Gallus Anonymus: Chronik und Taten der Herzöge und Fürsten von Polen*, translation, introduction and commentary Josef Bujnoch, Graz/Wien/Köln 1978 (=Slavische Geschichtsschreiber, vol. 10), p. 51. In the Russian translation by L.M. Popov we read: “pivo pribyvalo do tiech por, poka nie napolnilis' sosudy, vzjatyje vzajmy, a takzhe i sosudy pirujushchevo kniazja, kotoryje chuzhezemtsy nashli pustymi”, Gall Anonim, *Chronika i diejanija kniaziej ili pravitieliej polskich*, trans. L.M. Popov, [in:] *Slavanskie Chroniki*, A.I. Cenkov ed.,

unclear why the peasant would have invited the prince to attend, nor why the ruler thought it natural to do so. Here a key is found in the first words of the story of the feast and ceremony: “when according to custom, the feast was begun [...]”.¹⁶³ The presence of the ruler and his court was “in accordance with custom” of the coherent world of the narrative, even though for the contemporaries of Gallus Anonymus, such a situation would have been exceptional.

For Piast and Rzepka however, this was an unexpected event. The appearance of the wanderers in their lives had changed a basic fact, their poverty which the beginning of the story displayed so clearly. It is only now that we learn why the ploughman’s poverty and the necessity of holding the two celebrations—that of the duke and Piast—at the same time have a causal connection with each other. The “cives” of Gniezno had shown an inhuman inhospitality because though the

Sankt-Petersburg 1996, p. 332. The “chuzhezemtsy” obviously are the two mysterious visitors to Piast’s hut. Finally in the newest English translation we read: “the ale kept on increasing,/ till the cups that passed among them were all brimfull every round/ Even those the duke’s companions earlier had empty found” (*Gesta Principum Polonorum/The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, p. 21). The variations in the understanding of this fragment are therefore very great, and all translations are unconvincing. In the version of J. Bujnoch the phrase “vasa mutuata” was split and translated as “im Wechsel alle Trinkgefäße”, though in the text there is no mention of any “exchange” and it was necessary for the translator to justify the translation: the quantity of beer increased in the hut of Piast, and in exchange it decreased in Popiel’s palace. L.M. Popov in turn for an unknown reason states that it was the wanderers who found the vessels at the prince’s feast empty, while the text of the “Chronicle” is quite clear that it was duke’s guests who observed this. The final proposition seems to be the closest to the original text though here too there are insertions (“earlier”) and debatable interpretations (“vasa mutuata”—“cups that passed among them”).

This uncertainty forces us to refer to the Latin text: “Usque adeo enim crevisse fertur cervisia/ Donec vasa mutuata replerentur omnia/ Et que ducis convivantes invenere vacua”, *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 2, p. 11, lines 3–5. In the ‘accusative with infinitive’ construction present here, the predicate “fertur” rules the verb “crevisse”, and the two lines below it are subordinate clauses with regard to it. Let us observe that in these two lines Gallus was able to achieve an interesting rhythmic effect with a 15-syllable trochee. In Latin it is a permissible practice to shorten grammatical forms in order to obtain the appropriate rhythmic structure. In Gallus’ work we find examples of this, as for example in the same story where he uses the word “decreverat” (I, 2, p. 10, line 14) instead of “decretaverat”. In this situation we can assume that in order to obtain the right rhythm, Gallus decided in this two-line text to remove the case endings of the variety of the verb “invenere”, which should take the form “invenerentur”, to be analogous to “replerentur”. In such a situation we receive the following translation which seems quite clear in its significance: “They say that the beer continually increased to such an extent that all the vessels which had been borrowed were filled, and those which the guests at the duke’s feast found empty”.

¹⁶³ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 2, p. 12, line 18.

travellers had expressed a desire to take part they had been forbidden access to the coming of age celebration of the duke's son. What was Piast to do, if having just one pig and one barrel of beer, he was to give a feast at a different time from the duke's one and one of the inhabitants of Gniezno, higher in the social hierarchy (not to mention the prince himself) wished to take part in his feast? From the story of the travellers we learn that, in order not to be "inhuman", he was obliged to accept and make welcome all who arrived, whether they had been invited or not. Piast was not in a position to fulfil this obligation in a case when a large number of guests turned up. If however everybody of importance was at the duke's feast, he was hoping that he would be able to invite the rest, the poor people at least, to a modest meal. In the story of Gallus, the lives of Piast and Rzepka were closely regulated by local custom (the significance and rituals associated with the hair cutting ceremony which marked the young man's coming of age, the requirement to welcome guests). The citizens of Gniezno had failed to respect these customs.¹⁶⁴ At the same time as in their raising the value of the hospitality of Piast, the wanderers indicated an acceptance of the social significance of this local custom. Due to this, the miraculous event—the multiplication of the food—meant that Piast and Rzepka were increased in status through their son, or rather the coincidence of circumstances which accompanied his entry into adult society. Instead of two defective feasts (of the rich members of society in the prince's palace, and the poor people in the hut of his servant) there was a single one hosted by Piast and Rzepka, in which all states of society could participate. This elevation of the significance of the community of society based on the virtues of the host, but also the acts of God, returns later in the "Chronicle" in the description of the accession of Siemowit to power.

The final scene of the story which Gallus presents which occurs in the presence of the distant ancestors of the dynasty concerns the actual hair-cutting ceremony of their son. Of this we learn only that it took place in exceptional circumstances "with everything laid out in abundance". Above all we learn that the introduction of the son into the adult world, the hair-cutting ceremony itself, was carried out by the

¹⁶⁴ In the world view of the Medieval Christian world a good and natural characteristic of pagan "barbarians" was the strict observance of the custom of hospitality, Karol Modzelewski, *Barbarzyńska Europa*, Warszawa 2004, pp. 29–38.

two wanderers with prophetic powers. It was they who “in presage of the future” gave him the name Siemowit.¹⁶⁵ In this manner, the wanderers (outside the knowledge of the parents of the boy who did not perceive any fulfilment of the prophecy other than that in which they participated), defined his fate. In the opinion of Jacek Banaszekiewicz the act of naming Piast’s son by the wanderers “was enough to establish a link between the dynasty and God, in its essence containing a meaning which does not differ much from that contained in a royal anointment”.¹⁶⁶ This is another sign of the especial grace of God intended to justify the accession to power of Siemowit instead of Popiel’s sons.¹⁶⁷ This is an exceptionally important interpretation, though it seems that the “Chronicle” requires it be subject to a few minor modifications. The welcome given by Piast to the wanderers who had arrived on his doorstep due to the will of God and by chance meant that as a reward for their hospitality, God raised up the ploughman in the manner analysed above. The chronicler wrote of the dual character of the gifts of God that accompanied this, about the temporary (*temporaliter*) increase in status of the pauper, and of the general rewarding of the hospitality of a pagan.¹⁶⁸ The miraculous feast is an expression of the first, while the fate of Siemowit is associated with the second.

Here the situation however becomes more complicated. The wanderers had especial knowledge, their assessment of the future fate of Piast’s son was a miraculous “praesagio”—a presage, omen, prophecy. Gallus however in the further parts of the “Chronicle” clearly emphasises (see below for more details) that God made Siemowit a ruler only at the moment when he attained a certain (undefined) degree of virtue. There was no mention them of any kind of fulfilment by God of any obligation towards the family suggesting the sort of covenant between God and the Piasts and Poland which has been proposed by Czesław Deptuła.¹⁶⁹ Siemowit fulfilled the conditions which allowed his accession to power independently of what happened at his coming of age ceremony. Does the story Gallus recounts indicate that by the hands of the wanderers in the hair cutting, God had anointed Siemowit as the

¹⁶⁵ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 2, p. 11, lines 18–19. (note from translator: the name comes from two elements, *Siemo-* (“clan/family”) and *-wit* (“lord/ruler/master”), giving it the meaning “ruler of the family”)

¹⁶⁶ J. Banaszekiewicz, *Podanie o Piaście*, p. 153.

¹⁶⁷ See also *ibidem*, pp. 149–150.

¹⁶⁸ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 2, p. 10, lines 20—p. 11, line 1.

¹⁶⁹ See Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, pp. 230–231.

future ruler?¹⁷⁰ Did he contract an eternal covenant with the dynasty in Piast's hut? In Gallus' chronicle, neither the acts of God nor the descendants of Piast were so strongly determined by the act of hospitality of the ploughman. Siemowit acceded to power thanks to his virtues which everybody agreed on ("concorditer"), including God (see below). It is worth noting the parallels between two feasts in the narrative of Gallus, the hair-cutting of Piast's son and the birthday feast of Mieszko I. In the latter case, as we shall see below, there was also a miracle which was a sign of a future success associated with Mieszko, a sign that was not fully appreciated by his father and those around him. In Gallus' description of the coming of age feast of Siemowit the situation is similar: Piast and Rzepka understand "something", but not everything. In both cases what is important is the sign itself and its permanent presence in society—in the form of the name of the son of Piast and the recovered sight of Mieszko. However, neither the comprehension by the story heroes' of the true sense of this sign, nor even the comprehension by Gallus' contemporaries of the connection between the fate of the family and the will of God which they manifest are given any stress by the chronicler.

It is difficult on the basis of the "Chronicle" alone to show that the story of Piast and Rzepka can be included in the range of Christian narratives which would be an illustration of "the mechanism of granting of a high social position to a confirmed pagan pauper who has been gained for the faith" or "through giving hospitality to two emissaries of God, Piast already created access 'ad fidem sanctam'".¹⁷¹ In the "Chronicle", Piast and Rzepka were not associated with the Christian sacral sphere, they only are the embodiment of natural virtues: hospitality, modesty, humility. It was the will of God that led Siemowit, as the chronicler clearly points out, the pagan son of a pagan, in recognition of his own virtues, to accede to power after the demise of the pagan ruler Popiel. In the narrative of Gallus Anonymous, what attracts our attention is the very "ordinariness" of the ancestors of the future rulers of Poland. This motif, which is met in other dynastic tales, is frequently related to their peasant origin, in our story indicated by the definition of Piast as a ploughman.¹⁷² Piast was a simple but noble man who is contrasted with the rich and depraved

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 286, 288, 290–291.

¹⁷¹ J. Banaszekiewicz, *Podanie o Piaście*, p. 149. This idea was in effect accepted by Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, p. 263.

¹⁷² See J. Banaszekiewicz, *Podanie o Piaście*, pp. 33–39, 47–63.

inhabitants of Gniezno.¹⁷³ The real sense of the whole story however does not lie in this contrast, which here plays the role of a convenient decoration. The most important was the emphasis of the cooperation between the good deeds of man (the hospitality of Piast) and the will of God (miracles and signs). The chronicler clearly explains the meaning of the described scenes: “God [...] who sometimes raises somebody up from a lowly state/unimportance/humility of poverty and does not refuse to reward hospitality even among pagans [...]”.¹⁷⁴

To summarise, the story of the feast at the coming of age ceremony of Piast’s son in the “Chronicle” is a story of God’s presence among the Poles and, long before their baptism, His communicating with them the significance of a man doing good deeds in his life, on the role of adhering to local customs and their role in unifying whole societies. It is not possible to speak here of the “intrusion of God” into the history of Poland or the Piast family—the chronicler does not indicate that he revealed his miracles for the first time in the Gniezno lands, nor even the creation of a covenant with the Piasts or the Polish people. Undoubtedly this episode can be encompassed by the pattern of prophecy and fulfilment which was often used by the chronicler for emphasising the significance of the events discussed later which has been demonstrated by the analyses of Czesław Deptuła. This does not however define the significance of the earlier fragment in terms of the scholastic traditions of the analysis of Biblical texts. Gallus Anonymus maintains a specific vision of the history of the dynasty and Poland which is different from Biblical patterns.

Siemowit and the accession to power

The description of the accession to power of Siemowit is rather an anticlimax after the complicated story of Piast and the role of hospitality in achieving God’s favour.¹⁷⁵ The reader only learns that Siemowit

¹⁷³ See Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, pp. 236–238 on the Biblical antecedents of wanderers seeking hospitality and especially on the motif of Sodom and Gomorra.

¹⁷⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 2, p. 10, line 20—p. 11, line 1.

¹⁷⁵ We should mention here the intriguing hypothesis of Przemysław Urbańczyk, though it has not been afforded much attention by other scholars, that Gallus’ story is not only a model of the mechanisms of gaining power in a chiefdom type society, but is even an account of real historical events connected with the achievement of power by the Piast dynasty, *Ibid.*, “*Zamach stanu*” w tradycji piastowskiej *Anonima Galla*, [in:] *Zamach stanu w dawnych społecznościach*, Arkadiusz Sołtysiak ed., together with Justyna Olko, Warszawa 2004, pp. 221–222, 224–225).

grew in strength and experience and “from day to day began to help/ make himself useful/ make progress in the increase of his virtues”¹⁷⁶ to such a degree that “the King of Kings and the Prince of Princes in agreement made him Duke of Poland and rooted out from the kingdom Popiel and his progeny”.¹⁷⁷ The chronicler leaves no room for doubt, the descendants of Piast were given royal power by the Christian God.¹⁷⁸ There is however a lack of clarity in the narrative why this should be. The chronicler in effect gives only one argument: Siemowit “in augmentum proficere probitatis incepit”. Unfortunately it is precisely this passage of the text which is unclear due to the variety of meanings the words which the chronicler used can possess. Some researchers have suggested that this meant that the young man “made progress and increased in virtue”,¹⁷⁹ the boy who had been indicated by the wanderers during the coming of age ceremony as destined for great things, when he grew up and became accustomed to the cultivation of virtues, was made a duke by God. Such an interpretation ignores a specific element in Gallus’ narrative. Siemowit only began (“incepit”) to find himself in a certain state, when God already elevated his position above all others.¹⁸⁰

The key here is the manner in which this state is described. The phrase “in augmentum probitatis” was not directly addressed only to Siemowit’s own character. Piast’s son could equally “make advances in increasing [his] virtue” as well as “increase virtue [in general]”. This is not an insignificant differentiation. Either the chronicler is writing of changes in the life of an individual, or in a certain general situation which is affected by that individual. Comparison with the praise of Bolesław the Brave contained in the “Chronicle”, who “sua probitate

¹⁷⁶ The word “probitas” was used by Gallus to mean the same as “virtus”, as for example in the following passage: “virtutibus siquidem multis ac probitatibus longe lateque Boleslauus emicuit”, *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 11, p. 30, lines 18–19, after which the chronicler proceeds to describe the “virtutum”, without mentioning “probitates” as separate entities.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, I, 3, p. 12, lines 4–7.

¹⁷⁸ See C. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, p. 231.

¹⁷⁹ Gallus Anonymus, *Kronika*, p. 13.

¹⁸⁰ Czesław Deptuła (*Galla Anonima mit*, pp. 293, 315), interprets the chronicler’s words in another way. He sees “probitas”—“worthyness” as a general characteristic of all members of the ruling dynasty, and “this characteristic of the Piasts was called into being by the will of God who created it in Siemowit’s person”, *ibidem*, p. 293. In the “Chronicle” however, we see the reverse, first the virtue appears, then Siemowit becomes ruler.

totam Poloniam deauravit”, might be helpful in understanding this phenomenon.¹⁸¹ This clearly is referring to the personal characteristics of Bolesław. However this changes Poland and spreads over the whole country subject to his rule, since Bolesław “due to God’s good will”¹⁸² it abounded in virtue of the spirit (“virtus”) and power (“potentia”). The ideal ruler was therefore supposed to change his whole realm, enrich it through his own “probitas”. Since it was God’s will that Siemowit was to replace the previous ruler of Poland, so (if we assume that the “Chronicle” embodies a coherent world-view), the Creator would have done this out of regard to the degree to which Siemowit was close to this ideal. It would therefore seem that the passage under discussion was intended to show that Siemowit himself had “made progress in spreading virtue” but through that would have “been of aid/use” to God in the propagation of virtue in his subject people.¹⁸³ When that specific characteristic which was required by God of those who were to rule over others had become strong enough, God caused that person to be elevated to the status of a ruler. This is especially the case since Popiel was not an entirely bad person.¹⁸⁴ His fault was however that, as we have seen, he was not able to encourage virtues among his subjects as a result they were inhospitable to guests in their lands.¹⁸⁵ Piast did not have this possibility, but he demonstrated virtue and his son encouraged its spread when he reached for power.

An analogy for this conception might be sought in the story of the young Bolesław Wrymouth. Gallus portrayed his personality using the same words with which he had earlier described Siemowit: “Bolezlaus [...] viribus et etate crescebat [...]”.¹⁸⁶ A few lines later he added that he ruled the Wrocław province “puer etate, senex probitate”.¹⁸⁷ Here

¹⁸¹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 6, p. 16, lines 8–9.

¹⁸² *Ibidem*, line 8.

¹⁸³ In the opinion of Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, p. 315, this “probitas” of the Piasts was the especial link between them and their people.

¹⁸⁴ Jacek Banaszekiewicz, *Podanie o Piaście*, pp. 156–194 considers that Gallus’ story of the death of Popiel was a version of the narrative of the death of an evil ruler who had committed offences against the order of the world. Without negating such a possibility we will emphasize only that in the framework of the “Chronicle” itself, the short passage on the death of Popiel does not fulfil this function—which is what Banaszekiewicz himself admits, *ibidem*, p. 180.

¹⁸⁵ Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, pp. 277–278 emphasizes that in the “Chronicle”, Popiel is not the person who is wholly bad, a tyrant, in the way that he was to be portrayed at the beginning of the thirteenth century by Wincenty Kadłubek.

¹⁸⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 13, p. 78, lines 2–3.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 7–8.

too as an indispensable condition to gaining power appear the reaching of a certain age and degree of energy as well as a certain quantity of virtue. In the case of Bolesław Wrymouth, Gallus indicated the mechanism of the alteration of social status in an almost exactly analogous manner to his account of Siemowit. Here, after the expulsion of Sieciech, and thus some time after his gaining rule over Wrocław but yet while still a boy, at the head of his retinue, Bolesław obtained his first significant victories over the Pomeranians. As Gallus writes: “this beginning of Bolesław’s military service showed the Christians a mighty sign of [his] future virtue [probitas]”.¹⁸⁸ His deeds meant that in the opinion of the Pomeranians observing them and contrasting them with the passive behaviour of his elder brother Zbigniew, the latter should have become a clergyman ruling the Church, while “that boy” should fight.¹⁸⁹ It was then that the father of both sons, Władysław Herman, seeing that the younger son “was in the prime of life” and was “surpassed in military matters” decided to gird him with a sword (make him a knight) in the course of a solemn feast.¹⁹⁰ Already in control of Wrocław, Bolesław was “in age a boy, in virtue a venerable man”. But it was only the first appearance of evidence of “virtue” visible to all and affecting those around him that was the condition which, besides his age, inclined the ruler of the country to introduce him into the circle of adult society and knights. Only the appearance of and operation in society of this “virtue” could lead to the definition of a suitable place in the world for its bearer.

Gallus’ story of the youth of Bolesław seems to confirm that according to the order which rules the world in the “Chronicle”, Siemowit’s accession to power occurred not only due to his personal perfection, but its propagation among the population among whom he began to encourage and/or propagate “virtutes”. In this context the formulation contained in the passage referring to the choice of Siemowit “concorditer ordinavit” seems significant. It is difficult to assume that Gallus was trying to emphasise that God made his choice in agreement with himself. The text rather seems to suggest that the ordinance of God was accompanied by the general agreement of the ruler’s subjects. The

¹⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, II, 17, p. 85, lines 11–12.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 13–15, 17–19.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, II, 18, p. 86, lines 2–3.

act of God gained the full acceptance of society, which must also have led to an equally full rejection of the family of his predecessor.

Such an interpretation may help understand the manner in which Gallus represents in his “Chronicle” the end of Popiel. In giving Siemowit power he removed Popiel from the throne and he and his progeny were “rooted out” from the country. In the narrative of the “Chronicle” it is impossible to find a clear justification for precisely this end to the Popielid dynasty.¹⁹¹ Why would the deposed ruler have to be ejected from the country? The mere fact that Siemowit began to rule the country meant in itself the end of the old dynasty; just as in the case of its beginnings, its end need not have interested the reader. Finally, it was not people but God who expelled all who were related by blood to Popiel. Let us examine that event in the light of the conditions of the accession to power by Siemowit. If the strengthening of virtue in society was the decisive merit of Piast’s son, so his opponent must have been the complete reverse, he weakened virtue, or neglected to propagate it in society. This is, as we have shown above, how we may read the story of the opposition between Piast’s hospitality and the inhospitality of the ruler’s servants. The ruler had a bad influence on those around him—which at the time of the wanderers’ arrival was not a result of his activities, but rather his presence in the stronghold. If this was to stop, he had to leave the country. This does not however provide an answer to the question of why his closest family had to share his fate. The supplement to this story was the anecdote woven into the narrative of the “Chronicle” about his tragic death, bitten by a plague of mice.¹⁹² The chronicler distances himself from this tale, writing that this whole thing was as “narrant enim seniores antiqui”.¹⁹³ In this way he indicated that it came from a source which was a different one from that which he used in describing the history of Poland so far. Equally its ironic tone does not correspond to that of the picture presented earlier. In this, the role of Popiel was in fact marginal, he himself formed only the background for the story of Piast and his son.

The story of the expulsion and death of Popiel can only with great difficulty be fitted into a logical sequence in the tale of Siemowit when

¹⁹¹ See Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonim mit*, pp. 275–279.

¹⁹² *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 3, p. 12, lines 7–12.

¹⁹³ *Ibidem*, line 7. See J. Banaszkiewicz, *Podanie o Piaście*, pp. 157, 180, 193.

taken into account only on its own. The sense of this passage becomes clearer if we link it with the description of later events from the life of the dynasty of the Piasts. In the history of Poland the whole family was permanently deprived of power once again when Bolesław II the Bold was replaced on the throne by Władysław Herman. As was the case with Popiel, he was not killed in his own country and the circumstances of his death remained uncertain. When Bolesław lost his struggle to retain power, he went into exile together with his son. In this light the fate of Popiel is understandable, he suffered a somewhat specific punishment, but one fitting for a ruler that had notoriously not maintained the social norms as befits a ruler and “enforced” the virtue of all members of the community. If the description of the death of Popiel was intended to be an element of the legitimisation of the accession to power of the Piasts,¹⁹⁴ the fate of Bolesław the Bold and the significance of his successor, the father of Bolesław Wrymouth, would gain a new meaning in its light.

Nevertheless the author of the “Chronicle” did not give any clear indications allowing this conclusion to be maintained unequivocally. Alongside the parallel elements in the histories of Popiel and Bolesław the Bold, there are clear differences, such as for example the clearly defined mechanism by which Popiel lost power, there is no such information in the case of Bolesław II, or the use of legendary elements in the description of the death of Popiel, while the circumstances surrounding the death of Bolesław are rather unclear. We are inclined to agree with those researchers who have suggested that the presence of the topic of Popiel and his tragic end have characteristics of an autonomous story, independent of the material telling of the history of the Piast dynasty. This is maybe why the author attempted to connect the story of the death of Popiel and the death of Bolesław the Bold through allusions in the presentation of situations in the first book of his work and references to Biblical elements or the ethical teachings of the Church.¹⁹⁵ It is significant however that it is precisely the tale of Popiel which opens and closes the story of the accession to power of the Piasts. By this means already in the story of the beginning of the dynasty the patterns of good and bad rulers have been presented.

¹⁹⁴ See Jacek Banaszekiewicz, “Die Mäuseturmsage”—*The Symbolism of Annihilation of an Evil Ruler*, *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 51 (1985), p. 30.

¹⁹⁵ Por. C. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, p. 278.

Pagans and Piasts

The chronicler did not want to say much¹⁹⁶ about the history of the descendants of the ploughman Piast who had the title of “duke”, but who were “stained by error and idolatry”. Indeed as he suggests, he could not. Their deeds had passed out of memory “in the oblivion of ages”.¹⁹⁷ Here he only wanted to “briefly recall [them]”,¹⁹⁸ before passing on to the history which “faithful memory” has recorded¹⁹⁹—the deeds of the Christian dukes.²⁰⁰ Despite his brevity at this point of the narrative, his account of the deeds of the pagan rulers of the Piasts form an exceptionally interesting reservoir of patterns of behaviour of the dukes. Thus Siemowit himself “once he had achieved the principality, spent his youth in pursuit of pleasure or unsuitably but by his efforts and knightly virtue, won honour and fame, and enlarged the frontiers of his realm further than anyone previously had increased them”.²⁰¹ In the sixteenth century, this presentation of events seemed to a copyist of the manuscript internally inconsistent in and to correct this, he introduced the word “not” into the first part of the sentence—“(non) voluptuose vel inepte iuventutum suam exercuit”,²⁰² which fundamentally changed the meaning of the words of Gallus. This is not surprising, since in the thirteenth century chronicler Wincenty Kadłubek,²⁰³ and other following him,²⁰⁴ also accented the positive aspects of the portrait of Siemowit. This medieval interpretation caused that this intrusion was accepted by some scholars and some publishers of Gallus’ “Chronicle” as an obvious element of the logic of the presentation of the chronicler.²⁰⁵

¹⁹⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 3, p. 12, line 14. On the reticence towards writing about the pagan past, see Jerzy Strzelczyk, *Niektóre problemy chrystianizacji Europy wczesnośredniowiecznej*, [in:] *Nihil superfluum esse*, pp. 64–65, who regarded this as a common characteristic of many Christian chroniclers of the Early Middle Ages.

¹⁹⁷ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 3, p. 12, line 13.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 15–16.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰⁰ See Przemysław Wiszewski, *Źródło, którego nie ma*, pp. 37–39.

²⁰¹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 3, p. 12, line 16—p. 13, line 2.

²⁰² *Ibidem*, I, 3, p. 12, line 16, footnote z.

²⁰³ *Magistri Vincenti dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum/Mistrza Wincentego zwanego Kadłubkiem Kronika Polska*, Marian Plezia ed., Cracow 1994 (=MPH, NS, vol. 11), II, 3,7 p. 32.

²⁰⁴ *Kronika polska*, published by Ludwik Ćwikliński, [in:] MPH, vol. 3, Lwów 1878, pp. 615–616; *Kronika książąt polskich*, Zygmunt Węclewski ed., [in:] MPH, vol. 3, p. 436; *Chronica Polonie Maioris*, 8, pp. 13–14.

²⁰⁵ In the edition of Ludwik Finkel and Stanisław Kętrzyński (*Galli Anonymi Chronicon*, Leopoli 1899, p. 8), there is a lack of any kind of indication that basing their

The literal sense of the document is however quite the opposite. In reality the word “non” is not found in three of the known manuscripts of the “Chronicle”, in the fourth, the Zamojski Manuscript, it is not present in the body of the text, it was added as a marginal gloss. It seems from this that the original sense of what Gallus wrote was that Siemowit underwent a significant change from an irresponsible youth to a commendable ruler in his adult years. This picture of a youth unworthy of praise here corresponds in full in its sense to the literary model from which the phrase (“iuventutum suam exercuit”) used by the chronicler was taken, that is the ‘Bellum Catilinae’ by Sallust.²⁰⁶ In contrast however to the negative portrayal of the main character there, Siemowit chose the path of good and the cultivation of virtue. Since the “Chronicle” added to this tradition the element that Siemowit was chosen by God, it is difficult to correlate this characterization of the first Piast ruler with the intention of portraying the dynasty suggested by the tale of the miracle in Piast’s hut. We perceive that this vision of the young ruler as a reckless young man corresponds both to the contents of the Romantic *chanson de geste*, almost contemporary with the “Chronicle”, especially the cycle about Charlemagne,²⁰⁷ as well as the results of the structural analysis of the narrative by Jacek Banaszkiwicz. His suggestion that in the tradition of the Poles Siemowit fulfilled the role of a vigorous conquering hero seems to gain support in the emphasis placed in the text of the “Chronicle” on his stormy youth.²⁰⁸

The presence on the one hand of violence, and on the other hand virtue in the chronicler’s portrayal of Siemowit was no accident. His son Leszek, equalled “his father’s virtue and valour” entirely due to

text on the Zamojski Codex, the publishers have introduced a marginal gloss into the main text (*ibidem*, p. XIV).

²⁰⁶ See Robert Jan Kras, *Dzieła Sallustiusza w warsztacie Anonima zw. Gallem*, “Roczniki Humanistyczne”, 50 (2002), fasc. 2: *Historia*, p. 11.

²⁰⁷ Por. Anna Gronowska, “*Enfances Guillaume*”, “*Enfances Vivien*”, “*Enfances Renier*”... *Młodzieńcze dokonania wielkich bohaterów starofrancuskiej epiki rycerskiej*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*”, 42 (2004), p. 39.

²⁰⁸ J. Banaszkiwicz, *Podanie o Piaście*, pp. 102–103. The connection of the origins of Siemowit as the son of a ploughman who on revealing signs of martial prowess was elevated to the status of a ruler would also fall within such a characterisation. For the wider context see Jacek Banaszkiwicz, *Königliche Karrieren von Hirten, Gärtnern und Pflügeren. Zu einem mittelalterlichen Erzählschema vom Erwerb der Königsherrschaft [die Sagen von Johannes Agnus, Přemysl, Ina, Wamba und Dagobert]*, “*Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte*”, 33 (1982), pp. 265–286.

his military exploits,²⁰⁹ it was in them that he found his fulfilment, but also fulfilled the ideal earlier embodied by his father. In the social dimension both these descendants of Piast were linked by the significance accorded to worthy deeds of warriors. At the same time the individual dimension of the ruler, his virtue, is strongly emphasised in the “Chronicle”. In Gallus’ narrative it is not connected in any precisely defined manner with the personal characteristics or deeds of the rulers. It is rather an expression of the general assessment of the qualifications of a person from a moral point of view, connected at the same time with their social usefulness.

The “Chronicle” portrays Siemomysł the next member of the Piast dynasty whom he introduces into his narrative somewhat differently. Gallus writes that he “increased threefold the memory of his ancestors”, in which the word “memoria” should be understood in this context as their “fame/glory among their descendants”.²¹⁰ He “tripled” it because he possessed the title of duke as the third in a line. The latter is important since we find that Piast and his ancestors are excluded from this group of members of the dynasty who “brought it glory”. For the dynastic tradition only those who exercised rule were of importance. From this perspective the line was deserving of glorification by virtue of being in power. If they were not connected with the process of establishing of their rule, events which occurred before that had no any significant value for the presentation of a vision of the past of the family. In contrast to his father and grandfather, in the “Chronicle”, Siemomysł does not represent the type of “warrior-ruler”. He equalled his predecessors in glory due to his progeny (“genere”) and nobility (“dignitate”). Decoding the first of these is not difficult, Siemomysł was the father of Mieszko I. Being the father of the first Christian ruler of the Piast dynasty ennobled him, what is a problem though is Siemomysł’s “dignitas”.

The definition of the meaning of that term is facilitated by the description of the feast of the occasion of Mieszko’s birthday. It is worth comparing it with the modest gathering in the hut of Piast. Thus Siemomysł “according to custom called a gathering of his comites/

²⁰⁹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 3, p. 13, lines 3–4.

²¹⁰ Gallus Anonymous writes of Siemowit that he was “memorandus”, *ibidem*, I, 4, p. 13, line 8: “worthy of remembrance”, but together with his assessment by the chronicler it is obvious that this does not concern his “memory” among posterity in general, but this memory and fame combined.

counts and other nobles/princes to celebrate a grand and lavish banquet".²¹¹ Instead of the "poor and friends" who Piast had invited, the companions at Siemomysł's feast were such a gathering that would not have sat at Popiel's table. The participation of these "comites" and "principes" as guest as well as the lavishness of the feast seem to indicate the specific character of the rule of the father of Mieszko. The nature of the moment (birthday of his son) and the specific place in the narrative (an event prophesying a change in the course of history) both define the character of the scene in which the events were to be played out. The first factor made the exceptional solemnity of the occasion understandable. The second inclines us to accept the whole setting of the event as an abbreviated symbolic presentation of Poland, a brief character-portrait of the nature of the state and rule of Siemomysł from the times that were to disappear entirely together with the acceptance of Christianity. Gallus does not mention the warriors and loot which might have decorated the table or hall of a great conqueror. He emphasizes however by the use of terms which could easily have been used to describe the imperial court that Siemomysł was the ruler of a country that was rich and extensive, but with a stable structure symbolised by the number of titled nobles. Among them the chronicler did not even attempt to describe his "other princes" in more detail. The "dignitas" of Siemomysł was therefore a virtue of the ruler himself, maybe as an organizer, leader, manager but above all as a person with authority in society who is acknowledged by other important individuals. In this way we return to the social dimension of the function of a ruler which was earlier indicated in the characterisation of the times of Siemomysł by the word "memoria", and so clearly visible in the description of the history of his grandfather ("fama", "gloria").²¹²

²¹¹ *Ibidem*, lines 11–13.

²¹² Jacek Banaszkiwicz, *Podanie o Piaście*, passim, showed that the presentation of the triad of rulers before Mieszko can be seen as an exemplification of the pattern of the triple functions of rulers in the concept of Dumèzil. Siemowit could represent the organizer of rule, Lestek—the warrior king, and finally Siemomysł the ruler of "earthly property", corresponding to the "third function", *ibidem*, pp. 104–105. It is very difficult to maintain adherence to this triple scheme if we remain within the narrative of Gallus itself. The first two rulers are above all warriors who gain a good name for themselves and the dynasty. Gallus' characterization of the third also concentrates on indicating his contribution to the raising of the glory of the family ("memoria") which seems to be in close relationship with efforts to indicate the glory of the family of Mieszko, the first Christian ruler of the country. The lack of reference in the characterization of Siemomysł, the father of Mieszko, might be treated as an indication of

An Omen of Passage—the second feast

The feast at the court of Siemomysł seems for a number of reasons to have an important place in Gallus' narrative. It refers back to the situation at the beginning of the royal dynasty (a feast thrown to celebrate a special event in the life of a son). It also contains a description which acts as a prophecy of the future—an important change in the history of the society which also in some way connects the sacral sphere of Christianity with the person of the boy who is being honoured by the feast. Just as an event during Siemowit's coming of age feast in Piast's hut presaged the passing of authority from the Popielids to the Piasts, so Mieszko's birthday feast embodied a foretelling of the transition from pagan to Christian rule. The general similarities between both do not mean however that there is complete parallelity of the narratives. In the course of the first feast the intervention of God was obvious, it was His will that led the wanderers to Piast's hut, and what they did there were obvious "miracles of God". The second feast however adds to this basic pattern more complicated and less unambiguous mechanisms affecting the flow of events.

Thus Siemomysł "throughout the feast secretly sighed from the depth of his heart due to the blindness of his boy, mindful as it were of the sadness and shame of it".²¹³ This disquiet of Siemomysł reminds us of the concern of Popiel over his poverty. In this situation "when others joyfully shouted and in accordance with custom clapped their hands, a new joy meaning that the blind boy had recovered his sight, augmented the others".²¹⁴ On the one hand it is worth noting that the chronicler points out that the feast took place in accordance with the local custom (as had been the case when he referred to the coming of age ceremony of Siemowit). On the other hand it is worthy of note the correlation of the two types of "joy", that which was provoked by the boy recovering his sight and that which was an augmentation of that resulting from the celebration of the anniversary of his birth. In this manner Gallus shows that a good and pleasant moment in the life of Poles present in their reality "ex consuetudine", and thus connected

the end of the heroic period in the history of the creation of the realm inherited by the first Christian in the family. The Piasts through their virtues gained themselves the respect of those around them and this is characterised by both the "memoria" of the dynasty as well as the "dignitas" of Siemomysł himself.

²¹³ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 4, p. 13, lines 13–14.

²¹⁴ *Ibidem*, line 14—p. 14, line 2

with their original, natural state and the pagan period of their history, was augmented by something—as we shall see—which was connected with the Christian sacral sphere.

Let us return to the feast itself. The father did not trust anybody who told him of the recovery of sight by his son “until the mother removed all the doubts of the father, getting up from the feast went to the boy and showed the boy who could now see to those present”.²¹⁵ Siemomysł did not trust the messengers, but trusted a woman, his wife. The gender of the witness is here important. In the Middle Ages canon law dictates a general mistrust of the words of women in a disputed matter. Exceptions to this general rule were allowed when required by local custom.²¹⁶ The fact that Siemomysł trusted a woman may indicate the strong influence of local traditions on this story, independent of the education of the author of the “Chronicle” and his ecclesiastical informants.²¹⁷ The joy of the participants at the feast however only became full (“leticia plena”), “when the boy recognized those who he had never seen transforming the shame of his blindness into inextricable joy”.²¹⁸ The writer has added a second astonishing event to the first, although Siemomysł’s son had never seen anyone, he now recognised individual persons. Gallus, usually mindful of maintaining the psychological probability of the story did not indicate that previously experienced in listening to various people the boy was now able to link faces to the voices. No, he had “not seen them”, but now he “recognizes” them without external help. Together with gaining his sight, he had obtained unexpected knowledge. The joy of the participants at the feast was at that moment as full as it could be, since the physical disability had not left a trace on the boy’s intellectual abilities. The duke’s son was fully ready to participate in the life of society, recognising other members of that society, and at the same time his blindness had disappeared without leaving any mental trace. Just as it had dishonoured Siemomysł (though we never learn from the

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*, I, 4, p. 14, lines 3–5.

²¹⁶ See Elisabeth van Houts, *Gender and Authority of Oral Witnesses in Europe*, “Transactions of the Royal Historical Society”, seria 6, 9 (1999), pp. 203, 218–219.

²¹⁷ Here we should recall the suggestion of Jacek Banaszekiewicz concerning the specific character of women, the wives of the founders of the royal dynasty, who in stories of the accession to power of the family reveal “prophetic abilities”, *Ibid.*, *O pomysłach*, p. 270.

²¹⁸ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 4, p. 14, lines 5–7.

“Chronicle” why this was so),²¹⁹ so its sudden disappearance brought him this “secret joy”.

Neither he nor those around him, however, were able to divine the reason for this event. Thus the duke “enquired deeply of the older and wiser people who were there whether some miraculous sign is given by the blindness of the boy and the recovery of his sight”.²²⁰ They suggested that Mieszko’s blindness indicated the blindness of Poland and foretold that the significance of him recovering his sight was that the country would be raised up above all other nations. The chronicler next uses a similar rhetorical figure to the one he used to describe the joy of the participants of the feast at Mieszko’s recovery of health. He stated “what had in that manner occurred could have been interpreted in another way”,²²¹ after which he represented the blindness of Poland as its pagan beliefs and the recovery of sight as the acceptance of Christianity. Just as earlier the customary joy of the celebration had been increased by the miraculous event, so the participants at the feast could have understood it differently and only with the passage of time would their incomplete understanding be augmented by a real appreciation of the significance of the event, augmented by the aspect of the Christian sacral element. Does this mean that the chronicler knew some other reading of the significance of this event than that connected with Christianity?²²² We can neither confirm nor disprove this, but we may indicate that such a conclusion is not necessary for the understanding of his words. In the logic of the narrative at that time Siemomysł and his advisors were unable to formulate an “interpretatio Christiana” of the miracle, for they did not know about Christianity yet. They perceived only that which they could see within the framework of the cultural circumstances defined in the narrative of the “Chronicle”. For this reason they could explain the whole thing to themselves in a way completely different from Gallus, who presented the “full” meaning of the sign which became visible only from the perspective of the times after the baptism of Mieszko. We met a similar example of the use of “psychological realism”²²³ by the chronicler in

²¹⁹ See P. Wiszewski, *Po co Mieszko wzrok odzyskał*, pp. 467–469.

²²⁰ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 4, p. 14, lines 8–10.

²²¹ *Ibidem*, line 12.

²²² J. Banaszkiwicz, “*Podanie bohaterskie*” o Mieszku I, pp. 38–39.

²²³ Maybe it would be better to speak in these cases of the use in the construction of the narrative by the author of the principles of formal logic which were in general use by twelfth century writers in almost all types of literature. The writer’s text however

his description of the feast in Piast's hut, when in the face of the great prophecy, the hosts were only able to understand "something" of the whole of its contents. The rest of the statement escaped their comprehension, and this was exactly what happened in the case of the story about Mieszko recovering his sight.

Mieszko

Pagan ruler

Gallus, interpreting Mieszko's recovery of sight writes that Poland: "was indeed blind earlier, for she did not know nor worship the real God, nor the teachings of the faith, but was enlightened through Mieszko and Poland [itself was] enlightened too, because when he believed, the Polish tribe was freed from the death of unbelief".²²⁴ He therefore suggested that there was a direct dependence between the life of Mieszko the ruler and his people. As the Saviour rescued the whole of mankind from the power of death, so Mieszko saved his people by taking up the belief of the true God and revealing it to his subjects. Czesław Deptuła, who indicated the existence of analogous fables from the history of other peoples indicated their close relationship with biblical patterns and concluded: "in the broader context of meanings this corresponds to different evangelical pictures of the imminent arrival of the Good News".²²⁵

It is worth noting that according to Gallus, the conversion of Mieszko was not a single sudden event. On the contrary it was a long process occurring in the personality of the ruler through the will of God. In its course, that which was lower was supplanted by that which was higher—to use one of Gallus' favourite rhetorical figures—"according to proper order of things"²²⁶ due to the direct intervention of God. The will of the Piast was directed by "Almighty God [who] first gave Mieszko his corporeal vision, and then gave him spiritual sight, so that through the visible things he could approach an understanding of

does not allow the differentiation the use of the techniques of logic taught in medieval schools from the common sense approach of the author to the material of the story, cf. The remarks of Jan M. Ziółkowski, *The Humour of Logic and the Logic of Humour in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, "The Journal of Medieval Latin. A Publication of the North American Association of Medieval Latin", 3 (1993), p. 4.

²²⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 4, p. 14, lines 13–16.

²²⁵ Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, p. 320.

²²⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 4, p. 14, lines 16–17.

those invisible and through a knowledge of [earthly] things picture the all-powerful Creator”.²²⁷ Only then, would Mieszko and his descendants together with all their subject people become part of the general and divine order of the world.²²⁸ This theological interpretation of the conversion of Mieszko preceding a brief account of his rule must affect the reception of the latter. This is especially the case since the subsequent part of the story differs in sense from the chronicler’s explanation of Mieszko’s recovery of his sight.²²⁹ It does however correspond with the picture painted of the rule of his great grandfather. According to the chronicler, when Mieszko acceded to power he “began to exercise his natural mental/spiritual abilities and strength of his body”.²³⁰ In this way he became like Siemowit, the first ruler of his family who was famed for his “probitas” (and thus spiritual character) but also for his “audacia”, more closely connected with knightly corporeal virtues. A close dependence on the family tradition is suggested by the phrase “ingenium animi”—“inborn capabilities, characteristics of spirit”. Mieszko would have received these as his inheritance from his ancestors, but it was he who had to exercise them and improve them.

The effects of these exercises were in accordance with the achievements of his great grandfather. The only result of Mieszko exercising his abilities which the chronicler actually mentions was that he “began [...] to more frequently attack the surrounding peoples”.²³¹ The use of the term “more frequently” indicates a progressive process, the more the duke gained in prowess, the more he attacked his neighbours. This dynamic of the portrayal of his life again directs our attention to what Gallus says about his great grandfather. Siemowit grew in years and virtues in order at the end of the process to be chosen by God to be ruler of Poland. His development led to the fulfilling of the prophesied change in the history of his line which was foreseen by the messengers at his coming of age ceremony. Mieszko was already a member

²²⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 17–20.

²²⁸ For this reason it is difficult to agree with Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, p. 285, that the recovery of his sight by Mieszko was to have signified only the confirmation of the adoption of the dynasty by God which had taken place in Piast’s hut. In the “Chronicle” however, both events differ too greatly in their effects, despite their formal literary similarities of the way they are described.

²²⁹ Roman Michałowski, *Ideologia monarchiczna*, p. 187, took the concentration on God in the account of the origin of Mieszko’s baptism as defining the undertones of the narration of the whole “Chronicle”.

²³⁰ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 5, p. 15, lines 3–4.

²³¹ *Ibidem*, line 4.

of the ruling dynasty when he developed his virtues to fulfil the tasks he was to achieve. But for his generation of Piasts the inheritance of power was something normal, just as becoming a ploughman had been for Siemowit before the fulfilling of the prophecy. When however he achieved the “maturity” required by the logic of the story, a major turn in the course of his life took place, as in Siemowit’s case. However, unlike the situation in Siemowit’s story, the change was of the same, if not bigger, importance for all the Poles in the present and in the future than for him. Mieszko accepted Christianity, initiating a new epoch in the history of Poland and fulfilling the prophecy from the time of his childhood.

Dąbrowka and the conversion to Christianity

The act of Mieszko’s acceptance of Christianity was presented by Gallus in a somewhat surprising manner. The chronicler’s interpretation of the miraculous events which occurred during his birthday feast assigned to Mieszko himself a decisive role in these events, and there is no mention of anyone or any circumstances from outside—apart from the will of God—having any influence on the decision of the ruler. In the later part of the chronicle a crucial role in the conversion to Christianity of the duke and his country was played by Dąbrowka. The pagan ruler Mieszko wished to marry this Christian woman from Bohemia. She however had the ability to dictate terms to him. She did not want to marry him: “until he had given up this wicked custom [paganism], and promised to become a Christian”.²³² Only “when he had agreed to give up that practice of paganism and would receive the sacraments of the Christian faith”,²³³ did Dąbrowka come to Poland “with a wealth of secular and ecclesiastical things [serving] piety”. Even then however “she did not unite herself [with him] in the marriage bed until he gradually carefully considered the Christian customs and piety of the state (order)²³⁴ of the Church, set aside his pagan errors and became one of the community in the bosom of the Mother Church”.²³⁵ Mieszko came to learn of Christianity separated into

²³² *Ibidem*, I, 5, p. 15, lines 8–9.

²³³ *Ibidem*, lines 9–11.

²³⁴ The language of Gallus allows both translations, both in the meaning of something which orders something (“ordo narrationis”, *ibidem*, I Proh., p. 9, line 7), as well as social groups (“Omnis etas, omnis sexus, omnis ordo currite”, *ibidem*, I, 16, p. 38, line 14).

²³⁵ *Ibidem*, I, 5, p. 15, lines 12–15.

“custom/observance” and “piety”, which corresponds to the splendour of the “secular and ecclesiastical things serving piety” brought to Poland by his wife. The portrayal of the conversion of the duke in this manner suggests that Mieszko based his considerations precisely on these splendid things which Dąbrówka had brought to his court. His Christian spouse placed before her future husband hard conditions to meet, almost dazzled him with a magnificent display of wealth serving piety—and in all of this she was superior to Mieszko.

This picture contrasts with that suggested earlier by the author of the exclusive role of Mieszko in the christianisation of the country. There is a passage which presents a picture which is a compromise between these two versions: “Mieszko the first duke of the Poles who through his faithful wife received the grace of baptism, for whom it is enough fame and glory that it was in his time and through him that the heavenly light visited the kingdom of Poland”.²³⁶ Here too is an indication that a decisive role was played by a person (a Christian) coming from the outside. She was an indispensable initiator of the change of course of history, the “prime mover”. She was not the first woman in Mieszko’s life who had played such an important role. Let us recall the anonymous mother of the young duke who went herself for the boy to present him to the gathered crowd in order to present him to those gathered at the feast after his miraculous recovery of his sight. This active role of women in the story of Mieszko, something quite exceptional in the “Chronicle”, links the two stories of the birthday feast of the young boy and Mieszko’s acceptance of Christianity together, but above all the agreement between them is assured by Gallus’ interpretation. It is this which fulfils an important role in the definition of the significance of the circumstances of the baptism of Mieszko. It is true that he became a Christian due to his wife, but only due to him was the grace of God brought to the whole of his realm. As a private person, Mieszko was under the influence of external factors (women), nevertheless as a ruler he himself embodied the fate of his realm, only his attitudes and decisions decided on the changes affecting it. This is why Dąbrówka could be regarded the cause of his baptism, it is no accident also that with regard her role in the history of Poland Gallus calls her “*benedicta femina*”.²³⁷ It was, however, only

²³⁶ *Ibidem*, I, 6, p. 16, lines 3–6.

²³⁷ *Ibidem*, line 6. Some researchers indicate that the form of the story of the role of Dobrawa in the conversion of Mieszko was subordinated by Gallus to the task

to Mieszko blessed by the grace of God to whom the benefits of the christianisation of the country could be ascribed and which assured Poland a place among the Christian nations.

Bolesław the Brave

The part of the story devoted by Gallus Anonymous to Bolesław the Brave has an exceptional character in the “Chronicle”. The characterization of the Piasts living both before him, as well as those that followed him—including Bolesław Wrymouth, concentrated mainly on one selected sphere of their activity. Here however there is a very broad series of discussions concerning a whole range of details from the life of the ruler and the country he ruled.

Imperium

Gallus starts his account of Bolesław the Brave from an unambiguous definition of the position of the main character—Dąbrówka was the mother of “the famous Bolesław”.²³⁸ The chronicler immediately supplies the reader with an answer to the question of the reasons for such fame. After coming to power, Bolesław “with God’s favour grew so much in virtue and strength that, as one might say, his virtue/goodness gilded the whole of Poland”.²³⁹ This generalised statement is then developed in the following passage which lists his achievements. The construction of this passage based on rhetorical questions maintains a somewhat specific order of these achievements. Gallus starts with his victories against his Christian neighbours. Bolesław conquered the Czech lands and Moravia, he obtained the throne in Prague, and even sent his representatives²⁴⁰ to the capital of Bohemia as administrators

of removing from her the possible odium of marrying a pagan and her potentially immoral behaviour of being his wife—cf. J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko pierwszy*, p. 116. Neither can it be excluded that the story of Gallus is a distant echo of the cult of Dobrawa as the facilitator of the acceptance of Christianity by Poland. The propagation of such a cult would be in accord with the presentation of her life on the pattern of the lives of “mulieres suadentes”, imitators of St Helena. The indication of a lack of clear traces of such a cult in Poland (see Martin Homza, *Mulieres suadentes. Presvědčajúce ženy*, Bratislava 2002, pp. 37–40) as well as the limitation of the topos to the pattern of the “imitatio Mariae” could be a result of a caesura in local tradition after the crisis of the first state of the Piasts.

²³⁸ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 6, p. 16, line 6.

²³⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 7–9.

²⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 12–14.

of the annexed territory.²⁴¹ He conquered the Hungarians in several wars and imposed his rule over their lands as far as the Danube, and even “the wild Saxons were with such great force subdued that in the river Saale, in the middle of their territory, iron posts marked Poland’s boundaries”.²⁴² In the narrative of Gallus the only reason for these conflicts is that Bolesław was desirous of extending the area of his rule over the Christian countries. As a result, Poland under Bolesław would have encompassed within its frontiers most of the regions of Central Europe whose inhabitants belonged to the Roman Church (Czech lands, Moravia, Hungary), and even part of the realm of the kings of the Germans (the lands up to the Saale). The country of Bolesław envisioned in that manner was an empire, one to which the imagination of Medieval Poles would return more than once.²⁴³ In the world created by the chronicler this was the counterpoint to the German kingdom in a territorial sense and the imperial power in a political one.

This parallelism allows us to more fully understand the description of the conflicts of Bolesław with the pagan peoples. From the times of Charlemagne, it had been repeatedly stressed that the responsibility of the emperor was the fight with the pagans in the name of the defence

²⁴¹ The word “suffraganeis” used by the chronicler has been understood in several different ways. In the opinion of some historians, Gallus suggested that Bolesław had sent bishops to Bohemia, see T. Grudziński, *Ze studiów nad Kroniką Galla... Dokończenie*, pp. 18–19, and more recently Tadeusz Wasilewski, *Czescy sufragani Bolesława Chrobrego a zagadnienia jego drugiej metropolii kościelnej*, [in:] *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, Stefan K. Kuczyński ed., vol. 5, Warszawa 1992, pp. 35–38, 43–44. The chronicler uses for the description of bishops much more frequently the unambiguous word “episcopus” (the nearest: *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 6, p. 17, line 7, many other examples—see index *ibidem*, p. 184). The term “suffraganus” appears only in one more place, in the context of the phrase “archbishops and their suffragans”, in other words the bishops of the diocese who were at the same time helpers in the administration of the province (*ibidem*, I, 11, p. 30, lines 5–6). In the passage of interest, where the Church is not discussed, but matters of military conquest of the ruler, it seems allowable to translate the word under discussion as “subordinates, collaborators”, maybe “administrators of conquered territory”. The sending of a few administrators to Prague was understandable with regard the size and rank of the Czech province in the empire of Bolesław I, but the sending there of a few bishops would not make sense. A criticism of the views of Tadeusz Wasilewski is given by Gerard Labuda, *Aspekty polityczne i kościelne tzw. “zjazdu gnieźnieńskiego” w roku 1000*, [in:] *Ziemia polskie w X wieku*, pp. 22–23.

²⁴² *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 6, p. 16, line 14—p. 17, line 2.

²⁴³ See the presentation of Czesław Deptuła, *Średniowieczne mity genezy Polski*, “Znak”, 25 (1973), nr 11/12 (233/234), pp. 1389–1390 (the story of Bolesław I at the end of the twelfth century as an element of the “imperial myth” of the beginnings of Poland), 1397–1401 (in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as an element of the “ethnic-territorial myth”).

of Christians and the propagation of the spread of the structures of the Church. From that perspective it is worth examining the words of the chronicler, when after listing the conquests of Bolesław in the countries of the Christians, he says: “what need is there then to list by name his victories and triumphs over the heathen nations? What is certain is that he, as one might say, trampled them under his feet”.²⁴⁴ Indeed, he does not here treat these enemies of Bolesław I as separate political entities. He only lists the regions inhabited by pagans which were touched by war: “Selentia” (lands of the Jatvings or Lucici), Pomerania, the lands of the Prussians. The chronicler indicates at the same time a completely different aim of these expeditions from those of the Christian countries. He does not place the stress here on the expansion of the political frontiers of Bolesław’s rule, but the missionary effects of Bolesław’s efforts, “when [these peoples] persisted in their perfidy, he persecuted them, when they converted he strengthened them in their faith, he established through the Pope many churches and bishops there, or in truth, the Pope established them through him”.²⁴⁵ Gallus emphasised in this manner two different models of the spread of Bolesław’s domination. In the case of Christian peoples it was enough that they acknowledged the overlordship of the victor. In order to be able to speak however of the subjugation of the pagan peoples, they had to be converted to Christianity. In this however the act of accepting the Christian faith, though important, was only the beginning of the road. Whether or not the society was already “*conversae in fide*” or “*in perfidia resistentes*”, the ruler should build a Church organization in their lands, with the construction of churches and with clergy and bishops.

The culmination of Gallus’ presentation of Bolesław’s engagement with the Church is the story of St Wojciech. Bolesław welcomed him with great honour since he had “suffered much harm from his rebellious Czech people”.²⁴⁶ The saint had come to the lands of Bolesław in the course of a “long journey/pilgrimage”,²⁴⁷ and he visited the Polish ruler only “on the way”, but the latter willingly showed him great hospitality. This statement is important in that the chronicler precisely indicates the hierarchy of roles in his presentation of the course of

²⁴⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 6, p. 17, lines 2–4.

²⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, line 5–7.

²⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 17, lines 8–9.

²⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, line 8.

events. In his story the dominant position is undoubtedly occupied by St Wojciech, the merit of the duke was to listen to his recommendations. Bolesław “paid faithful attention to his teachings and instructions”.²⁴⁸ The differentiation of Wojciech’s “praedicationes” and “institutiones” suggests that his advice to the ruler concerned both spiritual matters as well as questions of a legal-organizational nature. The next sentence indicates that they concerned the shape of the Church in Poland: “once he saw that the faith had begun to sprout in Poland and the holy Church would grow there”,²⁴⁹ the holy martyr decided to set off for the lands of the Prussians. The suggested reasons for his actions could be regarded as clear if Wojciech had come to Poland when the Christian faith still had only a weak hold. Only his teaching would have strengthened it and then “alight with the fire of love and the zeal for preaching awakened”,²⁵⁰ he went to other lands. He could not stay in Poland since his intention of preaching had been realized. Thus in Gallus’ account, the creation of strong foundations for the presence of the faith in the country and the Polish Church was the joint work of Saint Wojciech and Bolesław following his guidance. Let us note that in his story Gallus suggests that the ruler placed St Wojciech’s body in the metropolitan church at Gniezno,²⁵¹ though when he writes earlier of the flourishing of the Church due to Wojciech’s teachings,²⁵² he makes no specific mention of the creation of a metropolitan centre in this period. This creates the impression that for the author there was a close relationship between the activities of the martyr and the creation of that metropolitan centre.²⁵³ Let us recall in this context also the

²⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 10–11.

²⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 12–13.

²⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 11–12.

²⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 18, line 1.

²⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 17, line 13. Christian Lübke, *Das “junge Europa” in der Krise: Gentil-religiöse Herausforderungen im 1000*, “Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung”, 50 (2001), fasc. 4, pp. 482–483, constructed a model of the christianisation of Poland based on the text of the “Chronicle” of Gallus, in which St Wojciech arrived in the country in the time when Christianity was flourishing. This is why he left after a short time and went to the lands of the Prussians. In the “Chronicle” however it was only due to the saint that Christianity became consolidated, and there is no mention of its flourishing.

²⁵³ See Gerard Labuda, *Zjazd i synod*, p. 114, footnote 23. On the existence of a tradition in the twelfth century seeing in Wojciech the first archbishop of Gniezno, see Tomasz Ginter, *Wątki hagiograficzne św. Wojciecha w ikonografii Drzwi gnieźnieńskich*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 108 (2001), nr 4, pp. 33–34. An echo of these views alive in the Gniezno milieu might be the striking in the twelfth century of a bracteate with a

story ascribed to the twelfth century author, Ademar of Chabanne. He recounts a tradition according to which Bolesław was actually baptized by St Wojciech.²⁵⁴ The coincidence in the timing of the writing of both narratives is thought-provoking.

It was not the intention of Gallus Anonymous in this to diminish the merits and glory of Bolesław. On the contrary he showed in this manner that Bolesław was, in his own way, a pupil of the saint and through this the chronicler closely linked their mutual fates. It is no accident that remembering the teachings and character of the guest that Bolesław bought back his body for “its weight in gold” and buried in “in the Gniezno seat of the metropolitan (in Gneznen metropoli condigno honore collocavit).”²⁵⁵ This is reflected in the story of the visit of Emperor Otto III to Gniezno. The chronicler thought it was “worthy of committing to memory”²⁵⁶ that the ruler of the Empire had come “to Saint Wojciech for the grace of prayer and [obtain his] reconciliation [with the saint] and at the same time to learn more of what was reported of the glorious Bolesław”.²⁵⁷ The further part of the narrative was entirely devoted to emphasising the glory of Bolesław who from this point overshadowed the saint. The latter had obviously already served his purpose as required by the logic of Gallus’ narrative. He had been the builder of the organization of the Polish Church, and indeed it was according to his “institutionibus” that Bolesław the Brave shaped the Polish Church and from the words of the chronicler concerning the burial of the saint we should infer that at the time of his death the diocesan organization of Poland already had a stable form. Such an interpretation can be justified by the reasons given for the saint’s departure for the Prussian territories, the christianisation of Poland had been finished and due to the advice of the Saint, the structures of the Church had begun to function as they should.

representation of St Wojciech and the legend “S[an]C[tu]S ADELBIRIAS EP[iscopu]S GNVH [Gneznensis]”; see Stanisław Suchodolski, *Kult svatého Václava a svatého Vojtěcha prizmatem raně středověkých polských mincí*, “Numismatický sborník”, 20 (2005), p. 35.

²⁵⁴ *Ademari Cabannensis Cronicon*, P. Bourgain ed., Turnhout 1999 (=Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, vol. 129; Ademari Cabannensis, Opera omnia, vol. 1), III, 31, p. 152, lines 44–46.

²⁵⁵ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 6, p. 17, line 14—p. 18, line 1.

²⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 18, line 2.

²⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 3–5.

Gallus seems to place especial emphasis on the sacral source of the glory of Bolesław when writing of the Gniezno Summit of the year 1000. Bolesław is said to have met Otto III “as a king, emperor and such a great guest should fittingly be received”,²⁵⁸ preparing in honour of his arrival “astonishing marvels”.²⁵⁹ Let us omit here a detailed discussion of the ceremonial greeting of the emperor, let us mention only that it involved troops of numerous of finely arrayed warriors and courtiers in fine and costly clothes. The chronicler finishes his list with the remarks: “The emperor of the Romans seeing his glory, power and wealth...”.²⁶⁰ Presumably the word “power” refers to the gathered troops, while the reference to “wealth” concerns the look of the courtiers, so to what is the term “glory” referring? We might consider that the use of three components of this sentence is just a rhetorical device. We may dismiss it in this way, however, only when we unambiguously eliminate the possibility of it conveying some other type of information other than referring to the feelings of the reader.

In this passage which summarises the impressions of the emperor however, apart from power and wealth, there is one other important element of the country of Bolesław, the grave of Saint Wojciech. It was this that was the aim of the emperor’s journey, so in the opinion of the chronicler was it not a source of the glory of the ruler of Poland? Let us note that in the ceremony of the exchange of gifts described by the chronicler, Bolesław and the emperor gave the other items that were the most sacred for their rule.²⁶¹ Thus Otto gave Bolesław “as a victory banner” a fragment of the True Cross and the Spear of Saint Maurice, while the Polish ruler gave Otto an arm of Saint Wojciech.²⁶² If the gift of Otto was to be a “vexillum triumphale” for the Polish duke, then the “sancti Adalberti brachium” must have been equally important to him, we may be tempted to infer that the body of the saint resting in Gniezno was in the logic of the “Chronicle” the source of the greatest glory and fame of the duke. This whole exchange of gifts took place in the sacral sphere, though the act of the exchange of relics seems to function here as a further expression of the high status of Bolesław.

²⁵⁸ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, p. 18, lines 7–8.

²⁵⁹ “miracula mirificia”, *ibidem*, line 8.

²⁶⁰ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 6, p. 19, lines 8–9.

²⁶¹ See J. Fried, *Otton III i Bolesław Chrobry*, pp. 148–149, the author treating the described scene as—with certain modifications—reflecting the real course of events.

²⁶² *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 6, p. 19, lines 15–17.

It was not linked by the chronicler either with the friendship which existed between the two rulers, or with the responsibilities resulting from the holding of a particular dignity.²⁶³ There remains therefore the function of manifesting an equality in the sacral plane of both of the possessors of valuable relics.

Through collecting a whole series of facts proving the greatness of Bolesław, the chronicler consistently builds up the tension. What more could such a ruler obtain that it would be superior to or act as the culmination of his success up to that point? In this manner Gallus builds up to revealing the resolution—the scene of Bolesław's coronation by the emperor. That this was the author's intention seems to be indicated by the words the chronicler ascribes to emperor Otto III and which are analysed above: "when the Roman emperor beheld his [Bolesław's] glory and power and exceptional wealth exclaimed 'By the crown of my empire, the things I behold are greater than those I have heard about'".²⁶⁴ Like the reader of the "Chronicle", the emperor knew some of the glorious deeds of the duke, which he now confronted with the realities which provoked even more astonishment. This is why, after taking the advice of his nobles, he announced that Bolesław should be "raised [...] on the royal throne and crowned with a diadem in glory". What position had Bolesław achieved in this manner according to Gallus? The emperor is said to have given him the imperial diadem and Spear of St Maurice with a fragment of the True Cross, which in Gallus' own time were among the most important among the symbols of imperial power.²⁶⁵ In the history of neighbouring Bohemia however, in the period of the rule of Bolesław's father Władysław Herman, the significance of the crown and spear as symbols of royal power is clearly emphasized. In 1080 Henry IV was said to have given the Czech ruler Vratislav II a "royal spear" in recognition of his fidelity and valour and then later rewarded him with a crown. In the view of contemporaries, both those objects fulfilled the function of symbols of the attainment of royal status by the ruler. Let us add to this that the "Annals" of the monastery of Pegau emphasise not only the use by Vratislav II of

²⁶³ It most frequently accepted, however, that the gesture of giving Bolesław the spear primarily had a political, or sometimes a politico-legal significance, see Mieczysław Rokosz, *Wawelska włócznia Bolesława Chrobrego. Przegląd problematyki*, "Rocznik Krakowski", 55 (1989), pp. 25–28.

²⁶⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 6, p. 19, lines 8–10.

²⁶⁵ See below, chapter 7, point 2, pp. 416–417.

these insignia but also that he had been titled “regni cooperator fidissimus”.²⁶⁶ That sounds very familiar to the reader of the work of Gallus Anonymous. It is from the first half of the twelfth century (in the work of Cosmas) that we have the first mentions of the Czech “vexillum insigne ducatus” and representations of St Vaclav bearing the spear with a banner.²⁶⁷ In the account of the “Chronicle”, did the awarding of these insignia to Bolesław have a wider significance than just giving Bolesław full regal power comparable to that which much later the Czech rulers were to obtain? It seems that this is not the case, though in the context of the Polish-Czech conflicts of the times of Bolesław Wrymouth, such an interpretation of the Gniezno Summit would also have had significance.

The idea of the awarding of part of the imperial prerogatives together with the earlier presentation of Bolesław I in Gallus’ narrative as a conqueror and active in the conversion of his neighbours to Christianity could have had especial significance in the times of Bolesław III. It was he who took up the fight with the Pomeranians and the task of their conversion to Christianity. The definition by Gallus of the emperor’s gift (part of one of the nails from the True Cross) as a “triumphal banner” is directly linked with the conviction of those times that the Cross was the glorious banner of the Christians. In turn the appearance of such a “holy banner” in the circle of the ruler in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was most commonly linked with the conducting of war—wars which extended beyond the purely secular dimension.²⁶⁸ Let us refer the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymous to this cultural context. Bolesław had obtained from the emperor for himself and his descendants the right to organize the Church in the (pagan) territories which he or his successors might conquer. Later however the chronicler does not write anything of any wars of Bolesław I which would be connected with the Christianisation of the vanquished. This topic is not broached again until Bolesław Wrymouth. If we regard the Spear of St Maurice as being among the insignia of Bolesław III, then the

²⁶⁶ *Annales Pegavienses et Bosovienses a. 1000–c. 1149*, Heinrich Georg Pertz ed., [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 16, Stuttgart 1859, p. 245, lines 14–17 (rok 1093)

²⁶⁷ Wilhelm Wegener, *Die Lanze des heiligen Wenzel*, “Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germanistische Abteilung”, 72 (1955), pp. 62–64. Earlier in the iconography of the Czech rulers the banner borne by rulers appears on coins or the spear of St Vaclav, *ibidem*, pp. 64–65.

²⁶⁸ Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, Darmstadt 1980 (phototype reprint of edition of 1935), pp. 44–45.

presence of this spear in the wars conducted against the Pomeranians in the context of Gallus' account would become holy wars, prosecuted under a holy sign and in accordance with the authority which had been awarded to the Piasts by the emperor at the beginning of Polish statehood. It need not have had anything in common with the real history of Bolesław I.

Gallus further emphasises that Bolesław and Otto "were on that day united with such love/respect that the emperor declared [Bolesław] his brother and partner in the empire and called him his friend and companion/ally of the Roman people".²⁶⁹ This especial privilege was accompanied by the above-mentioned awarding to Bolesław and his descendants of the imperial prerogatives with regard "authority over ecclesiastical honours" both in Poland as well as "in other barbarian countries conquered or about to be conquered [by Bolesław]".²⁷⁰ Clearly the "elevation of Bolesław" also meant the transfer to him and his successors of part of the imperial power. The ultimate confirmation of this specific status of Bolesław are the words of the chronicler who wrote that "Bolesław elevated to kingship by the emperor exercised the rule which had been granted him in such a magnificent way when for the three days following his coronation he celebrated a feast in a royal or imperial style".²⁷¹ Not only therefore does Gallus interpret the gesture of the emperor and his stay in Gniezno as an element of Bolesław's consecration as royalty, he even goes so far as to suggest that the power he exercised was equally "imperial", which was expressed by the exceptionally elaborate setting and course of the feast as well as the gifts given to the emperor and his entourage.

In such a situation there is no need to see any conflict between Bolesław's lower social standing than Otto and the huge numbers of gifts he presented to the emperor. Gerd Althoff emphasising that only somebody of a higher status could give gifts to somebody of a lower status in this way (the German historian writes of "eine richtige Geschenkgorgie"), suggested that this account has a jocular and grotesque character.²⁷² It is difficult to agree with this. If we accept the

²⁶⁹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 6, p. 20, lines 1–3.

²⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 3–6.

²⁷¹ *Ibidem*, lines 7–10.

²⁷² Gerd Althoff, *Symbolische Kommunikation zwischen Piasten und Ottonen*, [in:] *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren. Die Berliner Tagung über den "Akt von Gnesen"*, Michael Borgolte ed., Berlin 2002 (=Europa im Mittelalter, vol. 5), pp. 303–304, examples regarded by the writer as evidence of the deliberate use of the grotesque by Gallus, *ibidem*, pp. 305–307.

words of Gallus that Bolesław in the course of those three days of the feast exercised the rule entrusted to him, rule not only as just a king, but as a person almost equal in rank to the emperor, so his gifts are understandable as a sign of a person of a similar status to Otto, and in addition, his host. Which is what Gallus himself draws attention to, writing that they were given to Otto “as a gift, not as the duty of [one of his] official[s]”.²⁷³ It is also difficult in this case to accept the hypothesis of Marian Dygo, that Gallus (who himself stated that he was going to write of chivalrous deeds and not the Gospel), had attempted in this passage to create an image of Bolesław in the likeness of Christ and the feast in Gniezno as a simile of the feast of Cana in Galilee.²⁷⁴ There is not a single direct allusion nor words used by the author would incline us to accept such a view.

The peculiar “*translatio imperii*”²⁷⁵ which took place in Gniezno and which bestowed on Bolesław a part of the imperial power is given a particular significance with the remark by Gallus that Bolesław had conquered the “wild Saxons”. In the period when Gallus was writing his “Chronicle”, these “Saxon tribes” through their support for or rebellion against the rulers had an influence on the decisions taken by the emperors.²⁷⁶ If Bolesław was able to defeat those who opposed the emperors, so his power was at least the equal of theirs. The term “*socius et amicus populi Romani*” used by Gallus at this point in his narrative as a description of the honour given to the Polish ruler by Otto III cannot be seen purely in the context of its significance from Antiquity, an

²⁷³ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 6, p. 21, lines 5–6.

²⁷⁴ Marian Dygo, *Uczty Bolesława Chrobrego*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 112 (2005), nr 3, pp. 50–53.

²⁷⁵ Werner Goez (*Translatio imperii. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Tübingen 1958, pp. 104–105) drew attention to the fact that in the historiography of the lands of the Reich or in works which came under its influence, between 1060 and 1100 a change took place in the perception of the coronation of Charlemagne and the German emperors. While between 960 and 1060 this was mainly depicted as a “renovation” of the empire, in the period between 1060 and 1100 the prevailing notion was of the “transfer of the empire” (“*translatio imperii*”) from Italy and its inhabitants to the Germans, and thus in effect to the Reich. The growth of the popularity of the idea of the transfer of imperial power and the dignity associated with it just before the day of the creation of Gallus’ “Chronicle” could have had an influence also on the concepts contained in the work.

²⁷⁶ See Wolfgang Giese, *Der Stamm der Sachsen und das Reich in ottonischer und salischer Zeit. Studien zum Einfluß des Sachsenstammes auf die politische Geschichte des deutschen Reiches im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert und zu ihrer Stellung im Reichsgefüge mit einem Ausblick auf das 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1979, pp. 148–202.

ally of Rome who was under the protectorate of the Republic. Gallus utilized the established term functioning in ancient and more rarely medieval historiography for the closer definition of a trusted ally of the Empire. At the same time, Gallus inserts the main character of this narrative directly into the “Roman” world. After the Gniezno Summit, Bolesław, and through him also his successors, became an actor in the history most closely associated with the divine plan, part of the history which is the most important on the earthly plane—the history of Rome. If we look at the Medieval meaning of being somebody’s “friend and companion” indicated recently by Andrzej Pleszczyński, we see even more clearly the chronicler’s efforts to emphasise the status of Bolesław to something like an “emperor of the Slavs” in relation to Otto.²⁷⁷ Emphasising the royal rank obtained by Bolesław in his elevation, the chronicler emphasizes the independence of the new king. From then on due to his own successes, Bolesław was to rule his empire as the embodiment of power which if not fully and formally but at least partially and practically was close to that of the emperor in Poland and the countries he had conquered.

It is probably in this context that we should see the appearance after the description of the Gniezno Summit the account of the war which Bolesław conducted against the Ruthenian ruler. After the end of the account of the emperor’s visit, the chronicler immediately states that “Bolesław now ruling in reality renewed his anger against his enemies. First we should weave into the narrative how honourably and magnificently he took revenge on the king of the Ruthenians for the harm he had been done”.²⁷⁸ Undoubtedly with the aid of this theme, the chronicler strengthened the vision of Bolesław as king. In the extensive description of the war which Bolesław waged on the unnamed Ruthenian ruler, the chronicler places in the foreground of the tale the refusal of the Kievan ruler to allow Bolesław to marry his sister.²⁷⁹ He added that due to this decision “which Bolesław the king considered humiliating

²⁷⁷ Andrzej Pleszczyński, “*Amicitia*” a sprawa polska. Uwagi o stosunku Piastów do Cesarstwa w X i na początku XI wieku, [in:] *Ad fontes. O naturze źródła historycznego*, Stanisław Rosik, Przemysław Wiszewski eds, Wrocław 2004 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis No 2675, Historia 170), pp. 52–53 utilising the account of Adalbold of Utrecht concerning the relations between Bolesław the Brave and the Czech prince Boleslav III demonstrates above all the variability of meaning of the personal character of the “amicitia” between the rulers.

²⁷⁸ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 7, p. 21, lines 21–22.

²⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 21, line 22—p. 22, line 1.

[...] [he] attacked the king of the Ruthenians”.²⁸⁰ The emphasis on Bolesław’s royal dignity seems here significant. As a king, given that dignity by Otto III, Bolesław could not accept such treatment. This story of the “Chronicle” however should be seen from the point of view of its conclusion. In it the chronicler once again emphasizes that in attaining victory, Bolesław avenged his humiliation.²⁸¹ The summing up of the whole series of events however concentrates on an entirely different question: “from that time onwards Ruthenia was obliged to pay tribute to Poland”.²⁸² The whole narrative was intended to indicate the relationships that linked the two neighbouring countries after Bolesław’s coronation. This is important in that in writing of Bolesław’s superiority over the Christian countries and the pagan tribes, Gallus makes no mention of Ruthenia. Undoubtedly Bolesław’s Ruthenian war is utilized here as a pretext to show the military power and bravery of the ruler,²⁸³ but above all in the “Chronicle”, the conquest of Ruthenia ended the process of the building of Bolesław’s empire. Gallus place this view in the mouth of the king in the course of his speech to his warriors before the decisive battle with the Ruthenians on the Bug river: “today victorious you will bring to an end our continuous labour”.²⁸⁴ He reveals what kind of work he had in mind in the first words of his speech: “what use would it be that you have gained so many and so great successes, that you have submitted to our rule such a big kingdom, and have collected such quantities of other wealth if now you defeated by accident you lose us and our [conquests]”.²⁸⁵ That single war set the seal on the building of Bolesław’s empire, a country surrounded by conquered and subordinated neighbours.

The Ideal Ruler of an Empire

Exposition of the Virtues of Bolesław (1): The Role of Justice and Equality

The dynamic description of the process of building of an empire by Bolesław is the starting point of a discussion of the source of the ruler’s

²⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 22, lines 1–3.

²⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 23, lines 6–7.

²⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 25, lines 11–12.

²⁸³ His armies scattered the enemy like wind scattering dust, *ibidem*, p. 22, line 4. He himself with a small group of warriors overcame numerous divisions of the Ruthenian ruler, *ibidem*, p. 23, line 14—p. 25, line 11.

²⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 24, lines 19–20.

²⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 12–16.

success. The chronicler's exposition begins with factors evidencing his military power which is understandable in view of the domination of military victories in the characterisation of the deeds of the hero.²⁸⁶ In this part of the narrative, the chronicler does not attempt to list his numerous victories, but instead concentrates on the surprising numbers of people in his armies.²⁸⁷ He states that did not count however the number of soldiers under Bolesław's command but only presented that part of his forces that was superior to the others in bravery and martial experience.²⁸⁸ The number of the total would after all be impossible to count,²⁸⁹ and it would be impossible to hear the stories of all the places from which they came.²⁹⁰ Thus it is not without significance to the reader which of these places and which bodies of troops from them were selected by the chronicler for highlighting. In fact the elite troops discussed by Gallus came from the main stronghold towns of Great Poland (Poznań, Gniezno, Giecz) or those associated with Great Poland (Włocławek in Kuyavia).²⁹¹

In his narrative of the beginnings of the state of the Piasts, Gallus very rarely uses the name of places referring to settlements in Poland. When this did occur it was at significant moments, Piast living outside Gniezno, the visit of Otto III to Gniezno and then the listing of units of Bolesław's army. In accord with such a practice by the writer, Great Poland appears in the "Chronicle" as a stable core not only of the conceptual centre of the Piast state but also one of its military power. This in turn meant that in the coherent narrative of Gallus the greatness of Bolesław was closely associated with the story of his ancestors, the rulers of Gniezno after the expulsion of Popiel and his family. On the other hand the author could have been concerned to create the impression that the times of Bolesław were in some way different from the history of events which occurred after his death, and especially from the times when he himself was writing. This suspicion finds support in the suggestive comparison between the number of warriors under Bolesław's command with the whole population of Poland at the time that Gallus was in the country, and the comment that Bolesław had

²⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, I, 9, p. 26, line 15.

²⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 26, lines 11–13.

²⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 3–4.

²⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 25, lines 15–16.

²⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 26, lines 5–7.

²⁹¹ *Vladislavia*, see the identification in Jadwiga Karwasińska, *W sprawie interpretacji terminu Wladislavia*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 4 (1928), fasc. 2, pp. 120–128.

more armoured riders (*loricati*) “than in our times the whole country has shield bearers (*clipeati*)”.²⁹² The connection of an element of the topography of the story of Bolesław with the narrative of the beginnings of the power of his ancestors and in connection with the emphasis of his exceptional position with regard the situation in Poland at the time contemporary with the writing of the “Chronicle” meant that Bolesław could be perceived as the embodiment of not only his own power, but all the earlier Piasts connected with Great Poland.

At the conclusion of his description of the military potential of the ruler which he includes as evidence of his magnificence, Gallus indicated, almost as if to create a balance in the stressing of different points that “no lesser was his virtue of subordination to the clergy”.²⁹³ He is said to have treated bishops and court chaplains as his equal and he deliberately avoided situations where he sat on the throne and they would have stood in his company. The narration of Gallus Anonymous suggests even that he deliberately increased their position respective to his own since he “did not address them by any other term than as lords”.²⁹⁴ Addressing the question of the respect of the king for the clergy,²⁹⁵ the chronicler then added that “He honoured God with the greatest piety, he elevated the Holy Church and decorated it with royal gifts”.²⁹⁶ Just as in the case of the definition of his military power, here too in characterising the attitude of the king to the sacral sphere, for Gallus the most important aspect was the personal relationships with his subject people of various social states. The same principle appears in the narrative of the “Chronicle” concerning the other virtues of the ruler. Bolesław’s “great ornament of justice and humility” is evidenced in his favourable judgement of the complaints of the weaker members of society—poor people and women—against the more powerful in his state.²⁹⁷ This does not mean that in supporting the poor he discriminated against the rich. A sign of his “great knowledge and great perfection” was the fact that his judgements were not swayed by the status of

²⁹² *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 8, p. 26, lines 9–13.

²⁹³ *Ibidem*, I, 9, p. 26, line 16.

²⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, line 18.

²⁹⁵ See Marek Cetwiński, *Opieka nad biednymi i jej rola w sprawowaniu władzy w świetle średniowiecznych źródeł śląskich*, [in:] *Curatores pauperum. Źródła i tradycje kultury charytatywnej Europy Środkowej*, Antoni Barciak ed., Katowice 2004, p. 34.

²⁹⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 9, p. 26, line 18—p. 27, line 1.

²⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 27, line 1–6.

whoever it was who stood before him,²⁹⁸ and he never judged the magnates in their absence. He never came to a decision against them in anger, but invited them to his table at which the matter under dispute was discussed one, two or three days.²⁹⁹ Crucial for the description of the ideal relationship between the ruler and his subjects which was presented in this picture are the words of the chronicler who stated that Bolesław punished the guilty “quasi pater filium”.³⁰⁰ The ruler, lord of the heavily armed forces and who considered the clergy as his equal (or even having a dominating influence), was nevertheless for the rest of his subjects no different from an understanding and fair father to his children.

From the standpoint of the king, however, not all Poles were the “populus”, who he ruled “with great justice”.³⁰¹ Gallus clearly emphasises that the ruler “respected the princes and the people in a wise manner”.³⁰² It is difficult to say whether this differentiation of two groups, “principes” and “populus” went beyond the basic differentiation of “people in rule” and “people ruled”.³⁰³ Such a division would have coincided both with the vision of an ideal ruler governing in the manner of a Roman emperor, as well one of the Poles as the faithful “people”, such as the Jews were in the Old Testament.³⁰⁴ We should however bear in mind that Gallus may not have made such wide cultural associations and maybe it would be an over-interpretation to ascribe such notions to him or the contemporary audience of the “Chronicle”. An important factor was however the definition by Gallus of one more clearly differentiated group in Polish society, the clergy. The author placed all remarks concerning the relationship between the

²⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 17–19.

²⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 13–16.

³⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 9–10.

³⁰¹ *Ibidem*, line 19.

³⁰² *Ibidem*, I, 11, p. 31, lines 3–4.

³⁰³ In the opinion of Karol Modzelewski (*Comites, principes, nobiles. Struktura klasy panującej w świetle terminologii Anonima Galla*, [in:] *Cultus et cognitio. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*, red. Stefan K. Kuczyński, Tadeusz Lalik, Tadeusz Roslanowski, Henryk Samsonowicz, Stanisław Trawkowski, Tadeusz Wasilewski, Warszawa 1976, p. 407), “the semantic opposition ‘principes—populus’ should be interpreted as the opposition between the rulers and the ruled, the influential and the little man”.

³⁰⁴ See Benedykt Zientara, *Populus—gens—natio. Z zagadnień wczesnośredniowiecznej terminologii etnicznej*, [in:] *Cultus et cognitio*, p. 677, who showed that in both the Vulgate as well as Medieval writing in general, the word “populus” was used in the meaning of the “poor people”.

clergy and the ruler in the section of his text concerning Bolesław's "piety", but not mentioning here his "justness" or concerns for "equality". The privileged status of the people of the Church becomes even clearer when the chronicler writes of the reasons for the ruler's successes: "since he administered justice, and assessed all equally and elevated the Mother Church and the people of the Church".³⁰⁵ We will return to this topic below, in the analysis of the second part of the exposition of Bolesław's virtue.

The praise of the stability of the rule of Bolesław reveals his further virtues. Bolesław namely: "held the dignity and property of the Church in the highest regard".³⁰⁶ The ruler was responsible for the entire range of the matters connected with the functioning of the community under his rule. This included those concerning the well-being of the lands entrusted to him and those connected with religious matters and with the life of the Church. Gallus developed that remark in the next statement: "Verily, it was due to justice and equality that Bolesław ascended to such glory and honours, the same virtues from which at the beginning led to the growth of the power and empire of the Romans".³⁰⁷ Both through the description of his virtues, as well as the specific lexical means used to define the rule of the king and his subjects, the chronicler located Bolesław in the situation where he had placed him in describing his martial achievements, as the builder of an empire. Like that of an emperor, his rule encompassed all his subjects and he himself is equal to all the virtues of the first of the Romans, just as the state he built had begun rather like the Roman empire which had once been created from "many kingdoms".³⁰⁸ Noteworthy here is the emphasis which the chronicler places on the source of the greatness of Bolesław: "God decorated King Bolesław with such great virtue, such great power and such great triumph to the same degree as He recognized [Bolesław's own] goodness and justice towards Him [i.e. God] and his own people".³⁰⁹ The author did not leave a shadow of doubt, God remained the only source of the glory of this ideal ruler. In elevating him, however, the Creator was guided by the personal

³⁰⁵ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 11, p. 31, lines 5–6.

³⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, I, 9, p. 27, lines 19–20.

³⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, line 20–22.

³⁰⁸ On the "Romanitas" of the rule of Bolesław in the context of the Gniezno Summit see Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, pp. 330–331.

³⁰⁹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 9, p. 27, lines 23–25.

qualities which Bolesław possessed. The degree to which “his piety and nobility was achieved”,³¹⁰ dictated the degree to which his reign was marked by great glory, an abundance of things and copious joy. The virtues of the ruler coincided with God’s favour, which came from Him knowing Bolesław’s nature.

An Exemplum In accordance with the aesthetics which he adopted in writing his “Chronicle”, Gallus (who tried to fill his work with unexpected turns of the story so that its audience would not be bored by the monotony of the tale), unexpectedly wove into his exposition of the virtues of Bolesław the Brave an extensive passage concerning a certain battle with the king of the Ruthenians.³¹¹ Though he himself suggests that this tale splits the thread of the story—to which he promises the reader that he will return,³¹² in terms of its topic the anecdote does not in fact disturb the unity of the exposition. On the contrary, it was an illustration of the chronicler’s earlier assessment of Bolesław. At the beginning, Gallus declares the aim of including this anecdote to be “the showing by the consideration of these things of the humbling of pride”.³¹³ This abstract moralising homily had been given a concrete form: “it is enough to tell this anecdote of his wars in order that it may be used by listeners in a similar way to the recollection of his life”.³¹⁴ This “imitata recordatio” appears to indicate the basic aim of introducing this story here. Gallus hoped that he would obtain through its recollection, and through its committing to memory and meditation about it (“recordatio”), an internalization of the meaning of the whole of Bolesław’s life by the listener or reader. Like a penetrating analyst of the human psyche he did not link such a hope with the more complicated theological-moral exposition which surrounds it. The anecdote performs the function of a “reminder of memory”, a mnemotechnic picture and at the same time a parable, which recalls and at the same time renders comprehensible the earlier theoretical presentation. In reality the episode presented by the chronicler in a very pictorial manner illustrates the above-indicated dependence of

³¹⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 25–27.

³¹¹ *Ibidem*, I, 10, pp. 28–29.

³¹² “But we will defer the recollection of these to the following pages”, *ibidem*, p. 28, line 2.

³¹³ *Ibidem*, line 4.

³¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 29, lines 20–22.

the virtues of the hero of the story and his success in his undertakings, complemented by a negative example, where the lack of virtue brings disaster on the anti-hero.

In this story, Bolesław and the king of Russia invaded each others' territories at the same time, not being aware of the other's intentions. They both found themselves in the lands of their enemy, and they both struck camp on opposite banks of the same river. Until that moment their situations were parallel, but the situation then changes according to the characters of the rulers. The king of the Ruthenians was carried away by pride thinking he had Bolesław surrounded by the Ruthenian army in enemy territory. He expressed that by sending his opponent an offensively-worded message naming Bolesław a pig which had been cornered in its lair by his dogs and hunters.³¹⁵ The Polish king answered him saying that he may be a pig, but one that will wet the hooves of its horses in the blood of the princes and knights of his enemies.³¹⁶ Until now the reader has learnt of the activities of both the main characters of the story with regard other people. The next picture introduces however the element of the relationship with the sacral sphere. On the second day after the exchange of messages, a certain "solempnitas" was about to take place. We learn nothing more about its character. Within the "Chronicle", however, the use of related words by Gallus indicates two possible circles of meaning within which the word can be placed, either a ceremony of joyful or ostentatious purposes,³¹⁷ or a ceremony closely connected with events in the sacral sphere. The latter meaning seems here more likely with regard the situation which Gallus is describing. At the beginning of his third book, describing one of the series of military successes of Bolesław Wrymouth in his battles against the Pomeranians, the chronicler presents a picture which is very similar to the situation analysed here. Thus on St Lawrence's day the Christians were coming "de missarum sollempniis", when they were attacked by the Pomeranians. Then with the aid of God and St Lawrence, duke Bolesław crushed the army of his enemies, even though his own warriors were not properly prepared for military action on that

³¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 28, lines 13–14.

³¹⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 15–18.

³¹⁷ In the period of mourning after the death of Bolesław the Brave the men and women from noble families did not dare to dress themselves in "vestmentis sollempnibus", *ibidem*, I, 16, p. 38, lines 4–6.

day.³¹⁸ It is not possible only on the basis of this analogy to determine what relationship with the Christian sacral sphere this ceremony had in the opinion of Gallus. It seems, however, that both the word used, as well as the narrative context would suggest such a connection.

Bolesław decided to celebrate this “solemnity” in royal manner (but in point of fact, here the chronicler writes only of his intention). In accordance with this he determined that he would engage in battle only on the third day.³¹⁹ The king of the Ruthenians apparently did not intend to honour this special time in a similar manner. When the servants of Bolesław began to wash the meat of the animals slain for the feast, on the other side of the river the squires of the Ruthenians began to insult them, first with offensive words and then in the end they reached for their weapons and began to shower them with arrows.³²⁰ Most obviously not only did they not regard that day as an especially solemn occasion, but they also regarded the behaviour of the Poles as an excuse to begin their harassment. To the sin of pride with regard to other people the Ruthenians added a lack of respect shown for the period of celebration, disturbing the proceedings with verbal and armed aggression. The consequences of their action, the defeat of the Ruthenian army by the “parasitis exercitus” of Bolesław and the ultimate crushing of the retreating divisions by Bolesław were just the logical consequence of the earlier indicated theological foundations of the functioning of royal power. The ruler that had neither himself preserved his virtue (especially humility and honour due to the sacral sphere, both well stressed earlier in the portrayal of Bolesław), nor encouraged others to do the same, and in addition had offended both people and God, the guarantor of peace in the time of such celebrations, had to receive a well-deserved punishment.³²¹ The fact that he met it at the hands of the servants of the king of Poland was only the final complement to the theme of the “humiliation of pride”.

³¹⁸ *Ibidem*, III, 1, p. 127, lines 19–20

³¹⁹ *Ibidem*, I, 10, p. 28, line 19—p. 29, line 1.

³²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 29, lines 4–11.

³²¹ It is difficult at the present time to determine the degree to which similar motivations played a role in the real behaviour of rulers. We note that in the opinion of Michal Dragoun, *Den všední, den sváteční a politika přemyslovských Čech*, “*Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica*”, 4 (1995), pp. 54–55, Czech rulers of the Premyslid dynasty avoided engaging in battle on Sundays, and probably other holy days.

Exposition of the Virtues of Bolesław (2): The Significance of Piety The narrative of the battle with the king of the Ruthenians which has the character of a commentary to the topics raised earlier introduces the reader to the part of the text devoted to expounding on the virtues of Bolesław mentioned earlier and illustrated with a series of examples. This passage gives the impression of having been composed in a rather chaotic manner, repeating information and pictures that Gallus had already used earlier in the text. Why then did the author, usually so careful about the structure of his work, decide to introduce this passage?

He begins his narrative with the statement that “with regard to the cult of God” Bolesław was involved in the foundation of churches, the nomination of bishops and the creation of beneficia for clergymen, to such a degree in his times there were functioning in Poland two archbishops with suffragans.³²² This sentence has already many times provoked scholars to question the reliability of the “Chronicle” and the possibility of indicating the presence of a second archbishop apart from the one residing in Gniezno.³²³ We have shown above that Gallus deliberately created a vision of the power of Bolesław ruling over “many kingdoms” and subjugating the barbarians by the creation in their territories of permanent ecclesiastical structures. Although the chronicler touched upon this issue earlier, here once again he reminds his reader with a special passage: “the barbarian peoples all around who he vanquished were not forced to pay tribute, but to grow in the true faith. In addition he also had churches built there at his own cost and created among the unbelievers suitable bishops and priests together with all the things needed as required by canon law”.³²⁴ Since Gallus creates a picture of Bolesław as a king who had greater authority than others, closer to that of an emperor, the creation of two archbishoprics would have been entirely possible. The Czech ruler did not have a single archbishop in his country, the ruler of Hungary only one, but Bolesław, who stood higher than both in this area also was superior to them.³²⁵

³²² *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 11, p. 30, lines 3–6.

³²³ The most important concept was presented by Gerard Labuda, *Zagadka drugiej metropolii w Polsce za czasów Bolesława Chrobrego*, “*Nasza Przeszłość*”, 62 (1984), pp. 8–14.

³²⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 11, p. 30, lines 13–16.

³²⁵ See Piotr M.A. Cywiński, *Druga metropolia*, p. 5, who writes of the desire of Gallus Anonymous also to elevate in this manner Bolesław above the other earliest rulers of Poland.

We also note the return of the theme that was present earlier, of respect towards the clergy. In the passage discussed here, Gallus gave this somewhat general formulation a more specific legal qualification. The ruler was “sicut patronus et advocatus” in the matters concerning the clergy,³²⁶ because in conflicts between the clergy and the aristocracy, he always supported the churchmen. Being the “patron and advocate” of the clergy in a country subdued by him corresponded with the picture of the building of a network of dioceses which Gallus portrays and discussed above. It was built using resources supplied by the ruler himself and on his initiative. Does the utilisation of such a picture mean that for Gallus, the ruler was the centre of the system of a “private Church” which encompassed the whole of Poland? It seems that while fully accepting the formal aspects of that situation, Gallus tried to indicate the limited nature of this state of affairs, through the use of specific phrases (the king himself “episcopos... clericosque... ordinabat”). Bolesław was “in all things agreeable and obedient” towards the bishops,³²⁷ which is why also he defended the interests of the Church and could be regarded as its “patron”. We infer that if he had not acted in that way, Gallus would not have thought him worthy of that title. This special relationship between the ruler and churchmen took on not only and not so much a legal dimension, but an ethical one, in accordance with the vision presented earlier of Bolesław regarding the authority of the king and ecclesiastical hierarchy as equal.

The presence of this passage which develops the almost identical remarks of the chronicler which are found before the discussion of the Kievan expedition becomes understandable in the light of the further part of his account. The author concentrates on a clear demonstration that despite having a number of positive characteristics, Bolesław’s greatness was connected with his cultivation of a triad of virtues: justice, equality and especially piety.³²⁸ While he discussed the first two in the first part of his exposition, the section on the piety of the king was separated from them by the discussion of the Ruthenian expedition analysed above. It was precisely in his piety that Bolesław “specialiter” according to Gallus “reached such a great peak of greatness/power”,³²⁹ it is what was of direct significance for the fate

³²⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 11, p. 30, lines 10–11.

³²⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 6–7.

³²⁸ *Ibidem*, line 18—p. 31, line 2.

³²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 31, lines 1–2.

of Bolesław the Brave. It was because Bolesław “in all manners honoured Christ and his betrothed [the Church]”,³³⁰ that “he elevated the mother Church and the people of the Church, as a result of the prayers of the holy mother Church and the intercession of its hierarchy God lifted his [Bolesław’s] brow in glory, and he always acted well and always successfully in everything”.³³¹ The clergy thus at this moment also have in the world of the “Chronicle” a special place, just as they did in the divisions within Polish society. It transpires that all the gifts which the ruler obtained from God were associated with his virtues, but also because of the intercession of the clergy and the congregations led by them on his behalf to the Creator. It was they who mediated in his relationship with God, they were therefore the “people of the Church” and also “people of God”. It was therefore through his favourable treatment of them that the ruler showed his respect for Christ and all his contacts with them could be assessed as righteous or deleterious with respect to God.

Ultimately it is the character of the relationship of Bolesław with the Christian sacral sphere which in the opinion of Gallus decided on his success as a ruler. An unambiguous expression of this was the comment of the chronicler summarising the whole exposition and introducing a description of the country under Bolesław’s rule: “and when in that manner Bolesław was pious in divine matters he became much more magnificent in human matters”.³³² The separation of the discussion of the ruler’s piety in a separate section in his exposition of the king’s virtues clearly showed its importance. Later the chronicler does not return to the topic of examples of the ruler’s piety, obviously considering the question had been discussed enough. In the construction of Gallus’ text, among the triad of virtues which were to ensure Bolesław success, his piety was the dominant characteristic, while the other two complemented it in the realities of ruling the country.

The Ideal Rule of an Ideal Ruler

The picture of the rule of Bolesław over Poland from Gallus’ pen was divided into a series of themes that were not closely connected with each other. The first element of the picture of Poland in this time

³³⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 4–5.

³³¹ *Ibidem*, lines 5–9.

³³² *Ibidem*, lines 9–10.

which was regarded as worthy of emphasis was the wealth of the royal court connected with the central position of the ruler in the social hierarchy. The chronicler stresses not only the wealth of the comites and knights, but also the “ladies of the court”.³³³ In the latter case he did this not without some spitefulness, mentioning that they were so richly adorned that they had to be supported, for otherwise they would have fallen over under the weight of the precious metal.³³⁴ Above all however he showed that God had granted the king “such great grace”.³³⁵ The wealth of the aristocracy and knights was a reflection and evidence of the pious relationship of the ruler with God. Another remark of the chronicler is related to this: “for his appearance he was so desired by everybody” that when, for some misdemeanour somebody was excluded from the court the latter regarded themselves as if dead, no longer alive, or in prison, no longer free.³³⁶ The king was depicted as the only thing that gave the social elite their meaning for life,³³⁷ and being in his presence was to be the natural aim of their existence. In the “Chronicle”, the relationship between Bolesław and the elite had a second side to it. The ruler “loved his principes, comites and other nobles as brothers or sons and while maintaining their esteem he respected them in turn as a wise lord”.³³⁸ In the ideal state of the Poles the relationship between the ruler and the select circle of his collaborators had a specific character, based on mutual respect and love. The indication that the ruler respected his collaborators and treated them almost as his own family was a repetition of the relationship between the ruler with all his people whom he treated as his own children. This patriarchal model of rule also concerned the role played in the court by the queen. Like a mother protecting her children from the deserved but overly strict anger of their father, she gave her protection to those whom the king had condemned to death and obtained for them his forgiveness.³³⁹ Gallus tells us that on such occasions the queen, like a

³³³ *Ibidem*, lines 13–18.

³³⁴ See G. Althoff, *Symbolische Kommunikation*, pp. 305–306.

³³⁵ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 12, p. 31, line 18.

³³⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 18–23.

³³⁷ Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, p. 336, indeed wrote that from the portrait created by Gallus Anonymus, it transpires that Poland’s Golden Age is a correlate of the exceptional personality of the king, in a certain sense it comprises its exterior manifestation.

³³⁸ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 13, p. 32, lines 9–10.

³³⁹ *Ibidem*, I, 13.

mother, first scolded the prisoner with the appropriate words, after which he was allowed to bathe with the king in his bath-house where the latter remonstrated with him “like a father his sons”³⁴⁰ and then was allowed to return to the “world of the living” as a courtier in the presence of the ruler.³⁴¹

The strong bonds which linked the ruler with the elite of his state had its analogies with his relationship with his subjects of lower social status. While he assured the former with wealth on a level appropriate to their social standing, the latter were guaranteed conditions to lead a peaceful life: “he did not load them down with services/obligations like a lord his peasants, but like a pious father allowed them to live in peace”).³⁴² In the context of the relationship of Bolesław the Brave with Polish society, it is worth taking note of the group of twelve advisors and friends with whom he often spent time and during feasting with them often discussed important matters of state.³⁴³ The existence of such an elite group gathered around the ruler might equally be an echo of a knowledge of Einhard’s “Life of Charlemagne”, the elements of Arthurian legend or a reflection of a picture of Christ the King as a just ruler with his twelve Apostles. The story of the queen and the council of twelve in its background only apparently does not add anything new to the picture of the king. It only repeats one more time, like a chorus, the assurance that Bolesław was a just ruler. There is however here an important novelty, for the first time, the king here is not acting alone. Apart from the mention of the influence of the Pope and deference paid to the views of the clergy, Gallus has so far presented Bolesław as acting alone. Here however it transpires that this was by no means the case. The ideal ruler in the “Chronicle” was not alone, but had the support of his wife and a group of twelve selected collaborators. In the opinion of Régine Le Jan this is an exceptionally important characteristic of the ruler for the aristocracy of the west at this time. Between the tenth and end of the twelfth centuries according to the aristocracy, the only king fit to rule was one who sought the advice

³⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 33, line 22.

³⁴¹ See Jacek Banaszekiewicz, *Król i łaźnia. Bóg i łaźnia (Gall Anonim o Bolesławie Chrobrym. “Povest’ vremennykh let” o stworzeniu Pierwszego Człowieka)*, [in:] *Wyobraźnia średniowieczna*, Teresa Michałowska ed., Warszawa 1996, pp. 209–210.

³⁴² *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 12, p. 31, lines 23–24.

³⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 32, lines 17–20.

and acted in accord with the will of his noble advisors, a small select group of aristocrats.³⁴⁴ We cannot say whether Gallus brought this idea from his homeland, or came across it in Poland. It is however important that it was so clearly stressed in the text of the “Chronicle”.

The efforts of the chronicler to create a portrait of Bolesław also through detailing his relationship with his subjects are revealed by a later part of the text. In concluding his description of the praiseworthy collaboration of the ruler and his spouse with his advisors, he added: “so great did King Bolesław appear to both the people and *principes*, and acted with such wisdom, that all who were his subjects feared him and loved him”.³⁴⁵ A supplement to such a vision was the representation of his generosity,³⁴⁶ and through that his openness towards his subjects, which in Gallus’ account concentrates on the bountifulness of the royal table.³⁴⁷ In point of fact Gallus speaks of the royal tables of which forty main (or nobles’, *principales*), and a certain number of minor ones were prepared each day. The number 40 maybe corresponds to the number of days in Lent and chosen as a counterpoint to the most important sacral period of temperance. “Principales” corresponds to the noun “principes” which Gallus uses to refer to the aristocracy in the closest circle of the ruler. Bolesław again is presented here as a ruler who is especially concerned with the care of his collaborators, but also (as indicated by the smaller tables) not forgetting his other subjects. Most clearly therefore the author was concerned to show the ruler was not only rich but also used this wealth to ensure the well-being of his subjects in a manner fitting for a ruler, that is not only not decreasing their wealth through his deeds, but on the contrary sharing his own wealth among them.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁴ Régine Le Jan, *Continuity and Change in the Tenth-Century Nobility*, [in:] *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe. Concepts, Origins, Transformations*, Anne J. Duggan ed., Woodbridge 2000, pp. 54–55.

³⁴⁵ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 13, p. 34, lines 2–4.

³⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, I, 14, p. 34.

³⁴⁷ See Jacek Banaszekiewicz, *Trzy razy uczta*, [in:] *Spółeczeństwo Polski Średniowiecznej*, Stefan K. Kuczyński ed., vol. 5, Warszawa 1992, pp. 105–107.

³⁴⁸ Marian Dygo, *Uczty Bolesława*, pp. 43–45, has proposed a far-reaching interpretation of this passage from the history of Bolesław. The aim of the writer was to prove that “the chronicler here referred to the events of the Last Supper and present Bolesław in the image of Christ” (s. 44). Christ feasting with sinners, who underwent a change, giving the “bread of life” (s. 48). Such a reading of the text was constructed on the basis of a broad reading of the “Chronicle” through associating it with the general understanding of Medieval culture and the Christian world view. It cannot be excluded of course that somebody in the twelfth century or later could have read the

An additional element in the picture of the relationship between the ruler and those around him are the remarks concerning the details of his relationship with knights who arrived at his court from beyond the frontiers of his country. Bolesław had more riches and knights of proven ability than any other king, though the chronicler tells us that he felt that he had not enough of the latter. When some virtuous guest showed some knightly abilities, he was named not only a knight, but a son of the king.³⁴⁹ He also used his wealth to aid his warriors in any troubles they might have had.³⁵⁰ Here in this place therefore the theme of the gift-giving ruler returns, a ruler who cared more for looking after his subjects than possessing wealth. This time the theme concerns people coming from the outside, not only inhabitants of the country ruled by the king. Gallus, as a foreign guest in Poland himself, must have attached great importance to this topic, it is the last of the virtues of the ruler which he mentions just before his description of the ruler's death. In addition it follows wording suggesting a conclusion to the narrative about the ruler,³⁵¹ and is followed by an encouragement to his successors to imitate his acts.

Example—Saint from the Piast Dynasty?

The chronicler leaves the reader in no doubt why he presented the portrait of king Bolesław in such detail: "such was the glory of Bolesław worthy of memory, so great his virtue, let his memory be recited for the imitation of his successors".³⁵² Here Gallus indicates his paranetic aims, he was presenting a model for all rulers of Poland: "thus his successors should follow the virtuous example of such a great man in order to have values enabling them to attain such glory and power".³⁵³ Let us however note that the chronicler did not state that the remarks presented in the "Chronicle" concerned only the descendants of Bolesław I, and was limited only to members of the Piast dynasty. The word "successors" ("successores") could refer to both his descendants as well as those who succeeded him in holding the royal title, especially since Gallus emphasizes the universal value of Bolesław's virtues: "whoever

text in that manner. Such an interpretation however has no connection with the literal sense of what is written by the chronicler in the contents of the work.

³⁴⁹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 16, p. 35, lines 17–21.

³⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, line 21—p. 36, line 3.

³⁵¹ *Ibidem*, I, 15, p. 35, lines 11–15.

³⁵² *Ibidem*, I, 16, p. 36, lines 10–11.

³⁵³ *Ibidem*, lines 3–5.

wishes to obtain such fame after death, let him while he lives gain the equal reward [for] his virtues”,³⁵⁴ “if somebody tries to be the equal of Bolesław [through commemoration by] an inscription dedicated [to his] memory, let him exert himself in work towards making his life identical in form to the honourable [i.e., Bolesław’s and the form of his] life”.³⁵⁵

In the story by Gallus’ pen, Bolesław grows not only to the rank of an ideal ruler, but also a hero worthy of remembrance in general. In this, to judge from the context in which the sentence was set, just after the above mentioned call for his successors to match his actions, the most important characteristic of his life was that “when a life will be ornamented with honourable customs, then virtue [expressed by] martial deeds will be worthy of memory”.³⁵⁶ This sentence explains the emphasis placed by Gallus Anonymous on the deeds of the king which complement his military successes. In the “Chronicle”, martial valour was not enough to deserve the gifts which Bolesław received. His power and his fame were special gifts of God, for on the one hand, the creator “increased for him [Bolesław] grace after grace” and “placed him before so many kings and princes”, but did not do this “in a vacuum” and “not without reason”.³⁵⁷ This happened above all because Bolesław “loved God above everybody and everything and with regard to his people, like a father towards his sons, he was generously supplied with a wealth of love”.³⁵⁸ It was his person therefore that was the guarantee of life in society full of harmony in which the ruler and ruled rendered each other services. The result of the love his subjects bore towards him was that “[...] archbishops, bishops, abbots, monks and clerics assiduously included him in their prayers to God”.³⁵⁹ In turn the secular subjects of the king, “princes, counts and other officials begged [God] that he would always be victorious and remained alive”;³⁶⁰ their support for the ruler was restricted to earthly and transient matters, while the clergy were concerned with matters concerning eternity. Just as the aristocracy could support their ruler by the force of arms so that

³⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 5–6.

³⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 6–8.

³⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 8–9.

³⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 11–13.

³⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 13–15.

³⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 15–17.

³⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 17–19.

their request could be realised, so by their prayers the clergy gained the favour of God that he would grant their ruler his grace.

As in his life, so in his death the great hero was gifted by the miraculous grace of the Creator. On his deathbed he was said to have been granted a prophetic vision. He saw “per speculum in enigmatē”, and that quote from the Letter of St Paul to the Corinthians³⁶¹ must have directed the attention of the reader to God as the only source of such visions. This one had a highly significant form: “I see the royal dynasty expelled and wandering aimlessly begging mercy from the enemies which I had trampled underfoot”.³⁶² This is undoubtedly a reference to the history of Mieszko II, there also appear words foretelling the rebellion of the ruler’s subjects,³⁶³ accompanying a vision of a carbuncle growing from Bolesław’s loins. This, amalgamated with the blade of Bolesław’s sword would return Poland her glory.³⁶⁴ On the metaphorical level this corresponds with Gallus’ description of the deeds of Kazimierz the Restorer. In this manner Gallus crowned the life of the ideal ruler who did not supply the chronicler with any corresponding figure or analogy in the history of the dynasty,³⁶⁵ with a further indication of his close relationship with God, who gave him at the moment of his death a little of His knowledge in such a form as was accessible to man.

Can we risk the theory that at the beginning of the twelfth century Bolesław could have been in the opinion of the episcopate that was the source of Gallus’ knowledge a candidate for the honour of a Piast

³⁶¹ 2 Cor. 13,12; *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, p. 37, footnote 3.

³⁶² *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 16, p. 37, lines 4–6.

³⁶³ *Ibidem*, lines 2–3.

³⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 6–8.

³⁶⁵ We do not exclude the possibility that in the world of the readers of the “Chronicle” it was possible for the story of Bolesław to function as a counterpart of Siemomysł, in the same way as Mieszko I corresponds to Piast, or as an expression of the “second beginning” of Poland in the Bolesław I, just as the first beginning took place in Piast’s hut, see C. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, passim. We do not see these elements directly in the text of the work, in which as the embodiment of the ideal ruler, Mieszko’s son occupies a wholly exceptional place. Despite the general similarities of the characteristics of all the “positive” rulers, it is the details, the placing of the stress that creates individuality of portraits. Only the closer definition by the chronicler of the similarities of these details could incline us towards accepting the conclusions formulated by Cz. Deptuła (see Jerzy Strzelczyk, *Bolesław Chrobry—osobowość i polityka w opinii współczesnych i potomnych*, [in:] *Salsa Cholbergensis. Kołobrzeg w średniowieczu*, Lech Leciejewicz, Marian Rębkowski eds, Kołobrzeg 2000, p. 48). We do not however see evidence for this.

saint—the patron of Poland? The emphasis placed on the patriarchal character of his rule over his subjects in connection with the metaphor of Poland contained in the song mourning his death as a widow without a husband (Bolesław) indicates the especial relationship of this Piast with the country he ruled.³⁶⁶ This was such a relationship that no other ruler in the “Chronicle”, not even Bolesław Wrymouth would ever achieve. If on earth he had been like the father of his subjects and the husband of his country, so after death he would be the ideal intercessor on behalf of his people and his country before God. The description of his history from the pen of Gallus Anonymous resembles the “Life” of a royal saint.³⁶⁷ The complex of virtues with which he was endowed corresponds to that with which hagiographers gave to a holy ruler. This is all however indirect evidence,³⁶⁸ the counterpoint of which might be at least the observation of the contemporary “Chronicle of the Czechs” of Cosmas, when he described in detail the ideal ruler—Bretyslav I. The latter also lived a century before the chronicler’s own time, like Bolesław I he also conquered neighbouring countries (including Poland), and like the Polish ruler also took care of the local Church, including enriching it with relics. In this case however scholars only write of Cosmas creating a kind of a “mirror of princes”,³⁶⁹ without seeing any other motives behind the writing of

³⁶⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 16, p. 38, lines 19–20.

³⁶⁷ Josef Bujnoch, *Gallus Anonymus*, p. 309, defines the passages of the “Chronicle” devoted to Bolesław as the “vita” (in inverted commas) of the ruler. He drew attention to the specific parallels between the description of the end of the life of the duke and the conventions of the structure of the vita of saints, *ibidem*, p. 307.

³⁶⁸ Certainly the story of the “Chronicle” cannot by itself form the basis of a conclusion about the existence of a specific cult of Bolesław I. A group of characteristic elements, associated only with him inclines us to consider that the memory of him maintained among the clergy had an autonomous character. It is worth noting in this context the reflections of Roman Michałowski, *The Nine-week Lent in Boleslaus the Brave’s Poland. A Study of the First Piast’s Religious Policy*, “Acta Poloniae Historica”, 89 (2004), pp. 41–42. This author suggested that Bolesław I’s introduction of a nine-week fast (unique on an European scale) was an expression of especially strong piety and a strong feeling of responsibility of the ruler for the salvation of his subjects. The observance of this custom could have maintained the memory among the clergy of the specific characteristics of its initiator, since the observance itself was something they were very proud of (at least as long as it was remembered that its creator was Bolesław, see *ibidem*, pp. 47–48). Besides that there is the record of an exceptional act of the ruler who donated to the Church a golden cross which weighed the same as his body. Andrzej Pleszczyński, *Gorliwość neofitów*, p. 97, reads this as a sign of a cult connecting the person of the ruler with Christ.

³⁶⁹ See Marie Bláhová, *Funkce středověké historiografie se zřeteltem k českým zemím*, [in:] *Česká beseda o německých i českých kronikách, pamětech a dalších vyprávěcích*

this account. This does not exclude of course the possibility that there were other stories having more ambitious motives behind the account which Gallus gives of Bolesław I. Gábor Klaniczay indicated that the second half of the tenth century was a period of the shaping in the circle of the Ottonian imperial family of the tradition of the inherited charisma, especially the holiness of the ruling family. Many rulers, or their milieu, imitated these traditions in the first half of the eleventh century and were regarded as saints or blessed, sometimes only in the twelfth century (Emperor Henry II, King Edward the Confessor, Robert the Pious, Olaf Tryggvasson, Vladimir the Great and his sons Boris and Gleb).³⁷⁰ Bolesław the Brave would fit into the category of the holy rulers of the period—not as a martyr for the faith, but as one of its propagators and embodiment of many chivalrous virtues. With respect to the emphasis placed on his royal (indeed imperial) dignity, inseparably linked to his care for the Church and justice, one could place him alongside the above-mentioned rulers in the category of the holy and “just kings”,³⁷¹ especially in the version represented by St Stephan of Hungary, the uncompromising organizer of the Hungarian Church, who one might say ruled and fought rather than prayed.³⁷²

It seems however that at the moment we can only regard the part of the “Chronicle” devoted to Bolesław I as the core of a tradition, maybe in the process of evolution towards regarding him by its recipients and creators as a saint. This could have been encouraged by the curation of the tradition of his history and that of his family among the hierarchy of the Church. Stephan Jaeger suggests that it was among the bishops collaborating with the Reich in the period of the Ottonians about the year 1000 that the ethos of “courtliness” had developed, and together with it the close support of the ruler also in the field of historiography.³⁷³ The creation in this milieu of the ideals of sainthood, or at least a ruler that through his actions was realizing the will of God

pramenach. *Príspevky z konferencie pořádané 9. listopadu 2001 v Ústí nad Labem*, Hana Pátková ed., Praha 2006, pp. 14–15.

³⁷⁰ Gábor Klaniczay, “Rex iustus”. *Le saint fondateur de la royauté chrétienne*, “Cahiers d’études hongroises”, 8 (1996): 896: *Les Magyars s’installent au coeur de l’Europe/La musique hongroise au XX^e siècle*, pp. 35–38.

³⁷¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 47–49, 57–58.

³⁷² Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, translated by Éva Pálmai, Cambridge 2002, pp. 114–123, 134–136.

³⁷³ See C. Stephan Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness. Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courty Ideas, 939–1210*, Philadelphia 1985, pp. 21–22.

would have been a natural tendency and correspond to the possible time of the beginnings of the story of Bolesław. His portrait however does not fit within the framework created by the ideals ascribed to the twelfth century, on the one hand the ascetic king, and on the other the warrior-king.³⁷⁴ It was Bolesław III whose portrait in the “Chronicle” was closer to the latter ideal while in Gallus’ narrative the portrait of Bolesław I the military aspect is closely integrated with a dignity of a ruler of almost imperial status. The portrait which emerges from the “Chronicle” seems therefore to betray older characteristics, more appropriate to the second half of the eleventh century. If however in reality it was then that the beginnings of an especial honouring of the memory of Bolesław I were emerging, this did not lead in the end to his canonisation or cult. Despite that through the creation of the narrative portrait of the “Chronicle” it is in the person of Bolesław that the world of values within which successive rulers would move and which they would be obliged to imitate were cumulated.

Mieszko II

In the narrative of the “Chronicle” the greatest achievement of Mieszko II was his marriage with the niece of Emperor Otto III and having with her a son, Kazimierz.³⁷⁵ This fact appears as first point in Gallus’ characterisation of the ruler immediately after the information that he obtained the throne after the death of his father. Only in this case was any information given about events which occurred in his reign. This did not mean that the chronicler completely depreciated Mieszko. He refers to him thus: “he was a brave knight and did many chivalrous deeds which would take a long time to list”.³⁷⁶ Nevertheless he did not relate any of them. He did however indicate that it was due to the enmity of Poland’s neighbours to his father that Mieszko himself was hated, and that his life was not as rich as Bolesław’s had been in wealth and virtues.³⁷⁷ Mieszko II was portrayed in the “Chronicle” in the shadow of his great father and perhaps it is no accident that Gallus

³⁷⁴ G. Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, pp. 155–159.

³⁷⁵ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 17, p. 40, lines 5–6. Cf. Małgorzata Delimata, *Królowa Rycheza w opinii kronikarzy i w polskiej historiografii*, [in:] *Nihil superfluum esse*, p. 124.

³⁷⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, lines 7–8.

³⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 8–10.

emphasized that his marriage took place in the lifetime of Bolesław.³⁷⁸ In this way it was possible to suggest to the reader that the glory and prestige which this union brought the Piasts was the result of the efforts of the father while he was still alive, and not the son.

An especially notable feature of Gallus' treatment of Mieszko II was the introduction of the anecdote about his castration at the hands of the Czechs.³⁷⁹ Though the chronicler was not certain about the reliability of this story, he constructed it on the principle of the dependence of the fate of the son on the deeds of the father. Thus he says that the Czechs captured and mutilated Mieszko "because King Bolesław, his father, had done them a similar injury" when he had blinded their duke and his own grandson. Gallus does not give the reader any further information about the deeds of Mieszko as a "brave knight", and avoids making any connection, noted by later investigators, between his stay in the land of the Czechs with the internal conflict which broke out in his reign.³⁸⁰ The description of the ruler's capture attracts attention also because in the opinion of researchers the imprisonment, let alone castration, were deeply humiliating experiences,³⁸¹ which were better forgotten and not recalled. The chronicler's story of Mieszko II should be read in connection with the writer's conception of the end of the period of the peak of Piast glory together with the death of Bolesław I. The son and successor of that ruler could only attempt to equal him, but that which was the reason for Bolesław's fame turned against him. Such an intent on the part of Gallus explains the emphasis he placed on the fact that after he was released by the Czechs, Mieszko "no longer had carnal knowledge of his wife". In addition to not being able to equal his father in the political sphere, he ceased to be a man. An echo of the tradition of a somewhat unfavourable opinion on Mieszko II could also be the emphasis on the short length of his reign.³⁸²

Though Gallus wrote that "longum est dicere" of the chivalrous deeds of Mieszko II, he did not give them much space and as he says "lets us stop talking of Mieszko and pass on to Kazimierz the Restorer of Poland."³⁸³

³⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 4–5.

³⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 10–14.

³⁸⁰ See G. Labuda, *Mieszko II*, pp. 82–84.

³⁸¹ Jean Dunbabin, *Captivity and Imprisonment in Medieval Europe, 1000–1300*, Houndmills/Basingstoke 2002, pp. 161–162.

³⁸² *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 18, p. 41, lines 3–4.

³⁸³ *Ibidem*, I, 17, p. 40, lines 14–16.

*Kazimierz the Restorer**Childhood and Exile*

The manner in which the chronicler presented the fate of the son of Mieszko II until his return from exile removed from the ruler any responsibility for what had earlier happened in the country even though it occurred in his reign. After the death of his father, because—the chronicler says—he was a “small boy” he remained in the care of his mother Rycheza.³⁸⁴ While the latter ruled the country well “as well as a woman could”, traitors drove her out of the country. The fact that her son remained in the country was only a “cover for their treachery”.³⁸⁵ When however Kazimierz attained maturity and took power the conspirators in fear that he would take revenge for the harm that they had done his mother forced him to flee to Hungary.³⁸⁶ Let us note that the author emphasises the connection between the events and Kazimierz’s age.³⁸⁷ As a “*puer parvulus*” he had no influence on the flow of political events. When however he only “*esset adultus etate*” and could take responsibility for events concerning the country, he was exiled. While this exile lasted (for an undefined period of time) he was completely unable to do anything about his return home. This was because Stephen the king of Hungary, as the ally of the Czechs, “the most dangerous of Poland’s enemies” did not want to let him out of the country.³⁸⁸ His departure was only agreed to by Stephen’s successor, who in addition gave Kazimierz a hundred knights to accompany him. According to Gallus the Piast could have chosen any route, but he went to the German lands.³⁸⁹ Why did he not return to Poland? The chronicler does not tell us, but indicates that the exile “stayed with his mother and the emperor—for how much time I do not know, but showed his prowess in the arts of war”.³⁹⁰ If it was in this time that he became educated as a knight, the reader may conclude that when he left the Hungarian court he was still too young a man to return to

³⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, I, 18, p. 41, lines 4–5.

³⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 5–8.

³⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 8–10.

³⁸⁷ Let us add that in the opinion of researchers there is no basis to believe that Kazimierz really was a child at the time of these events, or in the regency of Rycheza, G. Labuda, *Mieszko II*, pp. 107–110.

³⁸⁸ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 18, p. 41, lines 12–15.

³⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 42, lines 7–11.

³⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 11–13.

the country in the hands of traitors to take up rule. It was only at the emperor's side that he reached full maturity.

It is worth in this context noting that Gallus clearly emphasises the high status of Kazimierz, even while an exile. He was after all the son of a "mother from the imperial family".³⁹¹ Even the fact that he was living in Hungary was an occasion to show the significance of the young ruler. When Peter Urseolo of Venice obtained the throne after Stephen, the Czechs requested him to keep Kazimierz in the country. The new king was said to have become angered at this request and accused the Czechs of trying to make him one of their prison guards and "paying no attention to their alliance or enmity"³⁹² released the Polish ruler. Even as a prisoner, the son of Mieszko II became the cause of changes in the international political scene which were to be beneficial for Poland. Not only was Kazimierz not responsible for the crisis which Poland experienced, but he even weakened its enemies.

The Destruction of Poland

Gallus Anonymous did not avoid discussing the crisis of the state of the first Piasts,³⁹³ though in his narrative he gave it a form which was favourable to the dynasty ruling the country. He inserts all the most tragic events in the period between the exiling of Kazimierz and his stay in Germany. That at least is what the preposition "interea" which he uses to begin the story of the tragic fate of the country after his account of the fate of Mieszko II's son suggests. Though he writes quite a bit about these events, he does not precisely indicate their origin. The invasions of kings and dukes of neighbouring countries, the rebellion of subjects against their lords within the country, and also the rejection of Christianity³⁹⁴ are all stereotypical components of the picture of the collapse of a state in western European historiography.³⁹⁵ It is in such a context that we gain a clearer picture of two details: on the attack of the Czechs who devastated Poznan and Gniezno, and above

³⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 41, line 4.

³⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 42, lines 6–7.

³⁹³ For an extensive presentation of the literature, see G. Labuda, *Mieszko II*, pp. 93–118.

³⁹⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 19, p. 42, line 16—p. 43, line 6.

³⁹⁵ See Grzegorz Myśliwski, *Feudalizm—"rewolucja feudalna"—kryzysy władzy w Polsce XI-początku XII w. Punkt widzenia mediewistyki anglojęzycznej*, "Przegląd Historyczny", 93 (2002), nr 1, pp. 73–102.

all removed the body of St Wojciech,³⁹⁶ as well as the escape “across the Vistula”—to Mazovia, of all those that had escaped from the hands of their enemies and wished to escape “their rebelliousness”.³⁹⁷ This information seems to be the culminating point of the description in which the collapse of the Polish Church is the dominant element. Let us note that after these two detailed descriptions of events Gallus introduces a conventionalised description of the ruins of the church of St Wojciech in Gniezno with wild animals living in its interior.³⁹⁸ This seems to be an allegory describing both the state of the Church as well as the country: after destruction and abandonment, the church is like the country overrun by pagan rebels. The information about the escape of Poles from the rebellion allows a broader interpretation of subsequent events. The chronicler does not do this immediately, but only in a subsequent part of the narrative. This leads us to think that the author inserted the mention of the escape to Mazovia into the account which he received of the damage done to the Polish Church.³⁹⁹ By this means he obtained an effect which was very important for the coherence of the whole work; the narrative about the fate of the Church could be linked in a logical way with the story of Kazimierz. In the further part of the narrative, Gallus writes not of the rebuilding of the Church, but writes much of the martial deeds of Kazimierz in his reconstruction of the country as a political community. If in that situation the information of Mazovia as a refuge had been missing, the section of the text containing the description of the crisis of the Church and the abandoned and ravaged church in Gniezno would have occurred in a vacuum. It however forms a logical whole with the story of Poland’s total destruction, emphasizing the indivisible links between the political and religious spheres in the history of Poland.

The chronicler did not want to indicate the reasons for the tragic fate of the country. He only stated that “it is said” that it was because

³⁹⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 19, p. 43, lines 6–7, 9–11; the literature on the topic of the invasion has been collected by Krzysztof Polek, *Kraków i Małopolska w czasie najazdu Brzetysława I na Polskę*, “Studia Historyczne”, 29 (1986), fasc. 4, pp. 495–501.

³⁹⁷ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 19, p. 43, lines 7–9.

³⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 9–11

³⁹⁹ In this sense we may agree with Danuta Borawska, *Kryzys monarchii wczesno-piastowskiej w latach trzydziestych XI wieku*, Warszawa 1964, p. 180, that the version of the breakdown of the Piast monarchy described by Gallus Anonymous was shaped by the “disapproval” of the people of the Church, which is why he also describes the collapse of Christianity in Poland.

of a curse that Gaudentius, the “brother and heir” of St Wojciech had for some reason imposed on the country—though Gallus was not aware of the reason for this. This information given at the end of the narrative about the crisis of the state leaves the reader convinced that it was the result of a complex of forces unrelated to the deeds of the dynasty ruling the country. On the contrary, it was precisely during the absence of its representative that the country was affected by all these misfortunes. When the ruler from the family chosen by God was absent, Poland was also deprived of its holy patron Bishop Wojciech. All of this happened, at least in the “Chronicle” “interea”, between the exile of Kazimierz, and his return. Such a significance of the text leads to a recognition of the reason for the introduction of the description of the crisis of the state into the dynastic tradition of the Piasts. This aim is emphasized by the chronicler in a sentence summarising the whole chapter: “let what has been said about the destruction of Poland suffice, and let this serve to bring those who did not keep faith with their natural lords to order”.⁴⁰⁰

It is generally accepted that the phrase “domini naturales” should be identified with the Piasts.⁴⁰¹ It is more difficult to answer the question why the chronicler using the present conjunctive is addressing in this sentence to his readers, among whom would have been those who had “not kept the faith”. His comment cannot be applied to the participants of the rebellion in the distant past. It can only be applicable to some unknown event closer to the times of the chronicler and the writing of his work. Gallus suggests that the “destruction of Poland” as the result of treachery could affect the rebels—because only then would this be a warning to them. He therefore addresses the elite, including the people of the church, because the crisis of the state which he describes affected precisely this social group.⁴⁰² Perhaps we might consider whether we should regard as applicable the words of Marian Plezia suggesting that the remarks under analysis were addressed to people who wanted to remove Wrymouth from power because he had treacherously blinded

⁴⁰⁰ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 19, p. 43, line 14—p. 44, line 1.

⁴⁰¹ Gallus Anonymus himself once again uses this phrase when he places in the lips of Zbigniew complaining about the deeds of Sieciech a comment against those who would like “successionem nostri generis nituntur penitus abolere, domino-rumque naturalium hereditatem ordine prepostero distorquere”, *ibidem*, II, 16, p. 81, lines 18–19.

⁴⁰² In historiography the words of Gallus are treated as addressed generally to the group of the “elite”, see G. Labuda, *Mieszko II*, p. 129.

his own brother Zbigniew.⁴⁰³ To do this we would first have to prove that such individuals existed, for the intention of dethroning Bolesław III is a historiographical construct with no certain basis in the written sources. Bearing in mind the circumstances of the creation of the "Chronicle", it seems more probable that its author was addressing his words to all Poles engaged in fighting the Piasts, especially in the period of the conflict between Bolesław III and Zbigniew. These were events which took place in the times of his patrons, the bishops of the Polish Church, and it was such events that he had declared that he would be describing in particular. While they did not concern contemporary political events, the didactic aim in introducing this passage is clear. Detail: the reader should remember the close relationship between the presence at the head of the community of a member of the dynasty which by the grace of God was in rule, and the wellbeing of the country.

The Renewal of Poland

The return of Kazimierz and his activities in Poland take on a special significance in the light of the scenario presented above. The bonds which linked the country with the whole dynasty has its correlation with the link between the ruler and the space of rule which he inherits. Thus Kazimierz, when he ceased to be an inexperienced youth, decided to return to his own country. His mother tried to dissuade him, begging him not to return to that "perverse people, not yet fully Christianised", but that he should govern his mother's lands. The emperor himself wished to make him ruler of a principality "sufficiently magnificent".⁴⁰⁴ The young duke refused, saying that "no inheritance from mother or uncle would be more justly or honourably held than that from his father".⁴⁰⁵ Kazimierz treated the return to the lands of his father not only as the realization of his personal rights, for these he could exchange for the ruling of a principality granted him by the emperor. He treated his return to Poland as a moral obligation, nothing could excuse him from the necessity of taking possession of "honestae possessionis".

⁴⁰³ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, pp. XXXIX–XL.

⁴⁰⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 19, p. 44, lines 1–7.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 8–9.

In the narrative of Gallus Anonymous, the return of Kazimierz to Poland was not accompanied by the beginnings of a fratricidal conflict. The young duke with 500 knights crossed the frontier of Poland and then “took a certain stronghold returned to him by men faithful to him”.⁴⁰⁶ By this means he obtained support in his own inheritance, but above all confirmation that “his men” regarded him as lord, “and rapidly by his valour and natural abilities he freed the whole of his country from the occupying Pomeranians, Czechs and other neighbouring peoples, and placed it under his rule”.⁴⁰⁷ He was able to claim the successes that his father had been unable to achieve in his struggles against Poland’s neighbours. In addition he took as his wife “with great wealth” the daughter of the Kievan duke, with whom he had a daughter, later married to the Czech ruler and four sons whose names the chronicler scrupulously records.⁴⁰⁸ These three categories of facts (success in battle, wealth—including that from a favourable marital union—and numerous progeny) can be regarded as the traditional indicators of greatness in a ruler. The criterion of the number of children was not among those used to define the greatness of the ideal ruler of Poland, Bolesław the Brave. The only fact which differentiated Kazimierz from his relatives with regard progeny was not directly concerned with him, but with his father. It was he who had only a single son and had been deprived of his manhood by his enemies. It was also Mieszko II as the first among the Piasts who had not gained great successes in military conflict against his enemies and who had less wealth than his father. The chronicler built his portrait of Kazimierz in opposition to that of his father. Thus, since the latter had brought Poland to a crisis because he did not know how to maintain the greatness built by Bolesław the Brave, so Kazimierz being his superior in all things was to return its glories.⁴⁰⁹

In Gallus Anonymous’ thinking, was however the country under the reign of Kazimierz a continuation of the Poland ruled by Bolesław? It seems that this was not the case. After the generalised information about the regaining of the country from the hands of the occupants by Mieszko II’s son, the chronicler moves on to a description of the sub-

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 10–11.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 12–14.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 14–16.

⁴⁰⁹ See Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, p. 341.

jugation of the ruler of Mazovia. "When the country had been freed and regained and when the neighbouring peoples had been forced to flee, there was another [task], no smaller, remaining for Kazimierz, to defeat the people who in accordance with the law were his subjects who were against him".⁴¹⁰ Kazimierz had conquered Poland, freeing it from the invaders, and thus obtained the right to regard all of its inhabitants his subjects, even if they did not accept his authority. Those with whom he was now to fight formed however an extremely interesting group. Mazovia was inhabited by those who had fled the Czech invasion and internal rebellion. Though Gallus mentioned this earlier,⁴¹¹ he once again mentions this in the passage of interest here and also says that he had already referred to this.⁴¹² Linking both these passages, the reader learns that in his conflict with the Mazovians, Kazimierz was in reality facing the elite of the state of his predecessors. Fighting with it, Kazimierz was also fighting those who had formed the state of Bolesław I and Mieszko II.

In this conflict he was above all fighting against Mieclaw, the cup-bearer of his father, who after the death of Mieszko II "according to his own self-delusion became the leader and figurehead of the Mazovians".⁴¹³ Supported by a large number of the refugees mentioned earlier not only refused to submit to Kazimierz, but also began to damage his interests by force of arms and treachery. The Polish ruler still regarded him as his official and treating his acts as rebellion considered that he had seized Mazovia by violence.⁴¹⁴ This was a statement of some importance in that it meant that a conflict between Kazimierz and the Mazovians was part of the effort to release the country. Kazimierz in effect was also forced to act in his own defence against the threat from Mieclaw.⁴¹⁵ As a result the story of the fratricidal wars appears as the final stage of the heroic epic of the son of Mieszko II, in which

⁴¹⁰ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 20, p. 45, lines 3–5.

⁴¹¹ *Ibidem*, I, 19, p. 43, lines 7–9.

⁴¹² *Ibidem*, I, 20, p. 45, lines 6–7.

⁴¹³ *Ibidem*, lines 4–6. The term 'princeps' used by Gallus does not mean "prince" or "duke" in the sense of an independent ruler, but a high ranking official of the monarchy, here in the meaning of the leader of a group of inhabitants of a region, see Janusz Bieniak, *Państwo Mieclawa. Studium analityczne*, Warszawa 1963, p. 77.

⁴¹⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 20, p. 45, lines 14–15.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 15–16. In the opinion of Janusz Bieniak (*Państwo Mieclawa*, pp. 82–86), the chronicler suggests that Mieclaw was attempting to dethrone Kazimierz and gain power over all of Poland.

the defeat of Miecław meant that Kazimierz “triumphantly obtained victory, peace and the whole of his fatherland.”⁴¹⁶

The difference between the country of Kazimierz the Restorer and the realm of Bolesław I and Mieszko II was enormous. There was a fundamental change in the number and social structure of his subjects. In battle, Kazimierz not only overcame the Mazovians—formerly Poles, refugees—but also killed huge numbers of them.⁴¹⁷ In addition he relied on the inhabitants of the other regions of Poland which after the disturbances of the years of conflict during his absence were “almost empty”.⁴¹⁸ Gallus’ text contains an anecdote of symbolic significance. In the course of a battle with Miecław, Kazimierz was so engrossed in chasing after his enemies that he found himself in a situation where he could easily have been surrounded by his enemies and killed. It was then that a “certain man, not of a knightly family but from among the simple soldiers, chivalrously hurried to the aid of the [prince] in deadly danger”. The latter rewarded him with a stronghold and granting him a title which placed him among the most honoured of positions among his subjects.⁴¹⁹ The old social hierarchy therefore was undergoing change according to the will of the monarch.

The creation of a “new Poland” was accompanied by one factor which corresponds to the creation of the first state of the Piasts, the guardianship of God. After defeating the Mazovians, Kazimierz with a small group of warriors attacked a much larger group of Pomeranians who had wanted to aid Miecław in his struggle. In his speech to his troops he showed that “it is not the greater number [of warriors] that makes a victory, but to whom God shows his grace”.⁴²⁰ Kazimierz, who won the battle with the pagan Pomeranians “with God’s help”⁴²¹ in the same way as he had earlier beaten the Mazovians, called “false Christians”,⁴²² must have been blessed by the especial grace of God. Like his excellent ancestor, Bolesław I, so he too was very pious, respected the Church and especially supported the monks and nuns, among whom he is supposed to have been educated by the will of his parents.⁴²³

⁴¹⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 20, p. 45, line 18—p. 46, line 1.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 46, lines 1–3.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 9–12.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 7–9.

⁴²⁰ *Ibidem*, I, 21, p. 47, lines 5–6.

⁴²¹ *Ibidem*, line 9.

⁴²² *Ibidem*, line 7.

⁴²³ *Ibidem*, lines 10–13.

What a difference this was however from Bolesław I who had been raised to the status of the bishops. Bolesław was supposed to have built an empire, Kazimierz was the “son of an imperial mother”. The son of Mieszko I had subdued all his neighbours, the son of Mieszko II had announced to his warriors an end to their efforts together with the conquest of the Pomeranians,⁴²⁴ and by this means securing Poland’s frontiers. This was a much more modest aim. From Gallus’ pen we gain a picture of the role of Kazimierz as the Restorer, though of a country quite different from that of Bolesław I.

Bolesław II the Bold

From the first paragraph of his description of the characteristics of the successor of Kazimierz, the chronicler introduces the reader to the complex character of this narrative. Bolesław was a man who was “generous and martial”, but one “whose actions would establish him as the equal of those of his ancestors, if he had not been driven by an excess of ambition or vanity”.⁴²⁵ This notion seems to have guided the manner in which the ruler is presented in subsequent passages, and the introductory section—somewhat prophetic—was the description of the siege of the stronghold of “Gradec” at the beginning of Bolesław’s reign. Ruling both the Poles and Pomeranians he stood before the stronghold with a great number of both. Here however “through his proud lack of care”, he not only was unable to take the stronghold, but only with difficulty escaped the ambushes of the Czechs and lost control of Pomerania.⁴²⁶ The chronicler did not suggest however, that from the first moments of his rule, Bolesław was a bad and careless ruler. He justified the ruler and left the reader uncertain how to assess his actions: “though there is nothing to be surprised about if someone errs resulting from their lack of knowledge, if he is able later through his wisdom put right that which he neglected.”⁴²⁷ After which the chronicler built in a few episodes a picture of a martial ruler, though one not always lucky, but also very generous, especially towards the clergy.

⁴²⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 5–6.

⁴²⁵ *Ibidem*, I, 22, p. 48, lines 1–3.

⁴²⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 3–7.

⁴²⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 7–9.

He does all this however in a very specific manner. He writes that: “it is not worthy to omit in silence the multiple virtues and generosity of King Bolesław the Second, but [we should] reveal a few [examples] from many as a model for those ruling the kingdom”.⁴²⁸ Such a statement could arouse the surprise of those who remember the story of the siege of Gradec: which of the events of the life of the king should supply posterity with a lesson and in what regard? In the opinion of Gallus Anonymous “King Bolesław the Second was a bold and brave knight, he greeted guests with great friendliness, and was the most generous of donors”.⁴²⁹ As we will see below, however the examples the chronicler gives of Bolesław II putting these virtues into action in life could not really encourage posterity to do the same.

The Majesty of the King

It is no accident that in sketching the portrait of Bolesław II, Gallus Anonymous compares his achievements to those of Bolesław the Brave. An example of this could be his description of the ruler’s deeds in Ruthenia. Here Gallus himself draws attention to the similarities of the deeds of both rulers: “he [i.e., Bolesław the Bold] also like the first Bolesław the Great took the capital of the Ruthenians, he cruelly broke into the eminent town of Kiev, and with a blow of his sword left a mark on the Golden Gate to remember him by”.⁴³⁰ The later part of the description at first sight does not provide such close similarities. The setting on the throne by Bolesław on the throne of a ruler subject to him “a Ruthenian of his own clan”⁴³¹ can be treated after all as a classic element of the policy of rulers of that period towards a conquered and subjugated country. The significance of this act however is altered if we place it within the context of the whole description of the stay of the king in Ruthenia. Bolesław was asked by the Ruthenian king who—as Gallus emphasizes—he had himself “created”,⁴³² to come to him from his camp and exchange the kiss of peace with him “out of respect for his tribe”.⁴³³ Bolesław agreed to this on condition of receipt of a large tribute, but when it came to the meeting, Bolesław “not

⁴²⁸ *Ibidem*, I, 23, p. 48, lines 11–13.

⁴²⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 13–15.

⁴³⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 15–18.

⁴³¹ *Ibidem*, lines 18–19.

⁴³² *Ibidem*, line 22.

⁴³³ *Ibidem*, p. 49, lines 1–2.

even dismounting from his horse and grabbing with a laugh his [the Ruthenian ruler's] beard he gave him a somewhat costly kiss".⁴³⁴ The Polish king humiliated the Kievan ruler, and emphasized that he felt that he was of higher status, if not the Ruthenian leader's superior.⁴³⁵ Przemysław Mrozowski has drawn attention to the fact that in the symbolism of the west, tugging by the beard not only meant mocking somebody, but also taking into possession, dominating a humiliated party.⁴³⁶ If we connect that with the suggestion of the chronicler that gestures in the course of the meeting were to express the respect of Bolesław towards the Ruthenians, the chronicler's efforts to demonstrate the disregard of the king for them become clear. The dishonour shown to them through the treatment of their ruler again reminds us of Bolesław the Brave. According to the "Chronicle" he also humiliated the Ruthenians, when he brought dishonour on the sister of their ruler.

The parallelism between the two Bolesławs has however a limited character. It exists on the plane of political activity, however deeper in the ideological sphere, we see considerable differences. Let us look at the words of the chronicler who places the description of Bolesław's treatment of the Ruthenian ruler before the three events mentioned above. These are preceded by three exclamations "O the magnificence of temporal glory! O the audacity of the knightly oath! O the majesty of royal power!"⁴³⁷ which seem to refer to the person of Bolesław the Bold, for only he could "audaciously" take the "knightly oath". It was he who showed his greatness when he had to be asked to meet like equal with equal with another king. He it was who equally audaciously gave his word, the letter of which he kept, though through a ruse changed the content. Bolesław showed his majesty humiliating the ruler who was subordinate to him. These words have ambiguous meaning, a comparison between their pomposity and the events described immediately below gave them an ironic tint and showed Bolesław in a light which was not entirely favourable. If he had given the king of the Ruthenians the kiss of peace it would have indicated to him his frankness and

⁴³⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 5–6.

⁴³⁵ Kirył Petkov, *The Kiss of Peace. Ritual, Self and Society in the High and Late Medieval West*, Leiden/Boston 2003 (=Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions Medieval and Modern Peoples, vol. 17), pp. 65–72.

⁴³⁶ Przemysław Mrozowski, *Gest władcy w ikonografii polskiego średniowiecza*, [in:] *Imagines potestatis*, p. 67.

⁴³⁷ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 23, p. 48, lines 20–21.

readiness to maintain peaceful political relations and also would have meant he accepted the other as his equal.⁴³⁸ The kiss would therefore have been a political gesture, which would explain that it was given in exchange for money, but its meaning lay in the moral dimension of the gesture. The breaking by Bolesław of the promise put him in a doubly unfavourable light. Not only had he not kept the word he had given, but he had shown himself totally untrustworthy, contemptuous of peace and of the people who were most devoted to him. Let us add that in the case of Bolesław the Bold, Gallus indicated the magnificence only of his temporal glory and that remark cannot be ignored bearing in mind what great significance he attached to depicting in his portrait of Bolesław I the relationship between his greatness and his timeless fame and the appropriate relation with the sacral sphere. It seems therefore that Gallus is attempting to distance himself from the monarch, whose activities he depicts as morally reprehensible and which were rooted only in that which is earthly and transient.⁴³⁹

Warrior King

In the opinion of the chronicler an important characteristic of the behaviour of Bolesław the Bold which could serve as a lesson for posterity was his martial prowess. This is illustrated through the introduction of two episodes, conflict with the Czechs and Pomeranians and demonstrating the specific character of way in which the king conducts them. The choice of opponents discussed was in itself notable, they were the eternal enemies of the Poles and had been overcome by the ruler's father Kazimierz. The latter fact has a decisive meaning in understanding the events connected with the behaviour of Bolesław the Bold with regard to the Czech duke who had invaded Polish territory. Having cut off the attackers, the king announced that the next day he wished to fight them in open battle.⁴⁴⁰ Since however his troops were exhausted by their rapid march and the day was drawing to an end,

⁴³⁸ See Horst Fuhrmann, "Wilkommen und Abschied". *Über Begrüßungs- und Abschiedsrituale im Mittelalter*, [in:] *Mittelalter. Annäherung an eine fremde Zeit*, Wilfried Hartmann ed., Regensburg 1993 (=Schriftenreihe Universität Regensburg, NF, vol. 19), pp. 117–120.

⁴³⁹ Cf. Edward Skibiński, *Biskup i monarcha*, [in:] *Docendo discimus. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Profesorowi Zbigniewowi Wielgoszowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Krzysztof Kaczmarek, Jarosław Nikodem eds, Poznań 2000 (=Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, vol. 32), p. 101.

⁴⁴⁰ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 24, p. 49, lines 11–13.

he requested the Czechs not to make any more difficulties (by their escape) and remain in position.⁴⁴¹ Inviting them to engage in battle, he indicated that once like wolves emerging from the forest and seizing their prey they escaped unpunished. Now however, “when the hunters have come with their spears and dogs have been released to track you, not by running or by tricks, but only by valour can you escape the nets stretched out to snare you”.⁴⁴² This metaphor is highly significant, since until this point in his narrative only in the passage referring to Bolesław the Brave did the author mention his love of hunting. It was due to this that the king was able to obtain great quantities of game and offer his subjects participation in a truly royal feast. Bolesław II turned out to be a very special kind of hunter. The Czech ruler assured him that he would stand to fight with “such a great king” the next day, “if [Bolesław] is the son of Kazimierz”.⁴⁴³ The Czech ruler apparently accepting Bolesław II’s challenge was referring to two feelings, the pride of his opponent in his reputation, and his desire to equal his father. As a result, as Gallus tells us “Bolesław, as Kazimierz’s son, he occupied the position facilitating the Czech trickery”.⁴⁴⁴ As a result the attacking army, undisturbed and unobserved by the Polish warriors slipped away into the night. The son of Kazimierz “regretting he had been ridiculed” could only chase the escaping troops to Moravia, and then return to his country “where he despised himself”.⁴⁴⁵

In this passage Gallus almost exactly repeats the narrative scheme represented by the story of the siege of Gradec: the king was able to create a situation where the enemy was assured defeat, but as a result of his own decision he destroyed his own chances. The fact that he accepted the word of another ruler could speak in his favour. The chronicler however introduced this narrative directly after his description of the king’s behaviour in Ruthenia, where he himself giving his word to another king had no intention of keeping it. In such a situation the reader’s attention must be drawn to the circumstances which led to Bolesław believing the Czechs. In his presentation of the answer of the Czech ruler, as we have said, Gallus exposes the characteristic of Bolesław which prevented him from equalling by his own deeds those

⁴⁴¹ *Ibidem*, lines 13–16.

⁴⁴² *Ibidem*, lines 19–21.

⁴⁴³ *Ibidem*, line 22—p. 50, line 1.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 50, lines 1–2.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 4–7.

of his ancestors—pride. As a result of this he allowed the Czechs to escape. It seems there is a delicate note of irony in the words of the chronicler when he states that Bolesław did this all “ut se filium Kazimiri ostenderet”.

The second episode connected with the martial virtues of the king was at the same time a return to the comparison between Bolesław I and Bolesław II. At the end of the story of the Czech episode, stated that “it is necessary to add the explanation for the reason why the wearing of chainmail died out in almost all of Poland [at this time], which since the times of the great king Bolesław the army used with great enthusiasm”.⁴⁴⁶ The Pomeranians unexpectedly attacked Poland. Bolesław II hearing of this immediately set out to fight them. He did this however in a manner that was characteristic of him. The king “when the army had not yet gathered, decided to leave [everybody] behind exceptionally recklessly marched [against the enemy]”.⁴⁴⁷ The full meaning of the suggestion of the barely considered effects of the willingness of Bolesław to engage in a fight is revealed in the later part of the story, which however in no way is connected with it in a literal sense. Thus, the king’s knights seeing a large number of enemies on the far bank decided to charge them. “Knights in armour and fully armed without seeking a bridge or ford but threw themselves into the deep water. When many of them had drowned due to their arrogance, the rest threw aside their armour and swam across the river and obtained a victory, though at the cost of great losses”.⁴⁴⁸ The only thing that links both events is the lack of careful consideration in the behaviour of both the king and his knights. Gallus was clearly at pains to expose that characteristic of the ruler. Indeed this story of the Pomeranian war did not require the accenting of the lack of positive characteristics in the king’s actions, the key element of this story gains nothing from it; the Poles stopped using body armour learning a lesson from the recklessness of soldiers, not the king.

The chronicler’s statements gain a logical consistency when we confront the statement about the enthusiasm of the warriors of Bolesław I’s times for body armour, with the fact that in Bolesław II’s time all of his warriors ceased to wear it in order to be able to more easily cross

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 7–10.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, I, 25, p. 50, lines 13–15.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 17–20.

rivers which were an obstacle in the defence of the country.⁴⁴⁹ In the times of the great Bolesław, the king knew how to conduct a war so that his warriors could freely make use of the protection of armour and win battles. Neither was this in the defence of the homeland, but on the contrary, in invading the lands of their neighbours. The reckless Bolesław II however did not possess this talent. The wars which the Poles had to fight under his command forced the warriors to behave in a way which nobody would have expected in Bolesław the Brave's times. What is worse, the reckless decisions of the ruler seemed to be reflected in the reckless decisions of those under him. The sense of Bolesław II's martial activities seem twice to have been questioned here. In both the case of the Czechs and the Pomeranians—though less literally—even if due to his willingness to fight, Bolesław gains a victory in the end, its fruits were poor, or bought at great cost.⁴⁵⁰ In such a situation it is difficult to accept that the chronicler writing of posterity learning a lesson from Bolesław's martial virtues, he had in mind imitating them. It is more probable that at that moment also he was writing ironically, and that he was suggesting that the rulers of Poland did not follow the example of his behaviour, but only in his accomplishments.

The Generous King

At first sight in this context the anecdote which Gallus inserts into his work about the making a poor foreign (*extraneus*) cleric very wealthy seems to be of a different character. Here the chronicler created the impression of legibly presenting the aim of the story: "I give this as an example [to be] followed by successors".⁴⁵¹ The whole story seems to be a praise of Bolesław who as many as four times in this brief chapter is described as a "generous king" ("rex largus").⁴⁵² The summing up is the picture of the ruler taking off his own cloak in order that the cleric to whom he is giving the gifts can take away more gold.⁴⁵³ Is this however only a "cheerful anecdote"?⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 20–23.

⁴⁵⁰ See also E. Skibiński, *Biskup i monarcha*, pp. 101–102.

⁴⁵¹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 26, p. 51, lines 4–5

⁴⁵² *Ibidem*, lines 5, 20; p. 52, line 1, 6.

⁴⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 52, lines 6–8.

⁴⁵⁴ Anonim, tzw. Gall, *Kronika*, p. 50, chapter 26, footnote 3.

We may express doubts about the characterisation of the cleric who “then devoured with his eyes with astonishment such a great [amount of] money”,⁴⁵⁵ and who appeared at the Polish court only at the time of the exhibition of the Ruthenian riches gained by the king,⁴⁵⁶ and finally so greedily gathered up the gold into his cloak that the latter split.⁴⁵⁷ We may perceive in this anecdote a criticism of the greed of certain churchmen which was the subject of discussion of slightly later medieval authors,⁴⁵⁸ or also an emphasis of the use by the ruler of his wealth to care for the poor and to win the approval of his people.⁴⁵⁹ The whole story ends in a somewhat specific picture: “the cleric was loaded with such a great weight of gold and silver by king Bolesław that he cried out that he would break his neck if he put any more on”.⁴⁶⁰ This sentence can still be regarded as praise of the gesture of the king. The next phrase however is more ambiguous: “the king lived in fame, the rich pauper left/died”.⁴⁶¹ It is generally accepted that the poor clergyman unexpectedly awarded wealth by the king simply left the court and the king “grew in fame”.⁴⁶² This latter phrase diverges from the Latin to such a degree⁴⁶³ that its form can only be explained as an attempt to fit the words of the chronicler to a preconceived notion that the story is intended to illustrate the positive characteristics of the ruler. This traditional interpretation is based on a slight emendation of the meaning, and also the form of the text. In all three surviving manuscripts of the “Chronicle” there is an identical reading of this passage: “ditatus pauper obivit”.⁴⁶⁴ The predicate in the characteristic medieval Perfect Indicative form undoubtedly derives from the verb “obire”. This, while in classical Latin means also “leave, go out”, in Medieval Latin it most often took the meaning “die”. The first interpreter of Gallus Anonymous, Wincenty Kadłubek had no doubts in this matter. For him it was obvious that the cleric died under the

⁴⁵⁵ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 26, p. 51, lines 9–10.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 15–16.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 52, lines 4–6.

⁴⁵⁸ See Aron Guriewicz, *Kultura i społeczeństwo średniowiecznej Europy. Exempla XIII wieku*, translated by Zdzisław Dobrzyński, Warszawa 1997, pp. 169–170, 181, 183, 185–186.

⁴⁵⁹ M. Cetwiński, *Opieka nad biednymi*, pp. 34–35.

⁴⁶⁰ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 26, p. 52, lines 8–10.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibidem*, lines 10–11.

⁴⁶² Anonim tzw. Gall, *Kronika*, p. 50.

⁴⁶³ “rex fama vivit”, *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 26, p. 52, line 10.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 10–11 and footnote n.

weight of the gifts he received from the king.⁴⁶⁵ Historians however consider that Gallus here was giving a positive picture of Bolesław. If we accept that hypothesis, then suggesting the death of the cleric would be a nonsense.

It is difficult to regard such an unequivocal interpretation as convincing. It was based on the acceptance of a certain interpretation of the significance of the whole passage, on the basis of this historiographical hypothesis, the earlier interpretation of Kadłubek closer to the source was rejected. Nevertheless let us note that Gallus avoids unequivocality. Though he wrote earlier that the generous ruler was “ferus”, literally “wild” in his behaviour,⁴⁶⁶ he does not directly indicate that the rashness of his behaviour led to the death of the cleric. Just as in the case of the earlier episodes, here too he seems to leave the reader to decide for himself with regard to the brief characterisation of Bolesław’s character in the first lines of the interesting portrait of the ruler, almost the equal of his predecessors, but due to his pride unable to match them. Bolesław I who functions in Gallus’ chronicle as an example for Bolesław II also made donations to the Church, but did not do this for ostentatious reasons. Thus in this place too the chronicler writing of Bolesław as an “example to follow”, he could have been using very delicate irony. Here it should be emphasized that in the Middle Ages this word was read in two different ways. We have mentioned Master Wincenty who had no doubt that the cleric who had been so loaded with wealth died. But, the author of the “*Chronica principum Poloniae*”, who is generally believed to have been making use of manuscripts of Gallus Anonymus’ text did not share the opinion of the Master Wincenty and wrote that the cleric who had received such unexpected gifts left the presence of the king (“recessit”).⁴⁶⁷ Since already at this time there were visible differences in opinion on how these words should be interpreted, it may be suggested that the chronicler wanted to leave this passage with two possible meanings. This rhetorical device (aporia), the presence of which should be respected by modern researchers, only gains its true significance in the context of the whole passage concerning Bolesław II.

⁴⁶⁵ *Magistri Vincenti dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum*, II, 16/5, p. 51.

⁴⁶⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 26, p. 51, line 11.

⁴⁶⁷ *Kronika książąt polskich*, p. 450.

*Fall**Conflict with Bishop Stanisław*

Researchers analysing the passage of the “Chronicle” concerning the fall of Bolesław II concentrate on the stories concerning the death of Bishop Stanisław.⁴⁶⁸ Gallus describes the whole situation in relatively few and somewhat specific words, provoking modern historians to an unending search for the meanings hidden in the stories. For the needs of our own research, we will consider only those themes which could be important for building a picture of the past of the dynasty and using it to promote desired values. From that point of view the chronicler uses some notable words: “One could long relate in what manner King Bolesław was driven out of Poland, but one can/should tell...”⁴⁶⁹ The author does not deny having knowledge about the exile and indicated that this information was available in the milieu with which he was in contact. But at the same time he considered that only a part of that story deserved inclusion in his own work. This is highly notable, since it only indirectly—in the opinion of the chronicler himself—was related to the exile. He continues “being himself one anointed [by God] he should not have/was not obliged to submit the anointed [by God] to corporeal punishment for any sin whatsoever”.⁴⁷⁰ The reader therefore learns that the king administering justice by virtue of his position used a “corporeal punishment” against an “anointed” one for incontrovertibly committing some serious offence (“peccatum”). The chronicler does not see any possibility of applying such a procedure by legal means. This however “did him great harm”, that “by a sin he punished a sin, when he punished a bishop by dismemberment”.⁴⁷¹ Since the chronicler does not reveal what damage the king had done himself by his behaviour, this may be linked with the exiling of Bolesław which was mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. In the “Chronicle” there is no sign of any other consequence of such an action.⁴⁷² In the final analysis both the bishop and the king

⁴⁶⁸ The state of research and the literature are critically presented by Gerard Labuda, *Św. Stanisław, biskup krakowski, patron Polski. Śladami zabójstwa—męczeństwa—kanonizacji*, Poznań 2000 (=Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, 39), pp. 15–46.

⁴⁶⁹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 27, p. 52, line 19—p. 53, line 1.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 53, lines 1–2.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibidem*, lines 2–4.

⁴⁷² See also G. Labuda, *Św. Stanisław*, pp. 75–76, 118–121.

acted in an equally unsuitable manner. The chronicler therefore does not justify the bishop, nor does he approve the king's behaviour.⁴⁷³ If he placed greater emphasis on the unworthy behaviour of Bolesław this is perfectly understandable, it was the fate of the king and not the bishop which was the topic of the story.

This manner of describing the events fits in the framework of the basic criticism of Bolesław the Bold and which appears time and time again in the narrative about him, it was pride and lack of temperance which pushed him to behaviour which depreciated the value of his efforts which had begun from good intentions.⁴⁷⁴ In this case, Bolesław might have been right that he wanted to punish the treacherous bishop, but the manner he chose to do it was improper. By his earlier behaviour the king had only damaged his own reputation as a majestic ruler, a clever warrior or generous donor. This time however he committed an act that in the logic of the narrative of the "Chronicle" must have had much more serious consequences. We may recall that the ideal ruler Bolesław treated his bishops and priests with great respect and used no other title for them than "domini". The successes of the reign of Bolesław the Brave resulted equally from his piety and the virtues pleasing in the eyes of God that were associated with this, as well as the prayers of the clergy. It was therefore in full accord with the logic of the narration of the "Chronicle" that since Bolesław II broke the principles which lay at the roots of the power exercised by the whole dynasty, he could not stay in the country.

Bolesław in Hungary

The topic of the stay of Bolesław in exile is linked in the "Chronicle" with the narrative concerning the placing of duke Ladislaus (László) on the Hungarian throne by the Polish ruler. It is otherwise difficult to explain its presence; as we already saw earlier, the chronicler took care to construct his narrative in such a manner that the episodes would

⁴⁷³ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 27, p. 53, lines 4–6.

⁴⁷⁴ Marian Plezia has drawn attention to the relationship between the general characteristics of the ruler depicted in the "Chronicle" and the narrative of his fall, *Ibid.*, *Dookoła sprawy świętego Stanisława. Studium źródłoznawcze*, Cracow 2003, pp. 100–101, this hypothesis was presented in detail by E. Skibiński, *Biskup i monarcha*, pp. 102–106, and recently was supported by Krzysztof Skwierczyński, *Recepcja idei gregoriańskich w Polsce do początku XIII wieku*, Wrocław 2005 (=Monografie Fundacji na Rzecz Nauki Polskiej), pp. 127–131.

link with each other to illustrate theses which comprise the general description of the history of a given ruler. Even in the case of the story of Bolesław the Brave (very complex in terms of its structure and multiple layers) the chronicler avoided adding new narrative without it being connected by the meaning of the introduced fragment or its relationship to the neighbouring passage within the text. It is therefore doubtful that he would act in a different manner while composing the part of his work about Bolesław the Bold. The presence of the picture of Bolesław establishing a new king among the Hungarians gains significance in connection with the description of the stay of Bolesław in the territory of the southern neighbours of Poland and in comparison with the episode concerning Bolesław's earlier stay in Ruthenia.⁴⁷⁵ Thus the Polish king had forced the former Hungarian ruler Salomon to flee the country and "placed on the throne Ladislaus, who was equally worthy and virtuous. This Ladislaus had been brought up from his childhood in Poland and in customs and lifestyle had almost become a Pole".⁴⁷⁶ The scheme already known from the story of Bolesław II in Ruthenia is repeated (after driving out the former ruler, Bolesław placed on the Kievan throne "a Ruthenian from his own family", in Hungary—a ward, "like a Pole" a brother and a friend).⁴⁷⁷ While however Gallus was rather sparing with details about the person of the Kievan ruler, he gave us much more information about Ladislaus, and it is very positive in tone. Even if this was an expression of gratitude of the chronicler who had come to Poland from Hungary for an earlier protector, in accord with the principles of composition discussed above, the information contained in those complements should also have fulfilled a certain function in the context of the story about King Bolesław. The portrait painted of Ladislaus is detailed therefore, close to the ideals represented by Bolesław the Brave, no other ruler of his country was his equal "after him the land [ruled by him] was never so fertile".⁴⁷⁸

Let us examine together Gallus' description of the virtues of Ladislaus and of the behaviour of Bolesław after his arrival in Hungary and the consequences of that fact. The passage concerning the feelings of the Hungarian king on hearing that Bolesław was coming have been

⁴⁷⁵ E. Skibiński (*Biskup i monarcha*, p. 102) drew attention to this.

⁴⁷⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 27, p. 52, lines 14–16.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, I, 28, p. 53, line 12.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, I, 27, p. 52, lines 17–18.

the subject of many disputes over the interpretation. In the oldest surviving manuscript that passage is written: “sed deferre Wladislao facto dolet [Ladislaus] inimico”.⁴⁷⁹ There is general acceptance however for the amendment suggested by George Saender, according to which the ruler of Hungary “de fratre Wladislao facto dolet inimico”.⁴⁸⁰ It is assumed that the phrase “de fratre” concerns the relationship between the exiled Bolesław and his brother Władysław Herman remaining in Poland. Meanwhile the contents of the versified fragment which the element of interest here forms part indicate that Gallus described with such terms solely the mutual relationship between the Hungarian Ladislaus with Bolesław. Before the quoted fragment appear words to the effect that Ladislaus was pleased to be “able to receive his brother and friend”.⁴⁸¹ If in this place the chronicler was placing in the mouth of the Arpad ruler words indicating for the first time the brotherly bonds linking him with Bolesław, why a line later would he use the same term in recalling the links between Bolesław and Władysław Herman? For a chronicler who precisely chooses the meaning of his words, this would be somewhat strange. As Gerard Labuda in his analysis of this passage indicates, there seems no reason for which the chronicler would introduce the name of Władysław Herman suddenly and without any connection with the preceding or following narrative.⁴⁸² In this situation, on the basis of the priority of the form present in the manuscript (“deferre”), Labuda proposed the following translation: Ladislaus “was pained that [Bolesław] did honour to Władysław by a hostile [toward Władysław] act”.⁴⁸³

We obtain a similar meaning also when we take into account the version amended “de fratre” and place its meaning in the direct context of the story. A literal translation of the passage could give two different meanings, not only as: “was pained on behalf of the brother Władysław [Herman], who had become an enemy”, but also “was pained on behalf of the brother who had become the enemy of

⁴⁷⁹ See Brygida Kürbis, *Jak czytać najstarsze teksty o św. Stanisławie*, “Znak”, 31 (1979), fasc. 4–5 (298–299), p. 326, footnote 4.

⁴⁸⁰ The stages in the development of the discussion are presented by Gerard Labuda, *Św. Stanisław*, pp. 68–70. We also read of this in the critical edition of Karol Maleczyński, *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 28, p. 53, line 13.

⁴⁸¹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 28, p. 53, line 12.

⁴⁸² G. Labuda, *Św. Stanisław*, p. 71.

⁴⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 73. Brygida Kürbis, *Jak czytać*, p. 326, footnote 4, proposed a similar translation.

Władysław [Ladislaus]”. The first version of the translation, which does not indicate for whom Władysław Herman would have become an enemy could be supplemented in accord with the vision of the fall of Bolesław II in which the reason for his exile was the rebellion of his younger brother, Władysław Herman. This is a conclusion which is in conflict with the whole of the rest of the narrative. In the opinion of Gallus, Władysław began to rule as the “sole duke” only after the death of Bolesław and the other brothers.⁴⁸⁴ Earlier therefore—Gallus suggests to his readers—at the most he was a co-ruler of Poland as an equal of the remaining sons of Kazimierz the Restorer. In addition, the chronicler indicates that after Bolesław’s death, Herman invited his son Mieszko back to Poland and gave him a wife.⁴⁸⁵ In this place Gallus tells us that those responsible for the death of his father (who he does not define further) in the end also poison the son.⁴⁸⁶ If the author of the “Chronicle” really had intended to connect the expulsion of Bolesław with Władysław Herman, and maybe even indicate the existence of some enmity between them connected with this, why is there no further mention of this in the fragments cited here? Why would the enemy of the father later bring the son into his country? We recall that in addition, both Poles and Hungarians were of the opinion that he could in future rule the country.⁴⁸⁷ The narrative of the chronicler is very inconsistent if interpreted in this way. Order is restored if we resign from the hypothesis of enmity caused by Bolesław’s expulsion between Władysław Herman and king Ladislaus and between Herman and Bolesław the Bold.

We then may choose one of the two possible meanings of the discussed fragment of text: 1) following Gerard Labuda accept the original version of the text in the manuscript and the translation proposed by that scholar; 2) accept the amended version, but the translation indicating the enmity between the Hungarian ruler and Bolesław the Bold. Both versions would have a similar significance if we set them in the context of the whole passage. In the first version of the analysed four line verse we read: “When Ladislaus heard that Bolesław was arriving, he was partly happy with to see his friend, but in part anger

⁴⁸⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 30, p. 56, lines 15–16.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, I, 29, p. 55, lines 9–11.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 15–16.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 6–9.

remained in place”.⁴⁸⁸ The sense of the analysed passage is indicated by the assumption on which G. Labuda based his discussion,⁴⁸⁹ that it was not introduced in chronological order in the narrative of Bolesław and Ladislaus. Acceptance of a linear chronology for this story would make this passage of the work incomprehensible. Ladislaus, when Bolesław approached, was happy, though there remained a certain question which provoked anger; he was happy that he would again meet his brother and friend, but at the same time is saddened, because Bolesław had become an enemy to his own brother, Władysław.

The specific form: a four-line verse written in Trochaic tetrameter is deliberately set apart from the rest of the narrative. The verse “Epilogue” which precedes (sic) Book One is Octosyllabic, though iambic. It summarises the events from the life of Bolesław Wrymouth which anticipates the chronological narrative of the book, but has the function of directing the attention of the reader to the person of Bolesław III and defining the significance of the whole “Book”. The four line verse analysed here seems to fulfil a similar function in the narrative of the arrival of Bolesław the Bold in Hungary. Its contents become understandable only after reading the material which follows it, but at the same time they at once draw the attention of the reader to the complicated relationship between both rulers as the primary motif in the narration. Let us recall the general course of events: Ladislaus came out to meet Bolesław, but the latter, driven by pride wished to humiliate him, as a result of which Ladislaus went away again without greeting his guest. He however commanded that Bolesław should be treated honourably. Only “later did they meet in real peace and friendship, like brothers, though the Hungarian kept the above [event] deeply in his heart”.⁴⁹⁰ The verse of interest here therefore relates precisely to this second meeting. Ladislaus is pleased that his brother and friend has come, but at the same time there is an “anger in place” and the king is pained that he “has become” his enemy. This corresponds to a vision of the meeting in which the Hungarian king can meet Bolesław in friendship, but his subjects remember the behaviour of the Polish king and through their memories, the guest was his enemy.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, I, 28, p. 53, line 10–11.

⁴⁸⁹ G. Labuda, *Św. Stanisław*, p. 74.

⁴⁹⁰ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 28, p. 54, lines 15–17.

An interpretation of this type can be supported by the text of the “Chronicle”, but it is so complicated that it raises the question of why the chronicler would construct such an unclear narrative? Let us note that in the passage devoted to Bolesław the Bold in Hungary it is not he, but Ladislaus who is ready to be the positive character. It was he who himself decided to go out to meet Bolesław as a “humble man”,⁴⁹¹ who wanted to greet him not as a ruler equal to him, but as a “knight a duke, a duke a king, a king an emperor”,⁴⁹² finally despite the offence his guest caused him, commanded his subjects to treat him with the greatest respect.⁴⁹³ Gallus, wanting to characterize the Polish king at the moment of his meeting with Ladislaus, wrote: “to Bolesław should be ascribed one of his faults which greatly detracted from his earlier virtue”;⁴⁹⁴ the son of Kazimierz the Restorer “did not respect the humility of the merciful king, but carried in his heart damaging pride”.⁴⁹⁵

Let us compare the equivocal picture of Bolesław II as a ruler which was painted in the previously presented episodes with the chronicler’s panegyric in honour of Ladislaus. The sense of such an operation within the chronicle seems to be hidden in the laconic presentation of the fate of Bolesław in exile. He had become the target of hate among the Hungarians and this is why “he reached, more rapidly—so they say—the end of his days”,⁴⁹⁶ in other words, he died; we may infer he was murdered. He died, so “they say”, while a guest in the court of a foreign ruler. In addition until his death, his “brother and friend” King Ladislaus did not undertake any actions to enable him or his son to regain the throne. It seems worthwhile once again to recall the idea which underlay the presentation of Bolesław the Bold by Gallus, he nearly equalled his forebears, but he was prevented in achieving this by his pride. When his father, Kazimierz, was in exile like him in Hungary, his hosts the Hungarian rulers, even though they were the allies of the enemies of the young Polish ruler, did not allow any harm to come to him. Bolesław when he was in Hungary had a certain ally, brother and friend. His pride however was to destroy his chances even in circumstances that were most favourable to him.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibidem*, I, 27, p. 55, line 7.

⁴⁹² *Ibidem*, I, 28, p. 53, lines 15–16.

⁴⁹³ *Ibidem*, I, 27, p. 54, lines 14–15.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 3–4.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, I, 28, p. 54, lines 9–10.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, I, 27, p. 54, lines 17–19.

Such a meaning of his history would not have been achieved by Gallus if he had simply said that Bolesław was haughty with regard to the Hungarian ruler which led him to refuse to help him and his subjects hastened the death of the troublesome guest. This would be a natural situation and the characteristics of the Polish ruler would not be so clearly visible. The author therefore contrasts the example of a ruler (Ladislaus) with another who is predispositioned to be a good ruler, but as a result of his pride loses everything. It is no accident also that he refers to the pattern of events from the time of Bolesław's Kievan expedition. In this way he obtained an additional effect: the same event may happen at the peak of fame and the moment of the worst humiliation. The depiction of the behaviour of Bolesław the Bold during his stay in Hungary in the framework of the portrait Gallus paints of the ruler was not therefore of an accident, the result of annoyance at having lost the throne, Bolesław did not change, the defect in his character followed him everywhere.

Mieszko son of Bolesław

In his chronicle, Gallus presents the history of those Piasts who ruled Poland. His portrait of Mieszko, son of Bolesław the Bold is an exception. He begins the passage concerning him with words which define the significance of the whole section of the text: King Bolesław had a single son who "would not have been worse than [his] forebears in worthiness" had he not died as a young man.⁴⁹⁷ Such a comment may appear surprising, why would the chronicler openly admit that he is describing the history of somebody who died before he could achieve anything worthy? A key to this problem is the emphasis by the author that Mieszko was almost a certain candidate for the succession. It was he who "was superior to all his contemporaries both Hungarians and Poles in noble manners and beauty and with clear signs drew the attention of all and the hope that he would be a future ruler".⁴⁹⁸ It is worth noting that after the death of Bolesław II, the Hungarian king Ladislaus brought Mieszko up and "out of regard for his father, loved him like a son".⁴⁹⁹ Since Ladislaus himself was (after Bolesław I)

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, I, 29, p. 55, lines 2–4, Polish translation Gallus Anonymous, *Kronika*, pp. 52–53.

⁴⁹⁸ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 29, p. 55, lines 6–9.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 5–6.

in the “Chronicle” the second example of an ideal ruler depicted, the bringing up of the young Piast in his court must have borne fruit in his absorbing at least part of his virtues. As the chronicler writes: “which is why it pleased his uncle Władysław to bring the child back to Poland”.⁵⁰⁰ This is what he did “though evil lurked” (we understand, in Poland). This topic continues in the further part of the story leading to the death of Mieszko.

When he returned to Poland, the chronicler notes that Herman gave him as his wife a “Ruthenian”. This remark is important as Gallus is indicating that the uncle regarded the new arrival as somebody more than a mere ward. We find a similar gesture in the “Chronicle” on the occasion of the description of the history of Mieszko II, Bolesław the Brave during his lifetime had secured him a wife from the imperial house. The father of Mieszko II chose a wife for his son and successor, and since Władysław Herman also chose a wife for young Mieszko, according to the logic of history contained in the “Chronicle”, it means he regarded him as a son and successor. This appears to be confirmed by the description of the behaviour of the “beardless” Mieszko. Not only did he behave “so honourably, so wise”, but also “so in accord with the ancient customs of the ancestors”, that he “obtained the acceptance of the whole country due to [his] exceptional tendencies”.⁵⁰¹

Just after this description of the promise of young man’s character, the chronicler passes directly to an account of his death. The inclusion of a suitable paragraph strengthens the impression that Gallus was trying to present Bolesław’s son as Herman’s successor. The death of the boy was said to have caused the whole of Poland to grieve “like a mother after the death of her only son”.⁵⁰² All ranks were in mourning.⁵⁰³ This reminds us of Gallus’ description of the funeral of Bolesław the Brave in which the personification of Poland lamented the death of such an eminent son. The grief of Poland after the death of Mieszko is likened to that after the death of an “only son”. Let us note that in the solemn funeral of young Mieszko participated not only the mother of the deceased, but also bishops who revived here when she fainted with the pain she was suffering.⁵⁰⁴ It cannot be excluded that introduc-

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 9–10.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibidem*, lines 11–13.

⁵⁰² *Ibidem*, lines 18–19.

⁵⁰³ *Ibidem*, line 21—p. 56, line 4.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 4–7.

ing this picture the chronicler was deliberately making reference to his earlier metaphor of Poland as the mother of Bolesław. Until now there had not been a words in the “Chronicle” about the biological mother of Mieszko (the wife of Bolesław II), Gallus writes nothing of her accompanying Bolesław and his son into exile or of her being with Mieszko in Poland. The metaphorical treatment of the “mother” as the homeland⁵⁰⁵ which in extreme sadness was comforted by all the bishops additionally would emphasis the seriousness of the moment and its similarity to the situation after the death of Bolesław the Brave. It is probably not without cause that the author of the work compared the mourning and sadness after the death of Mieszko with that which one might expect after the death of rulers, both Christian as well as barbarian.⁵⁰⁶ By this means he finally removes all doubt—Mieszko was almost equal to his forebears not only in deeds and virtues, but through them also in his dignity clearly perceived and valued by his countrymen. He was—due to his own virtues and the decision of Władysław Herman—almost a ruler, and his virtues were able to overcome the disapproval of the Poles concerning his father. This is an extremely important point. It means that in the “Chronicle” there was very great emphasis placed on the unity of the dynasty ruling Poland. Even if Bolesław II had been deprived of power due to a lack of a predisposition to exercise it properly, it was his son if he had one that could be regarded as the most suitable candidate for a ruler.

At the same time the person of Mieszko son of Bolesław (Bolesławowic) together with his father, Bolesław II, introduce an important idea concerning the nature of royal power. This appears earlier in the first book of the “Chronicle”, but was not so clearly and unequivocally expressed earlier. An initial condition of exercising rule over Poland—but only an initial condition—was to belong to the Piast dynasty. Nothing was able to change this fact. When somebody removed a Piast from power by violence, they were committing an injustice.⁵⁰⁷ Bolesław the Bold did not know how to exercise his power properly, the chronicler documents this repeatedly and unequivocally. Nevertheless, those who drove him from the country had “done him an injustice” and even his trusted courtiers feared revenge from Mieszko against those

⁵⁰⁵ See A.F. Grabski, *Z zagadnień genezy*, pp. 59–60; Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, p. 156.

⁵⁰⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 29, p. 56, lines 7–10.

⁵⁰⁷ See K. Skwierczyński, *Recepcja idei gregoriańskich*, p. 132.

guilty of participation in this act.⁵⁰⁸ The chronicler does not condemn those who poisoned the king's son, though he writes of the pain of the whole country on account of the death of the prince. The conduct of the killers was understandable though in its results damaging.⁵⁰⁹ In the final analysis the pair, Bolesław and Mieszko served the chronicler to emphasise the source of royal power (already defined in the narrative on Siemowit), which was more important than belonging to the royal dynasty, the personal qualifications of a specific individual. Here their assessment was not made just by the closest relations as in the case of Władysław Herman and Mieszko Bolesławowic. Above all it was done by all the citizens, who could express an opinion on the virtues of Mieszko, or who could lead to the loss of authority, as had happened earlier in the case of his father. Their opinions had a decisive effect on the fate of the ruler.

Władysław Herman and the Shadow of Bolesław Wrymouth

The Miraculous conception of Bolesław

On reaching in his first book the history of Władysław Herman, Gallus Anonymous unequivocally emphasised that he would present it from the point of view of the basic aim of his work, portraying the miraculous birth of Bolesław Wrymouth. This aim, as we shall see below, he actually fulfilled twice, giving two different versions of events.

The Miraculous Conception—main version The description of the circumstances accompanying the birth of Bolesław opens with an account of the efforts which the royal pair Władysław and Judith made to entreat God to give them a son (by fasts, prayers, alms for the poor). They wanted an heir who “would fear God, raise up the Holy Church, exercise justice and who would rule Poland for the glory of God and the salvation of the people”.⁵¹⁰ The chronicler had already created such a narrative devoted to Bolesław the Brave whose authority, manner and scope of exercising power were closely related to religious aims, who was a devoted son of the Church. There however Gallus' charac-

⁵⁰⁸ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 29, p. 55, lines 15–16.

⁵⁰⁹ In the opinion of E. Skibiński, *Biskup i monarcha*, p. 102, the manner of presentation of the circumstances of the death of Mieszko meant that “we can risk stating that [in the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymous—P.W.] the son paid for the sins of the father [...]”.

⁵¹⁰ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 30, p. 57, lines 7–9.

terization of the ruler was accompanied by emphasis on his martial prowess, which here is absent. This may have been due to the specific nature of the situation described in the “Chronicle”, the royal couple were entreating God for a gift, a miracle, since nature itself had failed to provide one. This would require a certain manner of looking at the rule of their future son, closely associated with the sacral sphere. Such a conclusion is supported by the analogies for the situation indicated by Gallus: the miracle that God performed for Abraham’s wife, Sarah and Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist. The sons which were the gift of God for these parents, Isaac and John, were both persons closely associated with the plan of Salvation. In referring to them, the chronicler describes the only possible nature of a son which a royal couple could ask of the Almighty.

Their pious acts alone however were not enough. Only the “Polish bishop” Fulco gave them valuable information. He advised them to turn with their request to Saint Gilles “who is in Gaul [...] where there is a land called Provence”.⁵¹¹ This saint had such influence on God that everyone who “places their pious trust in him and calls upon him” obtains that for which they ask.⁵¹² The royal pair were therefore advised therefore to make a “golden image of a boy” and send it with royal gifts to Saint Gilles. This is what the couple did.⁵¹³ A key role therefore in the finding of the best solution was played therefore by a clergyman, who with his advice “approaches” the royal pair.⁵¹⁴ The choice of the verb “accedere” seems here not to be devoid of meaning. Deriving from a primary meaning “enter/appear” it indicates the appearance of a person to those conducting a certain activity from outside the environment where it is being done. Bishop Fulco does not “advise” the royal pair as a person closely associated with them and with a permanent place in the royal court. A certain amount of time had to pass in the course of which Herman and Judith “incessanter” devoted themselves to their pious exercises and in which their future advisor “drew closer” to them. The origins of the journey to Saint-Gilles on the page of the “Chronicle” was therefore very complicated; despite all their personal piety the childless couple were unable to find a way which would assure them God’s acquiescence to their requests.

⁵¹¹ *Ibidem*, lines 15–18.

⁵¹² *Ibidem*, lines 18–20.

⁵¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 57, line 20—p. 58, line 4.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 58, line 10.

Only a chaplain from outside their circle gave them the “information that would be their salvation”.⁵¹⁵ He would not have done this however had it not been for the couple’s earlier practices over a long time.

In this place, the author applies a technique not met so far in his work, namely he cites a letter which Władysław and Judith were supposed to have sent to the abbot of the monastic house in Provence. Today this document is generally regarded as a forgery, but in this place it seems closely associated with the rank of the event which it concerned. It strengthened the believability of the narrative of the “Chronicle” since there is independent proof apart from the words of the chronicler that events happened as described in the form of a document. It therefore deserves close attention. It shows the reader a factor of exceptional importance for the efforts and which Gallus had not previously mentioned, monks. Already in their addressing words, the royal pair turn to the abbot who they had never met with expressions of exceptional honour: “Władysław by the grace of God duke of Poland and Judith his rightful wife, [send] the abbot of Saint Gilles and all his monks the most humble expressions of piety/devotion”.⁵¹⁶ Introducing those words, Gallus attempted to show the hierarchy of social order to which he (or perhaps his patrons) subscribed. In it the pious monks, close to the Saint occupied a higher social position than a duke. The latter if he wished to obtain their support had to admit that reality—just as Bolesław the Brave regarded bishops as his “lords”. It transpires that the sending of gifts to the saint who “through the privileges of piety surpasses in dignity”⁵¹⁷ [we assume above all other saints], was only part of the proper procedure to be adopted by the royal pair. They had also to “humbly beg” for the “holy prayer” of the monks as a “support for our own request” to the saint.⁵¹⁸ It is notable that in precisely this passage which is intended to provide verification of the description of events that we find Władysław and Judith portrayed as humble petitioners. Their own connection with the sacral sphere is once again shown as too slight that by themselves they could attain the benefits they sought without the aid of clergymen.

This thought only finds clear confirmation in the further part of the narrative. On reading the letter and accepting the gifts, the abbot

⁵¹⁵ “consilium salutare donans”, *ibidem*.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 8–10.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibidem*, line 11.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 57, lines 13–14.

together with the brethren of the monastery began a three-day fast connected with the saying of the litany and the prayers of intercession (“orationes”) begging the Almighty to “reward the piety of the faithful” in return for the gifts sent and promised.⁵¹⁹ The most important argument in this which the monks presented to God was not the benefit to the pious parents or their family. If God were to look favourably on the requests of the royal pair “the glory of His name would be spread among unknown peoples and the fame of his servant St Gilles would spread far and wide”.⁵²⁰ The monks had barely begun this task when Judith “in Poland was joyful at the conception of a son”, and the monks announced to the envoys that she was pregnant. The conception of a son for Władysław was therefore a miracle effected by God, for His glory and the fame of St Gilles at the request of the monks.

This version of the conception of Bolesław Wrymouth contains elements which correspond with the picture of the first intervention of God in the history of the dynasty of the Piasts: 1) messengers from the outside acting in close association with God’s intentions with regard to Piast—bishop Fulco bringing good advice to Władysław; 2) the prophecy of glory of the descendants of Piast realised due to the grace of God in the person of his son corresponds to the miraculous conception of the son of Władysław due to God’s intervention in the same way as the heroes of the Old Testament, chosen by God were conceived; 3) the efforts of the members of the dynasty themselves had the character of the initial conditions for the events that followed and attracted the attention of people closely associated with the sacral sphere, who obtained the grace of God for those who exercised piety. The text analysed here which ends the first book of the “Chronicle” defined the historical significance of the dynasty through a return to the situation at its beginnings. The Piast dynasty ruled by the will of God, but above all it had not lost its charisma until the time of the writing of the work. On the contrary, thanks to co-operation with the clergy, it had been confirmed. The representative of the royal family contemporary with the chronicler, like his father and his distant ancestor Siemowit, was still God’s chosen one.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibidem*, I, 31, p. 59, lines 4–6.

⁵²⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 6–8.

The Miraculous Conception—the version of the Epilogue of Book One
 In the versified “Epilogue” of the first book of Gallus’ chronicle, emphasis is placed on the circumstances of the conception of Władysław’s son: “Bolesław magnificent duke/born through a gift of God,/ who through the intercession of Gilles/received the reason for [his] conception”.⁵²¹ There then follows a relation which in its general outline conforms to the contents of the story in the main part of the “Chronicle”—the sending of rich gifts, including a golden figurine, to Provence, a three day fast by the monks and the announcement of the conception of Bolesław followed by the return of the envoys. Apart from those superficial similarities, there are a series of important differences between the two narratives. Firstly, the author does not here indicate that the royal couple had made any special efforts to obtain an heir. He merely states that “the parents without an heir were told/ to melt a pile of gold into a human shape”.⁵²² After that there is the recommendation that they do this without delay and promised the gift to God and that they should have “constant hope”.⁵²³ Later we are given an account of the events accompanying the sending of the gifts to St Gilles. The persons of the parents are overshadowed in this part of the story by the description of the act of presenting the gifts to the saint. This did not occur due to a lack of space, Gallus devoted four lines to describing the gifts,⁵²⁴ and omitted the names of Władysław and Judith which he introduced only at the end of the “Epilogue”, and even then it is only a pretext to say that the fathering of Bolesław by Duke Władysław was “as God willed”.⁵²⁵ The name of Judith appears only to introduce the biblical parallel (see below).

Among the important differences with regard to the story as recounted in the main part of the “Chronicle”, we note that the author does not make any mention of the person who gave the precious advice to the royal couple. We are struck however in the description of the arrival of the messengers and the miracle itself by the role played by Benedictines. It is they who receive the gifts, learn the request, begin a three-day fast and during its course Bolesław’s mother becomes preg-

⁵²¹ *Ibidem*, I, Epylogus, p. 4, lines 16–19.

⁵²² *Ibidem*, p. 4, line 19—p. 5, line 2.

⁵²³ *Ibidem*, p. 5, lines 3–6.

⁵²⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 11–14.

⁵²⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 16–17.

nant.⁵²⁶ Finally, in summing up Gallus states that “the child was born [...] in the way God wanted”.⁵²⁷ While therefore the advice earlier had been to send the gifts to the saint, and at the beginning of this part of the text the special value of his requests was stressed, later greater significance is given to the monks—and God. Finally the “Epilogue” contains a clear expression concerning the birth of Bolesław,⁵²⁸ while not dwelling on the details of his conception. In this context the author also indicated a circle of completely different Old Testament examples to which he relates the whole event. In the main text these were the stories of the birth of Isaac and John the Baptist, in the “Epilogue” it was the story of Judith who overcame Holophernes.⁵²⁹ This may be a distant parallel, but possible because of the name of the mother, Judith of Bohemia. For the chronicler it was an important one, because it was due to this that it could be said that just as the biblical Judith had “saved her people”, so Herman’s wife “bore a son/the defeater of enemies”.⁵³⁰ The complex of meanings associated with the help of biblical personages is completely different from that which was referred to in the main part of the “Chronicle”. There the sacral dimension of both the conception and the future of the duke were referred to. Here with an equally strong emphasis on the broader background of his birth, there are statements concerning above all knightly virtues as the model and destiny of Bolesław. In this context the omission of the person of Bishop Fulco as the advisor who encourages the donation of gifts to St Gilles gains added significance. In the second version of the story about Bolesław’s conception, neither the parents, nor even the clergy (with the significant exception of the monks) could have any influence on the destiny of the young duke conceived as the result of God’s will.

One episode recounted in two versions has a different significance in both of them. Since in the final editing of the “Chronicle” the “Epilogue” precedes the main part of the narrative in the first book, it gave a specific meaning to the whole work. In the foreground of the tale is that Wrymouth was born because of God’s will, as the result of a miracle and he became the defeater of his enemies—here we infer that not only his own, but of the Poles since parallels are drawn between

⁵²⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 19–21, 1–5.

⁵²⁷ *Ibidem*, line 17.

⁵²⁸ *Ibidem*, line 14.

⁵²⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 18–21.

⁵³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 6, lines 1–2.

his birth and the saving of her people by the Biblical Judith. This circle of meanings must due to the internal logic of the story encompass the whole past of the clan in the story which follows the “Epilogue”. By the same token the presentation, later in the work, of the story of the clan, in which the first significant event was the miracle in the hut of Piast, and the second the miraculous recovery of his sight by Mieszko followed by his baptism culminated in a third crucial event which was the miraculous conception of the child of Władysław and Judith. Just as Siemowit, when he became king overcame his enemies, and Mieszko defeated all his neighbours, so Bolesław will be “triumphant over his enemies”. In him all the most important characteristics of the dynasty are embodied: the close relationship between the fate of the ruler with the highest dimensions of the Christian sacral sphere and the dominating cult of chivalrous virtues. In him the fate of the dynasty was focussed.

For the reader of the first book who had not read the “Epilogue”, such a meaning of the past of the Piast dynasty would not have been so obvious.

The Gesta of Władysław Herman

The narrative of the first book of the “Chronicle” ends with a joyful vision, the pregnancy of the ruler’s wife and the future birth of an heir, the gift of God. The second book begins with the information of the date of birth of Bolesław, but the accompanying information about the death of his mother soon afterwards.⁵³¹ The author who mentioned the person of the duchess in passing in his description of the circumstances surrounding the birth of Bolesław writes of her here very favourably. He remarks that she performed pious acts with regard to paupers and prisoners, especially just before her death.⁵³² This included ransoming many Christians from slavery by the Jews,⁵³³ this was a topos serving to underline the concern of people possessing a fortune or holding a position of power for their fellow Christians.⁵³⁴ Among the slight information which Gallus gives us on women in his “Chronicle”, the only comparably favourable opinion is that he

⁵³¹ *Ibidem*, II, 1, p. 63, lines 10–11.

⁵³² *Ibidem*, lines 11–12.

⁵³³ *Ibidem*, lines 12–13.

⁵³⁴ See Stanisław Rosik, *Misje i oswobodzenie jeńców—od Cyryla i Metodego do Ottona z Bambergu*, [w:] *Curatores pauperum*, pp. 330–336.

expresses on the nameless wife of Bolesław I and Rycheza, the mother of Kazimierz the Restorer. The positive portrait of Judith of Bohemia is closely associated with the most important aim of the chronicler's efforts, the description of the glorious history of Bolesław Wrymouth beginning in the second book of his work. In this new situation he could not avoid mentioning his mother, in the same way as Gallus did not want with "naked words" pass by the history of Herman, the "parent of such a great child".⁵³⁵

It is perhaps a little surprising that the chronicler presents the second wife of Władysław Herman, Judith of Swabia, a little less schematically than his account of Judith of Bohemia, but with equal attention. He mentions her close relationship with Emperor Henry III, her earlier marriage with the Hungarian ruler Salomon and the fact that she bore Herman three daughters whose fate he briefly recounts.⁵³⁶ Let us add that Gallus beginning his account of the martial deeds of Herman emphasized that he began the war with the Pomeranians "joined by a marital union with the Emperor of the Romans".⁵³⁷ From the point of view of the fate of Bolesław these statements had no significance, as in the case of the relationship of Herman with the imperial house. They play an important role in the presentation of the history of the whole dynasty. The reign of Władysław, coming after the somewhat inglorious rule of Bolesław II, profited much due to this measure and the narrative of the birth of Bolesław gained a special significance. Herman, after the reprehensible behaviour of his brother returned his dynasty to its close relationship with God and His representatives, the clergy. Moreover his marriage with a woman from the imperial family once again brought his dynasty into the circle of the political elite of the Christian world of that time, just as in the days of Bolesław I who obtained the hand of the emperor's niece for Mieszko II.

The indication by Gallus of the fact that Władysław undertook the war with the Pomeranians at the time of his union with Judith of Swabia seems to show the close relationship between the prestige of the marital union and the Polish ruler's political significance. What is more this was the only time when he completely vanquished the Pomeranians

⁵³⁵ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 1, p. 64, lines 2–4.

⁵³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 63, line 15—p. 64, line 2.

⁵³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 64, lines 4–5.

and brought their territory into submission to him.⁵³⁸ It is here in this place however that the story of the glory of Władysław Herman ends. He failed to honour the obligations of a ruler and good Christian, for which “God Almighty punished him”.⁵³⁹ When the Pomeranians expelled the royal officials, Herman “mindful of the damage done to him and with a strong force entered their lands before Lent and here spent much of the period of Lenten fasting”.⁵⁴⁰ He did not spend the whole holy period in these lands, though “he observed the greater part of the fast” there and looted during this time part of the territory of the pagans. When he returned he was attacked by the Pomeranians and although he held the battleground, it was unclear whether the battle had been a greater disaster for the pagans or the Christians.⁵⁴¹ The further remarks of Gallus do not leave any doubt. This had happened because God had punished those “who had disregarded the observance of Lent so that they could correct the error of their ways, as had been revealed by some of those who were saved from this danger”.⁵⁴² The defeat of Herman on such a scale recalls the conflict between Bolesław the Brave with the Kievan ruler, during which the warriors of the latter did not respect the preparations of the Poles for the celebration of a holy day and brought defeat on their ruler.⁵⁴³

Gallus seems to be suggesting that at least part of the participants in the battle drew the right conclusions from its course. When some of their companions encouraged them to engage in further fighting, “the arguments for a retreat won”, both with regard for the fact that the victory was a “poor one accompanied by great damage”, as well as the fact that “the Feast of the Resurrection was approaching”.⁵⁴⁴ Fighting in the course of this holy day would mean the repetition of the dangerous situation. It seems however that in the eyes of the chronicler, Władysław did not see things the same way. He undertook his next expedition against the Pomeranians “about the Feast of St Michael”.⁵⁴⁵

⁵³⁸ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 1, p. 64, line 6—p. 65, line 1; the description of the battles with the Pomeranians and the conquest of their country, *ibidem*, p. 64, line 5—p. 65, line 7.

⁵³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 66, line 9.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, II, 2, p. 65, lines 13–15.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibidem*, II, 2, p. 66, lines 8–9; on this campaign against the Pomeranians, *ibidem*, p. 65, line 12—p. 66, line 9.

⁵⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 66, lines 9–12.

⁵⁴³ See above, pp. 202–203.

⁵⁴⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 2, p. 66, lines 12–14.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, II, 3, p. 66, line 16—p. 67, line 1.

Here too, despite the help of the Czechs, he met defeat and this was not due to the military superiority of the Pomeranians. When his army besieged Nakłó they were afflicted by “unprecedented wonders” which “every night haunted the armed men who prepared themselves as for the fight with an enemy”.⁵⁴⁶ The final result of the whole expedition was that “they achieved nothing, nor did they find war” and returned to their own country.⁵⁴⁷

Crucial for the understanding of this fragment is the use by Gallus of the word “mirabilia” to describe the strange events at Nakłó. In the “Chronicle” all supernatural phenomena had their origin had their origin with God,⁵⁴⁸ in this place however the author does not indicate such a direct dependence. The term “wonders” here had a very indefinite character and origin and the word itself in Medieval Latin could indicate events which were simply strange. No less interesting is the inability of the Poles to determine what this “strangeness” consisted of. We met a similar situation twice in the “Chronicle” during clear examples of divine intervention in the course of history. In the first case it occurred in the hut of Piast when the latter could not understand the prophecies of the wanderers, the second time was during the birthday feast of Mieszko when the consellers of Siemowit were unable to fully comprehend the significance of the event. Was the chronicler in using the word “mirabilia” suggesting that God was intervening on behalf of the pagans? This does not seem totally impossible, the text of the “Chronicle” does not however resolve this question unequivocally.

It is possible that in the intention of the chronicler here, just as in the case of the description of Bolesław the Bold, there was here too barely veiled irony. How are we to understand the declaration of Gallus at the beginning of this story about Herman that he wanted to clothe it with “a certain ornament of chivalric valour”⁵⁴⁹ in relation to these events? This sounds exceptionally equivocal in relation to the chronicler’s conclusion concerning his activities in Pomerania: “and thus the Pomeranians had their pride against Poland raised up”.⁵⁵⁰ Such a representation of Herman’s wars against the Pomeranians was of

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 66, lines 1–3.

⁵⁴⁷ Description of the campaign: *ibidem*, p. 65, line 16—p. 67, line 11.

⁵⁴⁸ It is enough to recall the “mira” which were “magnalia Dei” in the hut of Piast (*ibidem*, I, 2, p. 10, lines 19–20), or the healing of Mieszko of his blindness (*ibidem*, I, 4, p. 14, lines 16–18).

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, II, 1, p. 64, line 2–4.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, II, 3, p. 67, line 12.

pragmatic significance. They were the background for the later glorious exploits of Bolesław III. It is no accident that after indicating the increasing pride of the Pomeranians, the chronicler stated that “they were deprived of it by the child of Mars who our pen will shortly be describing”.⁵⁵¹ The close relationship between the telling of the story of Herman and the later narration about Wrymouth is signalled by the unexpected introduction into the narrative about the Pomeranian wars of one of Herman’s mighty courtiers, Sieciech “who was at that time the leader of the army” and who was to create officials to manage the conquered province.⁵⁵² This is the same man, who as the enemy of Herman’s sons will play later a key role in the history of Bolesław Wrymouth’s ascension to power. In the light of the later characterisation of Sieciech, it was not without significance that in constructing his story of Herman, it was on him that the chronicler places the blame for nominating the wrong people as officials in Pomerania, the mutiny against whom was to lead to the loss of the province.⁵⁵³

The chronicler’s narrative about Bolesław’s father is characterised by a certain lack of consistency. A number of diverse elements were joined together with an unclear aim. These include the glorification of Władysław Herman, but the presentation of his defeats in Pomerania as divine punishment, the lauding of the dignity of the origin of Judith of Swabia, the stepmother of the hero of the “Chronicle” who was later accused in rather unclear language of plotting against Wrymouth and the emphasis on the virtue of Bolesław’s mother, Judith of Bohemia. Maybe an explanation of this should be sought in the words of the “Epilogue” of the second book of Gallus’ work which precedes the story of Herman. The chronicler announces that “we will add, if because of a lack of knowledge we have said less”.⁵⁵⁴ If the author intended to “add” something, it obviously is to something he had already written. This could apply to the story of Herman and his family which is spread on the pages of both the first (the birth of Bolesław III) and the second book. The observed inconsistencies lead us to the suggestion that the chronicler starting work on the second book of the “Chronicle” could have based it on an adaptation of the stories of informants which were not always in accord with each other. He therefore was faced with the difficult task of matching a story—whatever its source was—which was

⁵⁵¹ *Ibidem*, line 13.

⁵⁵² *Ibidem*, II, 1, p. 65, lines 9–10.

⁵⁵³ *Ibidem*, lines 9–11.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, II, Epylogus, p. 63, line 6.

more favourable to Herman and Judith of Swabia with the requirement of writing a story which placed Bolesław III in a favourable light. In the end, due to a series of narrative devices the chronicler made the story of Herman into a precursor of the history of his son Bolesław. In this however an additional message emerges from this pragmatic narrative layer: the Piasts should co-operate in a suitable manner not only with God but also the emperor (the marriage with Judith of Swabia caused the only victorious attack of Herman against Pomeranians). This corresponds to the chronicler's vision of the reign of both Bolesław the Brave as well as Kazimierz the Restorer. Maybe it was this which was codified in the original stories of the deeds of Herman.

The first part of the narrative of Gallus Anonymous begins with miraculous signs and events leading to the accession to royal power by the descendants of Piast and culminates in the vision of another miracle, the conception of Bolesław III. In it, the history of the royal dynasty and its subject people has not, however, come full circle. Piast differs from Władysław Herman, the predecessor of the family embodied other values than those represented by the father of Wrymouth. Although it would be premature to summarise here the vision of the dynastic tradition recorded in by the "Chronicler", this association of apparent similarities and differences between the situation of both members of the clan is notable. Gallus, the master not only of form, but also content avoided the repetition of both the same phrases and meanings. Under his pen, the dynastic tradition of the Piasts sparkles in many colours, in each of the members of the dynasty appear different characteristics of the ideal ruler. The most important characteristic of each of the Piast rulers however was concern for the well-being of the country and people under his care. The begetting of an heir is important, but not as important as the proper exercise of power. It is no accident that the genealogical details in the history of the family are limited to information about the accession to power and deaths within the dynasty, there is scant information on wives and sons who did not accede to power in Poland. The tradition of the family in the light of the first book of Gallus' "Chronicle" concerning the past from the point of view of the author placed particular emphasis on people worthy of becoming rulers. We will however leave a broader discussion of this for later, for we first have to pose the question about the later fate of this idea. Did the chronicler see the contemporary history of the dynasty, of Bolesław III Wrymouth in the same way? Was this idea so common among Poles that he could express it directly in a work glorifying the acts of the sole ruler of Poland?

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EMBODIMENT OF TRADITION? BOLESŁAW III WRYMOUTH IN THE “CHRONICLE” OF GALLUS ANONYMOUS

The inclusion in our discussions of elements of history which were almost contemporary with the writing of the Chronicle of Gallus Anonymous can also be regarded as falling within the accepted methodological framework of this enquiry. Can they be regarded as “tradition”? Edward A. Shils considers that only the operation of a certain phenomenon over two to three generations qualifies it for the use of the term “tradition”. Everything that goes on for less than that is at the most a “fashion”.¹ The length of time something lasts is in our opinion a secondary consideration compared with the more important characteristic which is the intended repeatability of the elements of the narration and their fulfilling of the function of a carrier of values. This is especially so when in our case these values could be consistent with those which were transmitted by the narratives of all the earlier members of the Piast family. Gallus Anonymous utilised anecdotes concerning Bolesław III which had been circulating for some time and made them available for repetition among his lay audience. What is more important, he deliberately incorporated Bolesław’s story into the tradition of the whole family, indeed he emphasised that through the perspective of the history of the currently reigning Piast, he would describe the history of his forebears. Omitting here one element of a communication constructed in such a manner would be to distort its meaning. We would be ignoring one of the basic functions of traditions which is the legitimisation of the existing order of the world of contemporary times by what they transmit and create at the same time. To do so would also obscure an important element of the practice of the medieval historiographer, the past does not form a subject suitable for the pen of the chronicler as a result of it being the past, but as a result of its use in the present.² If Gallus Anonymous decided to

¹ Edward Albert Shils, *Tradition*, London 1981, p. 15.

² See J. Coleman, *Ancient*, pp. 299–300.

link a picture of the latter to his story of the history of the Piasts, we must take it into account in our search for the manner in which his contemporaries understood the sense of the earlier stories.

1. THE FRUITFUL BRANCH OF THE PIAST FAMILY TREE

Bolesław and Zbigniew

The Rebellion of Zbigniew against his father

Writing of the political events which brought Bolesław to the throne, Gallus suggested that he encountered certain problems. He wrote: “in order that it may not seem that we are punishing a joyful subject by disembowelling,³ it is better to suffer the hate/distaste of bad people than the dishonour of not telling the full [story]”.⁴ This somewhat puzzling statement can easily be explained, the story will not concern only Bolesław, but also Zbigniew, Herman’s other son. The chronicler foresees that this decision might meet with some disapproval from his readers: “Let it not seem to be anyone’s tactlessness to any degree, if the son of a concubine is introduced into this story together with the rightful [one]”.⁵ In order to justify introducing into the pages of his work Zbigniew, the illegitimate son of Władysław, the chronicler refers to the Bible. In the “most early of all the histories”, that is the Book of Genesis, is recorded the two sons of Abraham,⁶ “both of them without doubt [had been] conceived from the seed of the patriarch, but did not have equal right to the inheritance”.⁷ In this way Gallus defends himself against the possibility of an accusation that he regarded Zbigniew as Bolesław’s equal, and at the same time he returns to the motive of the comparability of Isaac (the younger so, but born of the legal wife of Abraham) and Bolesław III Wrymouth.

It is no accident that in beginning the next chapter of his work with a characterisation of Zbigniew, he concentrates on his illegitimate origins: “Zbigniew [conceived] by duke Władysław, born of a

³ This is the literal meaning of the verb “exenterare” used by Gallus, see Charles du Fresne du Cange, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis, conditum a Carolo Dufresne, domino Du Cange, auctum a monachis ordinis S. Benedicti cum supplementis*, vol. 2, Parisiis 1843, p. 147.

⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 3, p. 67, lines 13–15.

⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 15–17.

⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 17–18.

⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 18–20.

concubine”.⁸ The reader, to whom Gallus had demonstrated the Biblical comparison, received a clear indicator interpreting the fate of Zbigniew. What however is interesting is that this is not treated as a comparison which is unambiguously negative in meaning for the oldest son of Herman. Ismael, the son of Hagar, was—it is true—put aside by Abraham and deprived of his inheritance when he mocked the young Isaac. God however promised Hagar that he would make of her son a “great nation”.⁹ Gallus played down, indeed omitted, in his relation of the story the guilt of Ismael; he wrote that the brothers were divided by “mutual disagreements”.¹⁰ Although therefore the reader had already been warned that a conflict would break out between the two brothers, Herman’s sons, the chronicler seems to suspend judgment on who was at fault. Especially in that the description of the beginnings of Zbigniew’s actions is not to any degree unfavourable to him, indeed it seems to follow Biblical patterns. When he reached maturity he was sent to Cracow “to writings”,¹¹ presumably in the meaning of receiving an education.¹² Next his “stepmother” sent him to Saxony, to a convent “to be schooled”.¹³ In the same way he found himself like the Biblical Ismael “in the desert”, because he was among others, in both the sense of language and gender, and this was because of his stepmother (in the same way as Abraham had sent Ismael into the desert because of Sarah).

Having pictured the situation of Zbigniew in this way, the chronicler returns to events in Poland. Here the voivode Sieciech, “a man without doubt wise, noble and handsome”, carried out many cruel and unbearable acts “blinded by greed”.¹⁴ Let us note that Sieciech is not portrayed as a totally evil person, on the contrary he had many virtues. At some time however he was overcome by a certain fault which overshadowed all his good characteristics. Did not the chronicler

⁸ *Ibidem*, II, 4, p. 68, line 2. Roman Grodecki, *Zbigniew książę Polski*, [in:] *Studja staropolskie. Księga ku czci Aleksandra Brücknera*, Cracow 1928, pp. 73, 76–81, showed that, even if Zbigniew had come from an illegal marital union of Herman, he was nevertheless regarded by many as having rights to the patrimony of his father.

⁹ *Gen.*, 21.

¹⁰ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 3, p. 67, line 18.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, II, 4, p. 68, line 3.

¹² As already suggested by Jerzy Dowiat, *Kształcenia umysłowe synów książęcych i możnowładczych w Polsce i niektórych krajach sąsiednich w X–XII w.*, [in:] *Polska w świecie*, p. 85.

¹³ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 4, p. 68 line 4.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 5–7.

earlier portray Bolesław the Brave in a similar manner? The greed of Sieciech was also manifested in a specific manner. According to Galus: “some [people] he sold under any pretext, he drove others from their homeland, placing the lowly-born over the nobles”.¹⁵ Apart from “selling” people (we understand into slavery), the other misdeeds are not related to monetary gain. The chronicler seems to be indicating greed for another kind of benefits. He is said to have forced inhabitants of the country into exile—but not those of low origins. Later on we learn that the exiles “on the advice of Duke Bretislav gathered in Bohemia” and there they engaged in political activity which was of a type characteristic of the elite (see below). The persecution therefore affected only the “nobles” which would be connected with the accusation of the chronicler at the end of the passage that Sieciech had set the lowly born above them. His “greed” concerned therefore, not material things, but the power and prestige belonging to the elite.

The exiles and refugees terrified at the possibility of further persecution¹⁶ gathered in Bohemia and “with the aid of a Czech trick [...] deceitfully released Zbigniew from the convent”.¹⁷ Only when he was among them,¹⁸ did they send a letter to Magnus, the comes of Wrocław.¹⁹ The exiles expressed their sympathy for him, that although he had the title of a nobleman, it was more of a burden to him than to his glory, since he did all the hard work but gained no credit for it. This was, they stressed, the fault of Sieciech whose collaborators Magnus was afraid to command. In this way, the exiles argued, the comes bore the “yoke of slavehood”. If he wished to rid himself of it, he should hasten to extend his protection over Zbigniew. The text of the letter and the previous words of the chronicler give this whole affair the appearance of a conflict between members of the elite. This impression is strengthened by the fact that Magnus in taking a decision what to do did not turn to his ruler, but the “elders”. He himself was uncertain what to do, but their decision finally persuaded him to accept the “boy”.²⁰

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 7–8.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 9–10

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, line 12—p. 69, line 1.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 69, line 1.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 3–9.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 10–12.

The royal family is overshadowed by these events. This is probably no accident, since the narrative unfolds on two levels. The first is the conflict among the elite, the second, the division within the ruling family. Just as Zbigniew had been driven out of Poland by his stepmother, so Sieciech had expelled the aristocracy. For a long time Herman's son had not been involved in any intrigues which the exiles had been planning. His person was, however, a key part of their plans, and he did not resist them. Władysław Herman himself is also represented by the chronicler as standing aloof from all these events. When Magnus finally agreed to accept Zbigniew "Władysław, his father, was saddened as a result of this event, but Sieciech and the queen were even more worried".²¹ The behaviour of Herman in this story is surprising. Sieciech and the queen had good reason to be perturbed, for the arrival of Zbigniew with the exiles in Poland meant a reversal of their decisions. What about Władysław however? The answer may be found in the remarks of the chronicler that the arrival of Zbigniew in Wrocław "was all on the advice of the Czech duke, who gladly sowed the seeds of dissent among the Poles".²² The narrative counterbalance to his scheming might have been the care of Władysław to maintain the unity of his kingdom. This suspicion is confirmed in the later words of the chronicler. Herman sent a delegation to Magnus and the Wrocław elite with a question "what it means that they welcomed the exiles and Zbigniew without his father's agreement, and whether they wanted to be rebels or obey him".²³ In the narration of the chronicler, for Herman the problem lay therefore not directly in what had already happened, but that it had happened "sine patris imperio". He does not address this question to the new arrivals, nor his son, but to his subjects in Wrocław, for their disobedience had the appearance of a rebellion. In this context the answer of the citizens of Wrocław is significant. In their first words they deny the charge, they assert that they had not "betrayed their homeland to the Czechs or any foreign nations".²⁴ On the contrary, they "wished to be true to their lord prince and his rightful

²¹ *Ibidem*, lines 13–14.

²² *Ibidem*, lines 9–10.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 70, lines 2–4.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 4–5.

son Bolesław in all and through all [things]”.²⁵ They only wished—the chronicler says—to resist the misdeeds of Sieciech.²⁶

Until that moment, Władysław Herman and, it is interesting to note, Bolesław the legitimate son, appear as defenders of the unity of the country, but Gallus Anonymous ascribes the same motives to the people of Wrocław standing beside Zbigniew. He is silent about the intention of the “son of a concubine”. The situation changes when the angered Władysław together with Sieciech call upon the help of Władysław, king of Hungary and Bretyslav, the Bohemian king. They were to gain from this “more dishonour and damage than glory and profit”.²⁷ The Hungarian king even wanted to take Sieciech away in chains, but the latter escaped, taking the small Bolesław with him. The chronicler does not provide any explanation of this episode, though it is worth noting that its introduction freed him from depicting Bolesław Wrymouth in the role of a rebel against his father on the side of Sieciech.²⁸ Władysław Herman finally had to declare a truce, though he was against it. He could not however continue the conflict since “his men did not want to fight against their own kind”.²⁹ The only condition of the truce which the chronicler gives us was that Zbigniew should be recognized as “his first son”.³⁰

At this point, the structure of the narrative undergoes a significant change in comparison to the earlier part of the story. The disagreement within the ranks of the elite is pushed into the background, and in the foreground is now the conflict within the royal family, between father and son, with the significant participation of Sieciech. It was he, who returning from central Poland, who by deceit managed to get the elite on Władysław’s side, as a result of which he was able to

²⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 6–8.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 8–9. In this situation it seems that the Z. Dalewski’s suspicion (*Ibid.*, *Rytuał i polityka*, pp. 24–25), based on a possible association of the “acceptance” of the duke’s son and the ceremonial ingress of rulers, that Gallus wanted to indicate that the citizens of Wrocław had accepted Zbigniew “as their ruler” (*ibidem*, p. 24) were an overinterpretation.

²⁷ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 4, p. 70, lines 15–16.

²⁸ Tadeusz Wojciechowski, and after him Roman Grodecki (*Zbigniew książę Polski*, p. 84), thought that the Hungarian king was taking revenge for the harm done to Bolesław the Bold and his son Mieszko. If that was the case, and scholars have not come to any agreement, this did not have any effect on the contents of the narrative of Gallus Anonymous.

²⁹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, p. 71, line 4.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, line 5.

besiege Wrocław. In the light of this, Zbigniew, uncertain of his safety fled to Kruszwica. Until that moment, Herman's elder son had been presented as a positive hero, as the leader of a movement against the abuses of power of Sieciech. The battle of Kruszwica however was to change that picture. The problem was that Zbigniew not only relied on the help of the warriors of Kruszwica, but also called upon the aid of "many pagans".³¹ The introduction of this passing remark into Gallus' narrative was probably no accident. An indicator of this is that when the chronicler writes of the end of the battle he writes that the victorious Władysław did not take revenge on the defeated, because he suspected that the only result of that would be an union between Zbigniew and the pagans or "foreign people", which he regarded as "a greater danger".³² The author had earlier at the beginning of his narrative presented the initiative in almost a positive light, now he indicated the reason for its defeat, the entering into an alliance with foreigners, and in addition pagans, against one's own people. It should be remembered that the battle of Kruszwica was not won by the military superiority of Władysław Herman. When Zbigniew and his army sallied out from the stronghold to fight with his father "the just Judge was to choose between father and son".³³ The battle was like a trial by ordeal and the guilt of Zbigniew was the reason why he was defeated.

The union with the pagans was however only one of the reasons why Herman's elder son met with defeat. In the brief description of the nature of the conflict an important indicator of guilt, and thus the reason for God's punishment was the moral issue that: "there was a conflict worse than civil war, since son against father and brother against brother treacherously lifted their weapons".³⁴ The sequencing of the rhetoric shows clearly that it was Zbigniew the author had in mind who had "arma nefanda tulit". Here there was no longer any mention of the problem of Sieciech. Working within the logic of the story as Gallus presents it, the reader may ask why God did not grant Herman a victory during the first siege of Wrocław. The whole nature of the conflict however was changed by the way the chronicler recounted it. From a story of strife within the ranks of the elite, it was transformed into a tale of a struggle within the royal family itself. It was no accident

³¹ *Ibidem*, II, 5, p. 72, line 2.

³² *Ibidem*, lines 16–18.

³³ *Ibidem*, line 4.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 5–6.

that Gallus wrote that it was precisely in the fields outside Kruszwica: “there, I think, poor Zbigniew deserved what happened in the future as the results of the curse of his father”.³⁵ The perfect tense which Gallus uses throughout to refer to the battle show that the results of this curse was not the outcome of the battle itself, but the chronicler connects them with the future conflict between Zbigniew and Bolesław,³⁶ which we will refer to later below.

The causes of the first defeat of Zbigniew in the “Chronicle” were therefore complex. He was not necessarily destined to lose while he was represented as acting against his father’s advisor, but his act became “criminal” when he turned against Herman himself and brought foreign, and in addition pagan, allies to Poland to fight against Poles. Then God in his grace supported Władysław and assured him victory.³⁷ Even in this situation, however, the chronicler did not criticize the rebel completely. Above all he wrote not of deliberately evil actions, but of his “youthful stupidity”, which his father did not even want to “revenge”.³⁸ In the end Herman imprisoned his son, but did not submit him to any corporal punishment as Zbigniew had initially feared.³⁹ The ambiguity of the events, which as described were and at the same time were not treachery, was maintained. This provides the background which makes the events connected with Zbigniew’s later release from captivity more believable. During the consecration of the Gniezno cathedral, he obtained his father’s mercy as the result of the pleas of the bishops and other high ranking persons.⁴⁰ The reader of this story might find it difficult to understand why members of the elite, especially the ecclesiastical hierarchy would stand behind a rebel and traitor. The situation was however presented in a different light. Their request was possible and was heard because Zbigniew’s misdeeds were the result of his own lack of awareness rather than ill will. Maybe a form of counterpoint, but also explanation of these pleas was the miracle which is then related, caused by St Wojciech on the day before the consecration.⁴¹ There was a certain “Polish stronghold” that had

³⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 6–7.

³⁶ Cf. Elżbieta Kowalczyk-Heyman, *Zbigniew i Bolesław—czytanie Anonima zwanego Gallem*, [in:] *Causa creandi*, pp. 261–262.

³⁷ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 5, p. 72, lines 8–10.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 16–17.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 71, line 12.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 73 lines 1–3.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, II, 6, p. 73, lines 5–19.

been attacked by the Pomeranians, who with the help of “certain traitors” managed to get onto the ramparts in the middle of the night. The sleeping inhabitants were saved from death by God “who eternally watches over us and never sleeps”. He placed the sleepers under the care of “his knight Wojciech”, who appeared to the pagans in the form of a warrior on a white horse and who with a drawn sword chased them from the walls. Not even treachery was a threat to the Poles since they were being watched over by God and St Wojciech (who here in the times of the conflict between Bolesław III and the Pomeranians embodied the ideal of a “holy warrior”).⁴²

The chronicler’s deliberate juxtaposition of this miracle and the freeing of Zbigniew from prison leads us to seek common elements in both situations. Again the freed man is under the shadow of his treacherous plotting against his own people. It was him after all that called in the pagans in his cause, and it was him that in the end God punished. On the one hand therefore, the mention of the miracle showed that the bishops’ pleas for leniency were not unwise (for the Poles were under the special protection of God), while on the other Herman’s son, despite everything, could be qualified as a traitor.

⁴² The transformation of Wojciech, a bishop and missionary into a warrior was connected with a specific moment of the story, the ceremony of the consecration of a cathedral dedicated to him. Christopher Holdsworth, ‘An Airier Aristocracy: The Saints at War,’ “Transactions of the Royal Historical Society”, seria 6, 7 (1997), pp. 106–107 drew attention to the connection between local liturgical customs and the choice of a warrior-saint referred to in the work of Orderic Vitalis. Their participation in somebody’s protection was connected with prayers offered to that saint, while the protection of a town by the saint was connected with the presence of his relics in the threatened centre (*ibidem*, pp. 115–117). Looking at the “Chronicle” of Gallus from the point of view of these conclusions, in the episode under discussion here, we see the results of the functioning of the notion of all Poles being a single community under the protection of St Wojciech. Prayers offered to him at the consecration of a cathedral, relics laid there, by the grace of God summoned his help at a moment of danger not to that specific location where those sacral activities took place, but Poland as a whole. At the same time this specific part of Gallus’ “Chronicle” indicates the linking of the cult of Wojciech with the military conquest of the pagan Pomeranians by the Poles. In the context of the conflict between Christian and pagan, the protection of the warrior-saint over a certain town was a quite common phenomenon in the Middle Ages, see František Graus, *Der Heilige als Schlachtenhelfer—zur Nationalisierung einer Wundererzählung in der mittelalterlichen Chronistik*, [in:] *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann zum 65. Geburtstag*, Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke, Reinhard Wenskus eds, Sigmaringen 1977, p. 334, as was the protection of a saint for “his” people during a war, *ibidem*, pp. 338, 341–342. The connection between both aspects in the “Chronicle” emphasizes the “national” dimension of Wojciech’s intervention.

Zbigniew and Bolesław as Allies

The return of Zbigniew to his father's grace did not mean a reappearance of the state before his homecoming to Poland. Herman honoured the word he had given and treated his son born of a concubine as having equal rights to Bolesław. He entrusted the command of his armies during an expedition to Pomerania to both sons.⁴³ It is significant that the chronicler does not wish to give many details of that expedition. This is because Władysław's sons did not carry out the task that had been entrusted them and turned back. They opposed the will of their father, though the chronicler is careful to obscure that fact by adding "I do not know by what advice they were motivated".⁴⁴ In this way he creates the impression that this was not an entirely independent decision, that they had succumbed to somebody else's suggestions. The responsibility for these acts is thus placed on the advisors and not Władysław's sons. The actions of the latter however had a form similar to the first stage of the rebellion of Zbigniew, in which members of the elite and advisors—here not mentioned—were the motors of the events.

These events were described exceptionally laconically. The father immediately decided to divide the kingdom between his sons, leaving in his hands only the "sedes regni principales".⁴⁵ Again the chronicler avoids giving more information by writing "I do not know what he was suspecting".⁴⁶ He is however suggesting that in dividing the kingdom Władysław was acting entirely on the basis of his own suspicions, but it is the reader who is left to conclude that these suspicions concerned his fear of the rebellion of his sons against him. The chronicler seems to be careful to remove suspicion that the young Bolesław was guilty of taking part in a rebellion like the one in Wrocław earlier. Although he emphasizes in this case the role of advisors in the actions of the two sons, a crucial fact is the way he describes the behaviour of Władysław. He is said to have taken his decision without having any specific reasons. In the narrative about the first rebellion, the conflict was preceded by an exchange of correspondence with the citizens of Wrocław, defining the positions of both sides. The difference is significant because it means that there were no clear reasons to speak of

⁴³ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 7, p. 74, lines 3–4.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, line 5.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, line 8.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, line 6.

a rebellion by his sons, or of any attempt to force their father to do anything. In Gallus' narrative it is Władysław who himself takes the decision without any clearly stated reasons. In this way there are no analogies between the behaviour of Zbigniew in the Wrocław-Kruszwica rebellion and the half-brothers after the Pomeranian expedition.

In the opinion of the chronicler however, such a presentation was not enough. He therefore applies a second means of making the story more believable, he cites the speech of one of the participants, in this case Herman. The latter was to have justified the division of the kingdom by saying, "it is in my hands, as an old and ill man, to divide the kingdom between them [...]".⁴⁷ Here chronicler justifies the ruler's decision by putting words into his mouth indicating that it was what he had to do, independently of the behaviour of his sons. The principles of justice (which the rebellion of his sons would have violated) had been preserved. Connecting the various elements of the story with what Władysław is reported to have said, the reader could get the impression that the sons returned to their father on somebody's advice, maybe perhaps worried by the state of his health and the latter, by now old and ill, decided to transfer the royal power to them, maybe suspecting that he is not able to exercise it himself any longer. This is the interpretation that Gallus appears to have consistently upheld in other parts of his work, writing, for example, that Herman sent Sieciech on a military expedition to Moravia, which Bolesław also joined because Herman himself was "weighed down by his age and infirmity".⁴⁸

The author however did not wish to say precisely which part of the country each of the sons received. He merely stated that listing them would be too difficult for him and it would not be beneficial for his reader to hear much of this.⁴⁹ For our investigations, the extra-textual implications of this have little significance. What is more important for us is that the chronicler concentrated his attention on the accompanying statements of Herman concerning the present, and especially the future of the country.

These defined the ideal form of ruler exercised by a duke, an ideal that is completely different from that known from the first book of

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, II, 8, p. 74, line 16—p. 75, line 1.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, II, 10, p. 76, line 14.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, II, 7, p. 74, lines 9–11.

the “Chronicle”. The members of the elite asked him about the rule of the two brothers: “which of them was to take precedence in the sending and receiving of legations, in calling up and leading an army, and the various tasks of administering such a kingdom”.⁵⁰ In this way the chronicler precisely defined the scope of the obligations of a ruler, he concentrated attention on the politico-military aspects of ruling a country, but missing from Gallus’ narrative is any mention of any issues concerning the Church, so important in Bolesław I’s reign. The answer of the old ruler was equally characteristic; he said he could decide about things in the present while the future was in the hands of God.⁵¹ This is why he was unable to place one of the sons above the other, just the same as he could not give them virtue or wisdom.⁵² Indeed the accession to power over the whole country would really have been in the hands of God. Władysław Herman left general indications how the rightful ruler would be recognised. They were to serve the man who would be most sagacious and worthy in the defence of the land and in fighting enemies.⁵³ If however after Władysław’s death it would turn out that neither of them is worthy, and both were involved in a dispute over the succession, a simple fact was to be decisive, the one that brought “outsiders” in as their allies “to destroy the kingdom”, would lose his right to inheritance “as a result of putting his private interests first”.⁵⁴ Summing up Herman is reported as saying that the throne should be inherited by the one who “would take care more for the honour and good of the kingdom”.⁵⁵ Gallus Anonymous added to this general statement that such a noble man would accede to power according to the “eternal law” (“lege perhenni”).⁵⁶

By these means, even if the succession of power after Herman’s death was to occur by some exceptional route, the person who finally inherited his title would have had behind him both the will of God as well as the authority of tradition. The emphasis in the speech of the old ruler on the unacceptable character of the act of inviting foreigners into the country precisely reflects Zbigniew’s actions at Kruszwica. At the same time the indicator of the suitability of the future inheritor of

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, II, 8, p. 74, lines 13–15.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, II, 8, p. 75, line 3.

⁵² *Ibidem*, lines 1–2.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, lines 5–6.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 11–13.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 14–15.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, line 14.

the royal power by the “eternal law” was to have been a concern for the good of the kingdom. Gallus therefore suggests that it was not the law of inheritance that was ultimately to play the decisive role in the passage of power, but the specific characteristics of the candidates. These were in addition, as Herman put it, characteristics that God alone, not their father⁵⁷ could grant, and which the candidates either developed or wasted. If therefore the sons fell into open dispute about the inheritance, and one of them was to betray his country (as earlier Zbigniew had already done), the second would be regarded as a nobler defender of the interests of the kingdom having support of the will of God as well as the authority of the law. These portions of what we may regard as “the Testament of Władysław Herman” so closely correspond to later events in the conflict between Zbigniew and Bolesław that there is no need to develop further here the discussion on the pragmatic function of the “Chronicle”.⁵⁸

Bolesław on the road to power

After creating a division of his kingdom, Władysław Herman returned to his region and willingly stayed there in “his Mazovia”.⁵⁹ Both brothers had a free hand to act as they wished, they were not hindered by their father who formally occupied the “sedes regni principales”. Therefore they bore full responsibility for their deeds, both good and bad. In the light of the “Testament of Władysław Herman” the full responsibility of the candidates for the throne for their positive deeds was to have a decisive role, it was the necessary criterion for the creation of the legal basis for gaining complete power over the country.

Before however the chronicler began his description of events which took place after the division of the kingdom, he drew a heroic portrait of Bolesław, beginning from a description of his childhood. In this way he was acting in accord with the narrative model met in heroic literature where we find the theme “puer—senex”,⁶⁰ or perhaps rather “puer—miles”, “born as a son of Mars”.⁶¹ Thus Bolesław

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 1–3.

⁵⁸ This is how their significance was seen by R. Grodecki, *Zbigniew książę Polski*, pp. 91–92.

⁵⁹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 8, p. 75, line 18.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, II, 13, p. 78, lines 7–8.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, II, 14, p. 78, lines 13, See Wojciech Polak, *Czas w najstarszej polskiej kronice*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego”, 39 (1996), nr 3–4, pp. 53–54.

did not participate in “vain games”, but (to the degree his young age allowed) “brave and martial deeds”.⁶² Contrary to the ways of children from powerful families he was not interested in hunting, but was more interested in military matters. He was apparently so involved that he was already riding out towards the enemy even at an age when he was still unable to get onto a horse unaided.⁶³ As an example of the “beginnings of the child’s soldiering”,⁶⁴ the chronicler mentions the expedition against the Moravians under the leadership of Sieciech in the place of the aged and ill Władysław.⁶⁵ Although in the course of this victorious campaign he could not directly participate in the fighting, he was fighting “with his name”.⁶⁶ It is no accident that after this declaration of the specific involvement of the young boy in the expedition, Gallus gives an account of the advantages gained by the Poles over the Moravians in the course of the attack. In this account, it was not so much the leadership of Sieciech and the bravery of the knights, but the name and presence of the young boy which defeated the enemies.⁶⁷

A puzzling element of the narrative of Gallus is the story of the killing of a huge boar by Bolesław.⁶⁸ One day, as the young lad sat at a feast in the forest, he saw this beast, got up from the table and grasping a spear, he went after it “without companion or a hound”. Just as he was about to strike the beast in the throat with his spear, a knight appeared from nearby and tried to stop him and take away the spear. Bolesław under the influence of anger and bravery engaged in a lone “double struggle” with both the animal and man, and “miraculously” won. The knight, when asked why he had acted in that manner was unable to answer. According to some scholars, this whole incident can

⁶² *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 9, p. 76, lines 4–5.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, II, 8, p. 76, lines 8–10.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, II, 10, p. 76, line 12.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 14–15.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, line 17.

⁶⁷ See Jacek Banaszkiwicz, *Młodzieńcze gesta Bolesława Krzywoustego, czyli Jak zostaje się prawdziwym rycerzem i władcą*, [in:] *Theatrum ceremoniale na dworze książąt i królów polskich. Materiały konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Zamek Królewski na Wawelu i Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w dniach 23–25 marca 1998*, Mariusz Markiewicz, Ryszard Skowron eds, Cracow 1999, pp. 15–16.

⁶⁸ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 11, p. 77.

be treated as evidence of an attempt on the young man's life.⁶⁹ More importantly for us, the chronicler himself suggested that this story was told "as an example of the virtue of bravery" ("probitatis").⁷⁰ That is an important statement in the light of the earlier words of Władysław Herman, who indicated that it was in God's power to grant that virtue. This leads us to be extremely cautious in treating as a purely rhetorical device the use of the adverb "mirabiliter" by Gallus.⁷¹ The "miraculousness" of the boy's victory may in this context be treated not only as an emphasis of the extraordinary nature of the event, but the confirmation of God's involvement in it. In this case the story would not only have the function of showing that the young Bolesław was valiant,⁷² but also (in accordance with "Herman's Testament") that God himself had given him this virtue. Of interest and significance too is the picture of the young man who broke off from his relaxation to overcome a huge wild animal that ran by him—and was prevented from doing so by his countryman. In the end he was victorious, and the person who was hindering him was put aside. This can be seen as a parallel with the future conflict with Zbigniew who hindered him in his struggle with the enemies of Poland. The picture of the fight with the beast might then equally be another argument demonstrating Bolesław's right to inherit Herman's authority over Poland as well as a prophecy of his future fate. In the narrative of the "Chronicle", the equivalent of this hunting prowess of the young Bolesław was his military activeness. When he saw enemies attacking his country, accompanied only by a few companions he quickly attacked their lands, burnt villages, and captured loot and prisoners.⁷³ Here he is acting in the same way as when he saw a huge boar running by his table and on his own chased it into the forest.

The chronicler places words into the mouths of members of the elite a kind of summary of the virtues of this defender and future ruler. This was not an accidental effect; after all, in the "Testament of Władysław Herman" the old ruler had placed in their hands the decision which ruler they would choose on the basis of their deeds. Gallus emphasizes

⁶⁹ This is what Karol Maleczyński, *ibidem*, footnote 3 suggests, as does Marian Plezia in his commentary to this passage of Gallus Anonymous' *Kronika*, p. 72, II, 11, footnote 2.

⁷⁰ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 11, p. 77, line 2.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, line 11.

⁷² See J. Banaszkiewicz, *Młodzieńcze gesta*, pp. 17–21.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, II, 13, p. 78, lines 4–7.

that Bolesław, “though a child in age, a senior in valour” who had ruled the Wrocław principality before he had even become a knight, was “loved by all the *principes*”.⁷⁴ This was because their hopes were raised by the “good tendencies of the young man, as well as the signs of military glory he exhibited”.⁷⁵ It was precisely these characteristics that corresponded to the recommendations of the ones that Herman had in his “Testament” tasked them with seeking in their choice of ruler. Let us also add that under the influence of observation of these characteristics in Bolesław “something great in the future was seen”.⁷⁶ Successive episodes reported by the chronicler strengthened the thesis (though it was never expressed directly) that Bolesław was predestined from childhood to rule over the whole of Poland because Bolesław “still more clearly made the fame of his name more widely known”.⁷⁷

The Fall of Sieciech

The picture presented in the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymous of the boy Bolesław already possessing all the characteristics postulated by his father which predestined him to rule over the whole country ends with the disturbing words: “the more he should have been loved, the more he gathered hatred towards him and provoked the tricks of his enemies intent on his destruction”.⁷⁸ Behind all this, “as they say”, was supposed to have stood Sieciech conspiring against both sons,⁷⁹ but especially against Bolesław as heir who was “rightful and of noble spirit, who he [Sieciech] was afraid would, to his own disadvantage, reign after his father’s death”.⁸⁰ It is worth noting that these “tricks” consisted of the nomination of supporters of Sieciech as the castellans of strongholds belonging to the brothers, and these new officials were then encouraged to rebel against them.⁸¹ In response to this Bolesław and Zbigniew contracted a mutual assistance pact in the case of an attack of the enemy on either of them.⁸² The occasion to honour this

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 10–11. On “principes” in the “Chronicle” as an elite which was separate from the general body of knights see Karol Maleczyński, *Ze studiów nad organizacją państwa polskiego w XI i XII wieku*, “Sobótka”, 23 (1968), nr 3, p. 359.

⁷⁵ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 13, p. 78, lines 9–10.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, line 11.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, II, 14, p. 78, lines 14–15.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 11–13.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, II, 16, p. 79, lines 16–17, 20–21.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 21–22.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, lines 17–20.

⁸² *Ibidem*, line 23—p. 80, line 1.

alliance occurred when Bolesław was called upon by his father to take part in an attack on the Czechs who were devastating the country. Bolesław in turn asked the elite of his principality to come with their troops, this of course comprised the men who had been appointed to the position of *comes* by Sieciech. When Bolesław arrived with his escort at the meeting place, he found nobody there. His advisers suggested that this was a trick. Gallus cites their words and at their core was a significant accusation: “we know and are certain that Sieciech is intent on destroying your whole family (“progeniem”) and especially you, as the heir to the kingdom and he would [like to] take and have his hands on the whole of Poland”.⁸³ Hearing that, Bolesław returned to Wrocław.

For the third time the chronicler writing of conflicts within the dynasty itself found himself presenting the Piasts as the object, rather than the subject of the early phases of the dispute. The alliance of the brothers was caused by the personal policies of Sieciech. While it is true that it was Herman who called upon his son to attack the Bohemians, Gallus adds “I do not know whether [he was led to this] by a trick or the real situation”.⁸⁴ In the end, it was not Bolesław who perceived the dishonourable intentions of Sieciech and it was not he who loudly challenged him, but his associates. It seems notable that in this portion of the narrative Gallus again uses a simulation of the precise words of Bolesław’s companions. This rhetorical device is rarely used by Gallus, but it always emphasises the significance of the event depicted in the world of the “Chronicle”. At the same time, like the quotations from letters, it strengthened the verisimilitude of the information contained in specific passages. In the case under analysis here, it freed the chronicler from expressing his own opinion. Already at the beginning of the narrative he hints that some unnamed informants “say” that Sieciech was conspiring against Bolesław. The chronicler then engages with his reader in a subtle game, on the one hand he distances himself from the narrative, but on the other he uses means intended to persuade his audience to accept it as certain and correct.

He wrote himself about Sieciech’s plotting against the brothers, but does not say that he was conspiring against their father. Nevertheless in the words of Bolesław’s escort there is the suggestion that the

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 80, lines 14–17.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, line 2.

Palatine Sieciech wanted to destroy the whole ducal family and take power himself. For someone who accepted the notion—which runs through the whole “Chronicle”—that royal power comes from God, this would have meant not only an attack on the lives of the innocent boys, but on the whole divine order of the world. The chronicler however does not return to this topic, being satisfied with strongly arousing the emotions of the reader directed against Sieciech. At the same time, this device allowed Gallus to show the reader the specific situation of Bolesław. Everyone around him spoke of a plot aimed at his whole family. It is probably no accident that the picture is then introduced of the young man sweating profusely and maybe shedding tears wrought by emotion as he listens to the words of his retinue.⁸⁵ The chronicler after all places before him a dilemma, the trickery of the Palatine endangers the life of those closest to him, but the advice of his collaborators meant he would have to disobey his father. Gallus depicts the tragic moment when Bolesław has to make a choice which is connected with the breaking of generally accepted principles. The situation however was not of his making, or of anyone in his family. Both the facts cited and the emotions associated with them lead the reader to a single conclusion that it was not the Piasts, but Sieciech who was responsible for the events that were to unfold.

The description of the next phase of the conflict is also in accordance with this suggestion. A meeting was called in Wrocław. Bolesław was the first to speak to the people gathered there, “like a boy with tears in his eyes” he told them of Sieciech’s treachery.⁸⁶ Next the situation of the brothers was presented by Zbigniew, who had come at his brother’s request. He asked the citizens to remain faithful to the young Bolesław, otherwise because of the attacks of their enemies both of them would have to “escape into exile across the borders of Poland”.⁸⁷ The chronicler did not neglect to cite that speech, together with the answer of the citizens of Wrocław. In both, apart from the general agreement to comply with Zbigniew’s request, there was emphasis placed on the rightful manner in which to proceed. Zbigniew only came to the citizens of Wrocław because “our parent is weakened by age and illness and no longer has priority in looking after himself, us and our home-

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 21–23, przypis bb.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 81, lines 5–6.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 82, line 1.

land”.⁸⁸ He also emphasized that the plot had at its aim the destruction of the whole family, seizing the heritage that belongs to the dynasty, disrupting the “*dominorum naturalium*” order.⁸⁹ The answer of the citizens of Wrocław was also unambiguous: “we wish to remain loyal to our natural lord, your father, while he lives. Neither will we abandon his heirs”.⁹⁰ For the chronicler there was therefore no contradiction in this declaration of loyalty to all three Piasts at once. The ruling family was depicted as a monolith of “natural lords” of Poland linked by a common purpose. This did not however contradict the advice the citizens of Wrocław gave the brothers, that they should take arms and go to their father’s court “and there while giving the required respect to your father, avenge the wrongs done to you”.⁹¹ Such revenge of course was to be directed only against the father’s advisor.

This recommendation however only partly corresponds with the next phase of the conflict as presented by Gallus. Duke Władysław and his sons, together with their armies by the place “which is called Sarnouecz separately encamped”.⁹² It did not come to a battle, an understanding was reached. There is a certain contradiction in the description of how the agreement was reached. Both through the advice of the elite as well as “threats of the youngsters”, “the old man was forced” to expel Sieciech.⁹³ Although only Władysław is named “duke” by the chronicler, his position as depicted was problematical. He had nobody’s support. Not only his own sons, but also the state’s elite present at the meeting were all against him and forced him to do something against his will. It is against such a background that we see even more clearly the picture the historian paints of the respect with which the brothers treated their father. Having come to an accord, they went to him “humbly, unarmed and peacefully” in order to offer him their services, though “not as lords, but like knights or servants, with a humble spirit and bowed heads”.⁹⁴ Therefore, even though the father was unable to fulfil, or with difficulty fulfilled, his role in the social order, Zbigniew and Bolesław made an effort to maintain, or even strengthen, the appropriate form of family and political bonds.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 81, lines 20–21.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 18–19

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 82, lines 5–7

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, line 10.

⁹² *Ibidem*, lines 18–20.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, lines 21–22.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, line 24—p. 83, line 2.

The results of their actions was the full restitution of the unity of the country: “the reconciled father, sons and nobles [...] with the whole army”⁹⁵ chased after the escaping Sieciech.

This state did not last long and was to break down—according to the narrative of the “Chronicle”—due to the fault of the father. The Piasts had together caught up with Sieciech with the intent of driving him out of the country. Then however something unexpected took place. Władysław and three of his closest servants left the camp secretly at night and went to meet his former collaborator. This action was to have serious consequences for him. The chronicler reports that on hearing of this, “all advisors” declared that “to leave one’s sons and that many nobles with the army [is] not an idea of a sane man, but is a mark of madness”.⁹⁶ The decisions of Władysław could no longer be regarded as binding on his subjects. Thus the nobles declared that Bolesław was to obtain as part of his “dominium” Sandomierz and Cracow, the “*sedes regni principales*” nearest to the place where the army was stationed,⁹⁷ while Zbigniew was to go to Mazovia and occupy Płock, the capital of the province. This however he was unable to do, since he was “overtaken by his father”.⁹⁸ Bolesław together with Zbigniew went therefore with the whole army and camped outside Płock.⁹⁹ But even then, it did not come to battle since “Archbishop Martin, faithful old man, smoothed the anger and discord between father and sons with his hard work and wisdom”.¹⁰⁰ The situation was therefore more dangerous than in the course of the first conflict between father and sons, Then the culmination was the meeting of the armed retinues of the members of the family, though order was restored as a result of negotiations carried out by the ordinary exchange of messengers. Now it was a member of the highest hierarchy of the Church who was acting as the negotiator. In this case however the distortion of the normal order of things was greater than had been the case earlier. The father had behaved as though he was no longer thinking straight and thus had lost the ability to be treated as an equal partner for discussion. The alliance that was based on the conditions which Bolesław had ear-

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 83, lines 3–4.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 83, lines 8–10.

⁹⁷ This is how the adjective “*proximas*”, *ibidem*, lines 11–12, probably should be understood.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, line 16.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 20–22.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 22–24.

lier proposed, that is the exiling of Sieciech, had again been broken by the father and was being re-imposed by force by the “boys” and the “elders”.¹⁰¹ The exiled Sieciech was eventually to return to Poland, though he was never again to “*dominium exercere*”.¹⁰²

Despite having been begun with such impetus, the story of the conflict which because of Sieciech broke out between Bolesław, Zbigniew and their father suddenly breaks off in the middle of the events described. Gallus himself stated that if he had wanted to present “the various deeds and plots” of Sieciech, the “*gesta Zethei*” this would result in would be similar in size to the books of the “Jugurthine War”.¹⁰³ This motif of the excessive amount of available material returns when the chronicler did not want to write of the return of Sieciech to Poland and his further history. He writes that “to learn [of this] is a substantial and tiring task”.¹⁰⁴ There is no reason not to believe the writer; the story of Sieciech and the conflict itself was from his point of view not very interesting. Why then did he present its first stages in his work? Ending the story of Sieciech Gallus announced the return to the story of “the boy offered to Mars” telling the story of which had been “the aim begun with passion” [by the chronicler].¹⁰⁵ The whole narrative of the conflict with Sieciech was therefore an interlude with regard the main aim of the work, the presentation of the story of Bolesław Wrymouth. This was despite all three members of the dynasty having roles of equal significance in this part of the story.

The same motif appears many times in the description of the mutual relationships between the members of the dynasty, the decisive influence of advisors. It is they who motivate the two brothers, it is they who determine that the sons should take specific steps against their father, and in the end it is they who lead to an agreement being reached between the different parties. By itself, the conflict would not have reached the dimensions of an armed struggle between father and sons, the brothers were intent on coming to peace with him. But it was Herman’s “madness” which led to him breaking his oaths to them. The chronicler treats the making and breaking of oaths by Władysław Herman with a degree of caution, always emphasizing that it is some

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, lines 27–28.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 84, lines 3–4.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 83, lines 17–19.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 84, lines 2–3.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, II, 17, p. 84, lines 7–8.

undefined informants who “say” that this happened.¹⁰⁶ As a result, the conflict within the ruling family is presented to a large degree as the story of a sometimes unreasonable sons’ love for and care for the well-being of their father, which was disrupted by anger born of the plotting of Sieciech. At the same time the author does not give this “black character” much space of his own in the “Chronicle”, in the centre of the story is not his fate, but the relationships between the Piasts. The history of the ruling dynasty was more important than the story of Sieciech.

This fact is given expression in the references by the chronicler of the fate of Sieciech and the queen (Władysław Herman’s wife). She only appears two times—and only mentioned in passing—in the course of the whole story of the conflict. It was she who sent Zbigniew to the convent in Germany and when she was “saddened”, now together with Sieciech, at the news that her son had returned to Poland. Although Gallus does not mention her ever again in the dramatic story of the rebellion and alliances, he sums up the whole story with these words: “so much of Sieciech and the queen, let it suffice that it has been said”.¹⁰⁷ It would have made more sense, bearing in mind the contents of the story, if Gallus had written something like: “enough has been said of Sieciech and Duke Władysław”. Given the present form of the “Chronicle”, indicating that the queen was a major participant in the dramatic events in this way must have aroused the curiosity of the reader of the text. In the “Chronicle” however we do not find an unambiguous explanation of the placing of a reference to her alongside Sieciech in this manner. Probably making denigratory remarks about Judith of Swabia in this way would be natural as a form of topos of the “evil stepmother” of the hero—in this case Bolesław Wrymouth. Other traces confirming such a suggestion—a little forced it has to be admitted—are difficult to find. We may infer that Gallus knew of some more detailed stories which implicated Herman’s wife in some more negative role, this would however simply be a guess. What the “Chronicle” gains by the introduction of a few words on the “the queen”, however, is a clear weakening of the negative assessment of her husband. If it were not for the introduction of this element, even

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, II, 16, p. 82, lines 22–23 and p. 83, lines 24–26. See also Z. Dalewski, *Rytuał i polityka*, pp. 217–218.

¹⁰⁷ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 17, p. 84, line 6.

if mentioned in passing, the actions of the Palatine would inevitably be linked with those of his lord, Duke Władysław. By these means, however, the chronicler avoided this. It is not surprising that he did not develop the theme of the bad decisions and the behaviour of the royal wife; this would have defied the logic of the picture he had previously been at pains to paint, in which the members of the family in general did not make mistakes. Judith however was an “outsider”, though the wife of the Polish ruler and mother of his children. The writer’s situation was therefore difficult and he dealt with it in a masterly manner, making use of allusion, suggesting to the reader how his words might be interpreted, but himself not giving an unambiguous answer.

Signs and prophecies

In concluding the story of the sharing of power between Władysław and his sons Gallus concentrated the theme of the story almost totally around Bolesław Wrymouth. Here he relates his account—though not directly—to the themes touched upon in the “Testament of Władysław Herman”. Gallus’ description of events corresponds however too closely to the values and characteristics of the hero in the contents of the “Testament” for this to be an accident. Gallus emphasizes the valour of Bolesław and the significance of his knightly virtues for the well-being of the country. Thus, when the Pomeranians built a stronghold threatening Santok, Zbigniew (even though he was older and leading both his own and his father’s armies), when he went forth against them “without the boy” (Bolesław) was unable to achieve the glory which Bolesław did when he came with his much smaller force.¹⁰⁸ Zbigniew was “more terrified than terrifying”¹⁰⁹ and retreated without engaging in battle. His younger brother however boldly attacked the enemy and “struck the gate with his swords”.¹¹⁰

The conclusions about the valour of the two brothers that may be drawn from this picture are obvious. Gallus however does not present this as his own opinion. He indicates that he was unsure of the reasons for Zbigniew’s retreat and presented them as “as they say/as it is said”.¹¹¹ The beginnings of Bolesław’s military career is presented in the following words: “this was a great sign of his future virtue of bravery

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 84, line 12—p. 85, line 3.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 85, line 5.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 9–10.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, lines 5–6.

for Christians, and [for the pagans] a great sign of their defeats which brought great fear upon those Pomeranians”.¹¹² The pagans were said to have named Bolesław “the wolf’s son” in recognition of his bravery, to whom (despite his young age) fighting was a fitting occupation, while Zbigniew, “as a cleric suited the ruling of the church”.¹¹³ Let us emphasize once more, the chronicler clearly indicated that the above opinions were not his own, but a recounting of the opinions of those who took part in the events described. The significance of these events and these assessments is all the greater because they concerned the struggle for Santok, which was the “key and shield of the [Polish] kingdom”.¹¹⁴ Herman required of the future ruler that his valour in defence of his country was clearly acknowledged by the nobles. The narrative of the chronicler of the battle at Santok demonstrated, with regard to those words, what role each of the sons should have taken up after their father’s death.

The description of the dubbing of Bolesław as a knight has a close relationship with this story. Władysław saw that he “was in the flower of age, and was superior to others in chivalrous deeds and was favoured by all the wise men in the kingdom”.¹¹⁵ He therefore decided to create him a knight. As he “was still becoming infirm due to his age and weak health, he put his hopes in this boy [Bolesław] inheriting [the throne]”.¹¹⁶ Two of the positive conditions of the “Testament” (valour in the defence of the country and the recognition of that by the nobility) had been achieved up to that moment. Why then, writing of the creation of Bolesław a knight did the chronicler emphasize once again the bravery of the subject of his story? Instead of doing what his father and advisors had told him to do, Bolesław was to attack and defeat the Pomeranians at the same time as the pagans were threatening Santok. In this way he is depicted as placing the defence of his country higher on his list of priorities than gaining his own ceremonial advancement. This motif can be read in the light of the negative conditions of his father’s “Testament”; the one who places his own interests before that of the defence of the country, who allows a foreign force into Poland to support his own interests is not worthy to rule the country. If Wrymouth had allowed the Pomeranians to force their way into Poland

¹¹² *Ibidem*, lines 11–13.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, lines 17–19.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 84, lines 9–10.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, II, 18, p. 86, lines 2–4.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 5–7.

and devastate it only because he wanted to take part in a ceremony which would give him honours, would that not be an example of precisely what Herman had condemned? Would it not, in a certain manner, be an invitation to foreigners to enter the country? It seems that this episode was not just the next element in the listing of the martial superiority of Bolesław. It ultimately emphasized the full agreement between his personality with the conditions laid down by his father in the "Testament of Herman" which referred to worldly matters.

The "Testament" of Władysław Herman contained an important warning, that it is God who in the end decides about everything. It is God who endows one of the brothers the virtues that will decide on whether he is the fittest to rule. It seems that the chronicler makes reference to this in presenting his brief account of the fight with the Polovtsy. Gallus begins his narrative with the significant statement: "God revealed through the Polovtsy what great [things] would be achieved by him [Bolesław] in the future".¹¹⁷ This is then the next example of the appearance of a sign indicating God's will concerning the future reign of Bolesław Wrymouth. While Bolesław was being created a knight, the Polovtsy crossed the Vistula and began looting the countryside, after which they withdrew with their spoils certain of their safety. The chronicler tells us that they did not however "rest as safely as they were used to doing",¹¹⁸ in other words this was not their first such attack and all the rest had ended in them leaving unscathed. Now however "God, defender of Christians, protector of the Sabbath eve, awakened the bravery of a few of the faithful to the disaster of the multitude of pagans".¹¹⁹ As a result on Sunday "in glory His right hand gained victory" and the defeated Polovtsy were so terrified that they never dared show themselves in Poland for the rest of Bolesław's reign.¹²⁰

We may ask why this was. What connection did this have with Bolesław Wrymouth? He was not, after all mentioned as being involved in this victory.¹²¹ Why does Gallus expect the reader to see in this event

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, II, 19, p. 86, lines 16–17.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 87, lines 2–3.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 3–5.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, II, 19, p. 87, lines 6–8.

¹²¹ Zbigniew Dalewski, *Pasowanie na rycerza książąt polskich we wcześniejszym średniowieczu: znaczenie ideowe i polityczne*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 104 (1997), nr 4, p. 23, concluded that Bolesław had taken part in this rout of the Polovtsy immediately after his being created a knight. We do not however find this information in the text of the "Chronicle".

a sign concerning Bolesław's future reign? This story does not have a human subject, the central character is God who had driven off the Polovtsy. Earlier, when these pagans had attacked and devastated the country, he had not intervened. From that time, nothing had changed, except Bolesław Wrymouth had been admitted to the knighthood, to the ranks of those in whose hands was the defence of the country. The conclusion must be drawn that God only came to the rescue of Poland because of the son of Władysław Herman; Bolesław, who was created a knight on the feast of the Ascension of the Blessed Virgin Mary and was under her special protection.¹²² The Creator had unambiguously indicated who He regarded as worthy to reign over the country. Was it not of this that Władysław had mentioned as the most important indicator of who was to succeed him?

The contents of the "Chronicle" do not leave the reader in any doubt at all. Gallus cites the speech of an anonymous person addressed to Władysław Herman during the ceremony of creating Bolesław a knight: "lord duke, God visited the kingdom of Poland today. Through him [Bolesław] today knighted, he has lifted up your elderliness and weakness and the whole of our homeland [...] until now Poland was trodden underfoot by its enemies, but through that boy will be renewed to what it was in former times".¹²³ These words sound like a commentary to the earlier victory over the Polovtsy, but do not directly concern it. They were rather a literal expression of the concepts which the chronicler had earlier expressly defined. What is more, Gallus emphasises the meaning of the cited statement and to this end he volunteers—which is completely exceptional in the whole work—his own opinion here. Part of the participants in the meeting were disturbed by what the speaker had said and urged him to keep quiet out of deference to the old duke. At this point though the chronicler loses interest in the realities of the situation and carries his reader to an entirely different sphere of reality. He writes, "we do not believe that those words were born of thin air but that they came with the spirit of prophecy, because already it had been shown in his boyish deeds that Poland would indeed one day be restored to its original state".¹²⁴ This assessment did not come from man, then it would be merely a manifestation of vanity, suggesting he

¹²² See Wojciech Polak, *Czas w najstarszej polskiej kronice*, p. 49.

¹²³ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 20, p. 87, lines 12–16.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 18–21.

knows God's intentions; it had however the character of a prophecy and its roots went deeper into the sacral reality, and for this reason it could not be questioned. This was the next sign, again coming from God, that it was precisely Wrymouth who was to be chosen as ruler. The words of Władysław Herman would be therefore justified in full. It was not he, a man who could indicate a successor, but God. Just as once He had indicated a future ruler in Piast's hut and at Mieszko's birthday feast.

The Period of Joint Reign

The chronicler presents the last years of the reign of Władysław Herman not without some empathy for the old duke. He places the emphasis on the fully independent exercise of authority by Władysław. After the exile of Sieciech and "recalling the earlier conspiracies [...] though he was weak as a result of his age and illness he did not set up in his court a voivode or his deputy [...] and thus he ruled his homeland by himself without a comes-voivode".¹²⁵ Herman, a "pious and gentle man"¹²⁶ ruled "wisely" ("sagaciter"),¹²⁷ until "his spirit freed from its bodily burden went to its appointed place to stay there for eternity".¹²⁸ All this was written, despite the fact that in the final parts of the narrative about the conflict with Sieciech, Herman had been presented as mentally disturbed ("delirans"). In addition, remaining silent about the previous division of the country among Herman's sons while at the same time stressing the independence and responsibilities carried by Władysław Herman suggests that at the end of his life, he was the sole ruler of his country. This could be part of a broader programme of Gallus intended to "restore the order of rule", according to the principle that once a duke of the Piast dynasty had been declared ruler, he remained the lord of the land until his death. We observed above the efforts of the chronicler to present the conflict between the father and his sons in a manner that did not cast doubt on the dignity of the ruling dynasty. As the culmination of this trend in the narrative and finally restoring the vision of the harmony of the rule of the dynasty over Poland, was the representation of the glory of the reign and the worthy death of Władysław Herman.

¹²⁵ *Ibidem*, II, 21, p. 88, lines 4–7, 9–10.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, line 3.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*, line 8.

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 10–12.

An important reason for such a representation of Bolesław Wry-mouth's father could have been the need to give his "Testament" more authority. In his description of the preparations for their father's funeral, Gallus added that the brothers began to quarrel about the division of their father's treasury and kingdom. Only the inspiration of God and the mediation of Archbishop Martin led them to accept the dead man's will as expressed in his testament.¹²⁹ If the chronicler had presented Władysław as a deranged ruler, there would be no way to justify why the archbishop was able to convince the two sons to abide by the letter of his testament. That this "decree" had significant meaning for the chronicler's story is evidenced by the fact that Zbigniew and Bolesław were persuaded to abide by it by "divine inspiration". Both of these probable reasons why the chronicler presented the end of the reign of Władysław in this way complement each other and lead the reader in a fluent manner to the picture of Bolesław's gradual accession to power over Poland.

After a mention of the "suitably dignified" funeral of Władysław Herman,¹³⁰ Gallus Anonymous passes on to a generalized description of the brothers' taking power in the districts of the kingdom that fell to them. He did not omit to suggest that Bolesław had been privileged by his father, while he says nothing about the districts inherited by Zbigniew, he emphasized that "Bolesław, the rightful [son] received the two main centres of the kingdom and the part of the land that was more populous".¹³¹ In this one sentence the chronicler emphasizes two advantages that Bolesław had over Zbigniew (if not three, for giving the number of two "sedes regni principales" that had been obtained might have had this significance for contemporaries). Zbigniew was not the rightful son and in addition by the will of his father had inherited the less populous part of the country. The mention of the division of the kingdom was however just a means for the representation of the manner in which Bolesław realised the conditions of Władysław's "Testament" after the death of his father. In taking his part of the inheritance "the boy Bolesław [...] supported by the knights and the council began to exercise his bravery of spirit and strength of body, the young man began at the same time to grow in fame and reach

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 16–19.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*, line 20.

¹³¹ *Ibidem*, II, 21, p. 88, line 22—p. 89, line 2.

an age [suitable for] a good young prince".¹³² Here we see a return of the motif of the virtue which according to Władysław Herman was to characterize his future successor, but also its recognition as such (here: "fama") by those around him.

The deeds of Bolesław as a ruler after Herman's death were presented by the chronicler in the form of a rapidly developing continuation of earlier undertaken activities. In this manner the narrative principle of "prophesy-fulfilment" present throughout the "Chronicle" is honoured. Gallus multiplies the number of "new" deeds which only in effect "renew" old intentions, "a new knight begins to renew new wars and considers how to attack his enemies more frequently".¹³³ Thus before his father's death he had only defeated the Pomeranians before the stronghold they had erected on Poland's borders, but without taking it. Now however he attacked right to the "heart of the land of the pagans" and with a small group of men took the "magnificent royal stronghold called Biała [White]".¹³⁴ In addition, Bolesław razed it to the ground,¹³⁵ while the pagans themselves withdrew and themselves destroyed their frontier fort. The taking of the royal stronghold of the Pomeranians was said to have taken place "rapidly and miraculously" that same day on which Bolesław had stood before it,¹³⁶ which again recalls the contrast of Bolesław with the ineffectual Zbigniew at the time of the action before Santok. This is what the chronicler ultimately had wanted to achieve, suggesting that the sentence summarizing the description of the taking of Biała, "they say that he was the first of all of them to attack [the stronghold] and the first to overcome its defences. This is why he terrified the Pomeranians, and for his own men worthy of honour, and for all Christians of love".¹³⁷ Bolesław's successes, obtained by his own bravery, became known among "all Christians", the fame of the young man's deeds extended beyond the boundaries of a single milieu and gained the acceptance of the whole community of the Christian faithful. This fact, reflecting the social prestige of Herman's son seems more important to the chronicler than the rich loot to which he refers only in the last sentence of his narrative.¹³⁸

¹³² *Ibidem*, p. 89, lines 2–4.

¹³³ *Ibidem*, II, 22, p. 89, lines 6–7.

¹³⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 8–10.

¹³⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 16–17.

¹³⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 12–13.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 13–16.

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 16–17.

The emphasis placed by the chronicler on the high social position of Bolesław, inaccessible for others, was also present in the story of his marriage. The person of his spouse was not important to Gallus, in the story of the event we do not learn either her name, or of her origin. More important were the circumstances of the whole affair. The chronicler concentrated on the wealth of the gifts which she exchanged with Bolesław on this occasion. A mention of them opens the whole account,¹³⁹ and the story of the episode ends with their listing (together with the information that their giving out lasted eight days before the wedding ceremony and eight days afterwards).¹⁴⁰ It may not be without meaning that Gallus emphasises that especially rich gifts were given to the most important members of the Polish nobility.¹⁴¹ Also not insignificant was the comparison of the wealth and generosity of Bolesław Wrymouth with the same characteristics of Bolesław the Brave. The point of reference given by the chronicler was significant, Bolesław the Bold could only attempt to rival his father in this, Bolesław Wrymouth could be compared to the great ideal ruler of the Piasts himself.

In the course of the story the chronicler inserts the information concerning the gaining of Papal agreement to the wedding, required because of the kinship between the spouses.¹⁴² The wedding was technically (as the chronicler remarks) against the principles of Canon Law and custom.¹⁴³ He added however, that it was not his task making assessments on “sin and justice” but he was to busy himself “describing the history of the kings and dukes of Poland”.¹⁴⁴ From that perspective, the only thing which would justify including this topic was the exceptional nature of the decision which Bolesław obtained from the Pope. No other ruler of Poland (apart—again—from Bolesław the Brave) could boast in the “Chronicle” of such a close relationship with the Papacy. In the case of Bolesław I, the relationship with Rome concerned the widening of authority of the king. In the case of Bolesław Wrymouth, Pope Pascalis II gave his agreement to something affecting

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, II, 23, p. 90, lines 2–4.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 12–13.

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, lines 14–15.

¹⁴² *Ibidem*, lines 4–5.

¹⁴³ *Ibidem*, lines 8–9.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 9–11.

the private life of the ruler, an exceptional agreement, breaking all the existing norms.

It is interesting that in the account in the Chronicle, the Pope makes a decision based on somewhat specific arguments. The chronicler indicates that the whole matter was presented to Pascalis by Baldwin, the bishop of Cracow who had just been consecrated by him in Rome. If the intention had been to write a simple panegyric about Bolesław, it surely would have been enough to write that the bishop took his request before the Papal throne and that the required agreement was obtained. In the "Chronicle" however, not only is the person of duke Bolesław obscured by the debate between the Pope and the bishop, but also in favour of an agreement to a papal dispensation a particular argument was used "the crudeness of belief and the needs of the homeland".¹⁴⁵ Why did the chronicler use this argument of "ruditas fidei" in respect to this distant descendant of Mieszko I, the Bolesław who fighting with the pagan Pomeranians, who was regarded as "worthy of the love of Christians"? The phrase indicating the "basic character of the faith" suggest that the inhabitants of Poland, including Bolesław were unable to accept certain subtleties of the Christian faith. Is the chronicler not allowing himself here, once again, to include an ironic remark, this time addressed to the views of the European spiritual elite? It is worth remembering that even in the second half of the twelfth century Gwibert of Gembleux would write of Poland as a "barbarian country".¹⁴⁶ We do not however find any traces of such a perception of Poland by Gallus Anonymus in his "Chronicle", which does not mean that he did not come across such opinions when preparing for his journey to Poland and only learnt of the true situation when he arrived.

Maybe however such a far-reaching interpretation is unnecessary. The chronicler's story contains elements already known from his characterisation of Bolesław the Brave, the dependence of the fate of a ruler on his relationship with the sacral sphere and its earthly representatives. The presence of the episode analysed here at a crucial moment in history for the ruler, when the conditions were being created which would allow him to be regarded in future as the rightful successor of Władysław Herman could lead the reader to a simple observation;

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, line 7.

¹⁴⁶ O. Górka, *List Gwiberta z Gembloux*, pp. 33, 37.

despite all of his positive characteristics, Bolesław still needed the support of the clergy. It was only due to their favour that the decision to bend the law in his favour could be accepted. In this situation the especial rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the person involved is also emphasized. It was no ordinary official of Bolesław's, but Baldwin the bishop who was personally in Rome to be consecrated by the Pope, and because of this was able to present Bolesław's petition to him. On the other hand the clergyman placed emphasis on the "need of the homeland" and thus is, as a representative of his social group, fully devoted to it. This picture not unambiguously favourable to Bolesław, it seems to contain a much more complex message resulting from the entirety of the history of the dynasty.

Presenting Bolesław's virtues as a warrior, Gallus describes the not entirely successful raid of the Poles on Moravia.¹⁴⁷ On their return the warriors were attacked by Świętopełk and though—in the opinion of the chronicler—they did not lose the battle itself, neither were they able to win it.¹⁴⁸ After this part of the story, there is another one, describing the expedition of Bolesław himself to Moravia.¹⁴⁹ The army led by him looted the province and returned to their own land unharmed by the Moravians. The Poles without Bolesław were unable to gain a victory, only the presence of the ruler made their army invincible, and the enemy did not dare engage it in combat.¹⁵⁰ This reminds us of the story of Bolesław taking part in the expeditions of Polish knights when he was a child, when as the chronicler puts it, he was to fight "with his name", not only however with his sword.

The description of Bolesław's chivalric valour did not however exhaust the range of things which should have been presented in the picture of the reign of a ruler that was to match in all his characteristics the requirements laid down in the "Chronicle". In addition there should have been information on the topic of the collaboration of the ruler with the Church. It was for this reason that, after his description of the Moravian expedition, Gallus introduced the next part of his narrative, a mention of the stay in Poland of Walo, the Papal legate.¹⁵¹ It

¹⁴⁷ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 25, pp. 92–93.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, II, 25, p. 93, lines 5–6.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, II, 26, p. 93.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 20–22.

¹⁵¹ *Ibidem*, II, 27, p. 94.

was he who with “the justice of orthodoxy” was to uphold canon Law with such severity that he deposed (despite their pleas and attempts at bribery) two Polish bishops. But he did this “due to the virtue of Bolesław”, or maybe in collaboration with his virtuousness.¹⁵² Once again therefore the chronicler indicates the close connections between the Polish ruler with the Papal administration, emphasising the respect with which the legate was welcomed and the blessing which through him the Pope had sent.¹⁵³

It is notable that the following story of the conflict between Bolesław and the Pomeranians gives a somewhat different picture of a military expedition than that which concerned the military superiority of the Poles over the Moravians. In that story Gallus concentrated on the spoils that were obtained and the armed struggle comprising glorious single-handed combats which would long be remembered by contemporaries and posterity.¹⁵⁴ In this fresh narrative these elements were not lacking, but here the account of Bolesław’s role in the fight included a sacral dimension. The duke, heading from Głogów to Kołobrzeg for five days without rest had been crossing a totally unpopulated and empty area.¹⁵⁵ The sixth day, however, on a Friday (“feria sexta”) coming close to a stronghold together with his whole army took communion and “bodily food”, though the previous night he had commanded the celebration of the “officium sancte Marie”. As the chronicler noted, he maintained this custom later “out of piety”.¹⁵⁶ It seems that using this (somewhat ambiguous) phrase, Gallus was not suggesting the maintenance of the celebration of this *officium* on a specific day since he does not indicate the commemorative character of the custom.

¹⁵² *Ibidem*, line 4.

¹⁵³ *Ibidem*, lines 6–9.

¹⁵⁴ There is a story here of the loss of a hand in a fight with the Moravians by comes Żelisław, and his rewarding by Bolesław with a “manum auream”, *ibidem*, II, 25, p. 93, lines 7–9, its inclusion here was probably provoked by the somewhat unlucky circumstances of the expedition and the mention of Bolesław’s generosity towards his faithful men. As Jacek Banaszekiewicz (*Złota ręka komesa Żelysława* (*Gall*, II, 25; *Kadłubek*, II, 24, 26), [in:] *Imagines potestatis*, p. 229) shows similar sense of the inclusion of this event (underlining the generosity of the ruler in spite of unsuccessful military expedition). Józef Płocha, “*Sertum aureum*” ofiarowane klasztorowi lubińskiemu przez komesa Żelysława, [in:] *Polska w świecie*, pp. 126–127 indicated the various possible forms which this gift could have taken, but favoured the interpretation that it was however of the form of a hand and lower arm of gold.

¹⁵⁵ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 28, p. 95, lines 2–5.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 5–9.

It seems more probable the author intended to connect in the mind of the reader the cult activities with the military engagement that followed. It seems that the maintenance of the custom of praying the night before a battle would probably be what the chronicler had in mind when he wrote of Bolesław acting in this way “out of piety”. We find a similar element of the sacralisation of a military conflict in the “Chronicles” in the description of the taking of Kiev by Bolesław I. There before the battle Bolesław began to celebrate some kind of service, but this was disrupted by the enemy, and for this they were suitably punished. This particular theme is not touched upon in the part of the “Chronicle” which is of interest here. It does however seem to be in the hierarchy of meanings occupied in the whole story of the rulers of Poland by the theme of spiritual preparation before a military engagement with pagans (or Christians of the Eastern Rite).

The further part of the narrative of the expedition to Kołobrzeg falls into the pattern composed by Gallus for describing the battles of Bolesław Wrymouth.¹⁵⁷ The chronicler was careful to emphasis two things. Firstly, though the stronghold itself was not taken, but only the settlement outside its walls, this was not Bolesław’s fault. He gave an example not only of knightly valour, but also the wisdom fitting a “thoughtful prince” directing his armies in battle.¹⁵⁸ The defeat that resulted despite this was entirely the result of the weakness of the chivalrous virtues of the knighthood, since “the greatness of the riches [...] blinded the valour of the knights, and thus fate saved [...] the town from the Poles”.¹⁵⁹ The introduction of “fortune” as a character is significant in that it freed Bolesław from any personal responsibility for the setback. The second element, closely connected with the first, was the fame (*fama*) which Wrymouth was from now on going to enjoy.

This motif was already mentioned for the third time by the chronicler in relation to the conflict with the Pomeranians, but each time he widens the scope of this fame. This time it was among the “whole of the pagan nation” that Bolesław inspired fear and his fame was not only restricted to them and the Christian world, but “became known far and wide, everywhere”.¹⁶⁰ The expedition to Kołobrzeg seems therefore to have been the culmination of the whole “Pomeranian topic” for the

¹⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, line 14—p. 96, line 20.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, II, 28, p. 95, lines 11–12; p. 96, lines 12–14.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, II, 28, p. 96, lines 4–6.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 26–28.

period before Bolesław gained full power. This does not mean that the chronicler has finished story of the military superiority of Bolesław. On the contrary, he gives further examples of his conflicts with the Pomeranians, but these present to the reader different characteristics of the young duke and his milieu other than his valour and leadership abilities. Bolesław is presented as a person who is especially sensitive towards the fate of his kinsmen. When the Pomeranians imprisoned Świętobór, one of his relations, and even though the latter's family "never remained faithful to their Polish lords",¹⁶¹ Bolesław wanted to mount an armed intervention and strike at his relative's persecutors with his whole army. The latter however, being afraid of Bolesław (here we see once again the influence of the warrior's fame) surrendered their prisoner to him without a fight and by this prevented the outbreak of war.¹⁶² The fact that after this, Świętobór does not appear again in the pages of the "Chronicle" suggests that it was not him and his predicament that was in fact the most important for Gallus in this story, which serves to emphasise two characteristics of Bolesław Wrymouth, the wide extent and influence of his fame and his concern for the well-being of his kinsmen, even distant relations.

Presenting the virtues and significance of Bolesław Wrymouth, the chronicler almost cuts Zbigniew out of the narrative. This situation however changes at the moment when he comes to explaining the circumstances surrounding Bolesław's accession to power. The actual moment when this conflict began according to Gallus' narrative was the marriage of Bolesław Wrymouth. Zbigniew not only refused to attend the ceremony, but even came to an alliance with both the Czechs and Pomeranians and persuaded them to mount an attack on Poland at this time.¹⁶³ This alliance with the "enemies of his father's heritage"¹⁶⁴ was supposed to have been concluded in secret¹⁶⁵ and Zbigniew never admitted to it though at the same time he was believed to have helped the attackers financially.¹⁶⁶ All this relates to the negative conditions of "Herman's Testament" that required any person who invited a foreign army to Poland to serve his own interest to be rejected as a candidate

¹⁶¹ *Ibidem*, II, 29, p. 97, lines 13–14.

¹⁶² *Ibidem*, line 18–20.

¹⁶³ *Ibidem*, II, 24, p. 91, lines 2–5.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, line 18–19.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, line 15.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 16–17.

for the throne. In the “Chronicle” Bolesław is quoted as having said that Zbigniew’s refusal to cooperate in the fight with the enemies of the country would “lead to a great disagreement in the kingdom of Poland”.¹⁶⁷ Without the description of the secret alliances this could be read as an expression of the disappointment of the younger brother over the attitude of the senior member of the family and a prophesy of his leading to the splitting of the unity of the country in his own interests. However in the context of the earlier expression of the will of their father these words gain the rank of a prediction of the future which results not from Bolesław’s will, but the rules previously established by Władysław Herman.

Gallus Anonymous gradually increased the tension in his presentation of events. Before he started relating the conflict between the brothers, he concentrated on describing the “military deeds of Bolesław”,¹⁶⁸ his fights with the Pomeranians and Czechs. Later events however were to have crucial significance for Bolesław’s future. Bolesław had had a meeting with Koloman, king of Hungary. Then at a summit, Bolesław wanted to conclude an alliance with Zbigniew, to set aside old differences and conspiracies and oblige mutual consultation of any future alliances they might make.¹⁶⁹ In the construction of the narrative, this summit has an interesting place. Firstly it follows the description of Bolesław’s superiority over the pagans, and secondly after showing the significance he had for neighbouring rulers. Bolesław had met with not just anybody, but the very same Koloman who Gallus describes as “educated in written knowledge more than any of the kings who were at that time reigning”.¹⁷⁰ Koloman came, despite his hesitation (for Bolesław was harbouring in his court his brother Álmos, an exile from Hungary).¹⁷¹ We do not know in detail of what the two discussed, for the story this is unimportant. What however is important is that in the chronicler’s narrative they exchanged delegations, and despite Koloman’s fear of some kind of deception by Bolesław¹⁷² the meeting between them took place and in the course of it they declared eternal brotherhood and friendship.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 20–21.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, line 23.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, II, 32, p. 99, lines 11–16.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, II, 29, p. 98, lines 1–2.

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*, lines 4–5.

¹⁷² *Ibidem*, line 3.

¹⁷³ *Ibidem*, lines 7–8.

Juxtaposed with this brief tale, the chronicler developed the theme of the faithlessness of Zbigniew. Swearing an alliance with his younger brother and promising to arrive with his army at a pre-arranged place, he did not keep his word. What is more he is even said to have recalled part of Bolesław's army from its march and send it to his own seat.¹⁷⁴ In this he could not only have damaged his brother's interests, but those of the kingdom of Poland as a whole.¹⁷⁵ A certain knight had invited Bolesław to attend on the occasion of the consecration of a church which was (as Gallus suggests was customary) connected with a wedding ceremony and feast. Gallus severely condemns this custom,¹⁷⁶ so why then does the chronicler describe the participation of his positive hero in such an event? Let us note that in the "Chronicle" Bolesław was not in that place of his own will, it was the place where he had agreed with his brother to meet. In addition, for the first time in a long time, in this part of his narrative, the chronicler calls Bolesław a "boy" who had come to the ceremony "with his young men".¹⁷⁷ He thus represented Bolesław at this time not as a mature ruler, in possession of full knowledge of the world, but somebody still gaining experience. This therefore released him from some of the odium of participation in this unworthy entertainment, especially since while the older people remained at the feast, he himself went hunting in the vicinity. It was here that he gave another indication of his valour. While there, he met a group of Pomeranians looting. Without waiting for reinforcements, like an enraged lion he fell on his enemies.¹⁷⁸ Of course he defeated them but in chasing the escapees, he fell into an ambush. Most of his comrades were killed and he too was nearly faced with death. When he mounted his dying horse wanting to join the fray, one of his companions held him back and gave him his horse. The words the chronicler places in his mouth are the key to the reason why this story is connected with the story of Zbigniew's taking an oath of allegiance. Bolesław's companion is said to have told him, "save yourself, and you save the fatherland [...]. It is better that I should die thus, than you yourself, saviour of Poland".¹⁷⁹ The death of the

¹⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, II, 32, p. 99, line 20—p. 100, line 1.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, II, 32, p. 100, lines 1–2.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, II, 33, p. 100, lines 8–20.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 7–8.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 101, lines 5–6.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 19–20.

young duke, the chosen saviour of the country would therefore have been for the kingdom of Poland a great harm and dishonour which neither Zbigniew, nor anyone else would be able to put right.¹⁸⁰ That which could in theory have been to the advantage of the older brother (that he refused to attend the celebrations that were condemned by the clergy) became his guilt; he was not there when the country and his brother needed his help. On the other hand it turns out that attending, even unthinkingly, in a custom which—according to the reasoning of Gallus Anonymous—ignored God’s law, even if it was an individual deserving in every other way respect, could be punished. Again we see revealed—though here cautiously—the theme of the direct relationship between the ruler and the divine, even though it was not always totally well-disposed towards Wrymouth.

The whole event (memorable also for the loss of an eye by voivode Skarbimir),¹⁸¹ was given by the chronicler the dimension of an ethical lesson in the obligation of faithfulness. When, after the battle had ended, the king’s men were complaining about the death of so many young men from the duke’s entourage and scolded him for his foolhardiness, he “not only did not pay heed to their recriminations, nor show remorse [...] but reminded them all that they were under oath to support him and punish his enemies”.¹⁸² Such a clear reflection of the perception by Bolesław of his relationship with the elite which differs so greatly from his father’s model of this relationship is also used to indicate Bolesław’s hierarchy of values. He too was pained by the number of deaths, but “less”, since for every one member of his entourage that had been slain, many Pomeranians had fallen.¹⁸³ He placed the well-being of his homeland before friendship and the companionship of comrades.

The theme of Bolesław placing the good of his country above his personal interests, or to be more accurate identifying his own fate with that of his land is developed further by the chronicler narrating the events which followed the conflict with the Pomeranians. The duke wanted to attack them to get revenge for the harm they had done, but hearing however of a threat this time from the Czechs “as the Macabees [...] he became a defender of his homeland and an avenger

¹⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, II, 32, p. 100, lines 1–3.

¹⁸¹ *Ibidem*, II, 33, p. 101, lines 25–26.

¹⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 102, lines 16–19.

¹⁸³ *Ibidem*, lines 21–25.

of wrongs".¹⁸⁴ He divided the army into two parts, and sent one of them into Pomerania where they had great successes, while the duke himself set off to meet the Czechs.¹⁸⁵ Bolesław therefore placed greater significance on the freeing of his homeland from its attackers,¹⁸⁶ than to securing his personal revenge.

A separate problem is the meaning of the parallel drawn by Gallus between the characteristics of Bolesław and those of the Maccabees who defended Israel supported by God for the purity of their faith. The author of the chronicle did not give any indication how this comparison should be interpreted in the context of the story of Bolesław Wrymouth. Maybe he did not have to, bearing in mind the popularity of the motif of the Maccabees in the description of heroes of the full Middle Ages. We may suspect that the motif of the defence of the chosen people by a hero from among them beloved of God, the defence of the homeland against the unbelievers, and the sacralisation of the political efforts of Bolesław was beneficial to the picture which the chronicler was trying to paint. This group of themes might also have been the model both for the perception of the ruler by those around him as well as for the ruler himself to imitate.¹⁸⁷ In the context of the conflict with the unbelievers—the Pomeranians, the identification of Bolesław and his armies with the Maccabees and the Israelites could equally suggest an attempt to compare his efforts with those of the participants in a crusade—a holy war.¹⁸⁸ The introduction of this motif, however, into the context of the fights with the Czechs and also the briefness of the chronicler's suggestion indicates the need for caution in the interpretation of the significance of this rhetorical comparison.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, II, 34, p. 103, lines 7–8.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 9–13.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 6–7.

¹⁸⁷ See Jean Dunbabin, *The Maccabees as Exemplars in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, [in:] *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, Katherine Walsh, Diana Wood eds, Oxford/New York 1985 (=Studies in Church history, Subsidia, vol. 4), pp. 35–36, on the popularity among the laity of Judas Maccabee as a warrior and model for knighthood *ibidem*, pp. 40–41.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Sini Kangas, "*Militia Christi*" meets the Prince of Babylon. *The Crusader conception of encountering the enemy*, [in:] *Frontiers in the Middle Ages. Proceedings of the Third European Congress of medieval Studies (Jyväskylä, 10–14 June 2003)*, O. Merisalo ed., in collaboration with P. Paht, Louvain-La-Neuve 2006 (=Fédération Internationale des Institutes d'Études Médiévales, Textets et Études du Moyen Âge, vol. 35), pp. 107–109, 119.

Against the background of the way in which the chronicler depicts Bolesław, the negative characteristics of his brother become perceptible all the more clearly. It is no accident that the chronicler presents them in a passage which follows the narrative presented above. Zbigniew is depicted as delighting in the smallest setback of his brother,¹⁸⁹ even though they equally represented an unfavourable situation for the whole country. What is more, he exchanged gifts with the pagans, sending them large hand-outs. They in return looted Bolesław's lands, but avoided damaging the property of the older brother, and even—though unintentionally—sending him part of the spoils they had gained from them.¹⁹⁰ Zbigniew, the opposite of Bolesław, placed his own well-being above that of the rest of Poland, coming to terms with the pagans in order to have peace, even though other parts of Poland suffered. Seeing this, as Gallus tells us, the friendship of all the wise men (“sapientes”) in Poland for Zbigniew changed to enmity.¹⁹¹ Among the negative characteristics of the older brother which they pointed out was the fact that he had not kept his word given when he swore his oath of alliance to his brother and he treated Bolesław's friends as his enemies, and Bolesław's enemies were his friends. What is worse, he encouraged Poland's enemies to attack the country.¹⁹² Thus “as a result of the hatred of a small number of people, the whole of Poland and the heritage of his father was exposed to humiliation by enemies.”¹⁹³ Just as much as Bolesław precisely fitted the characteristics required by the “Testament of Władysław Herman”, so Zbigniew completely corresponded with the negative characteristics which Władysław had indicated were undesired in his heir. It should be noted however that the chronicler tells us that Zbigniew's faults were due to him “listening to childish and harmful advice” and that it was the hatred that drove those who advised him that led him to do things damaging to the country.¹⁹⁴

Once again the motif of the bad advisors appears in Gallus' in order to distance the royal family (from whose blood of course Zbigniew was) from the shame these events involved. He was not naturally evil,

¹⁸⁹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 35, p. 103, lines 17–18.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 103, line 19—p. 104, line 4.

¹⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 104, lines 4–5.

¹⁹² *Ibidem*, lines 9–17.

¹⁹³ *Ibidem*, lines 18–20.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 18–19.

but was weak in the face of bad advisors.¹⁹⁵ It was for this reason that he was to fall to a degree that he could not be rescued by his entourage.¹⁹⁶ Summarising this picture of the anti-prince, the chronicler formulated a warning which refers back to Herman's recommendations: "let posterity and contemporaries take care that there are not co-rulers, equal in rank, and in dispute with each other".¹⁹⁷

The Struggle for Power

Bolesław, though in the "Chronicle" he could have opposed his brother does not do so, but "trusting in God" devotes himself to the defence of his country.¹⁹⁸ The situation changed when Zbigniew's deeds openly threatened the security of the homeland. He had not only refused to help his younger brother who was securing the south of the country from foreign enemies, but also together with the Czechs and Pomeranians gathered an army in order to fight him.¹⁹⁹ This was a literal example of the conditions under which Herman in his "Testament" had said that the nobles were freed from their obligation to obedience towards one of his sons. The situation was especially unforgivable in that Bolesław had done nothing to provoke his brother's hostile acts. On the contrary, he had expressed a desire to submit to his authority as the older brother, but only however on condition that Zbigniew would take over "the whole care and concern for the kingdom, as you are the oldest".²⁰⁰ If he would take up the burden and maintain true brotherhood with Bolesław, the latter pledged that "to whatever you call me, whether for counsel or for the benefit of the kingdom, you will always find me ready to co-operate". If however he would decline the offer he would still be able to carry on his life peacefully and safely, "by the grace of God".²⁰¹ He asked Zbigniew however to entrust to him what already in fact rested on his shoulders, though younger in age, the matters of war and advice concerning the state.²⁰²

The conditions which Bolesław proposed Zbigniew corresponded to what Herman had decreed. The junior brother who had the responsibility for the whole country possessed the required acknowledgement,

¹⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 20–22.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 104, line 23—p. 105, line 1.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 105, lines 1–2.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, II, 36, p. 105, lines 4–6.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 106, lines 7–10.

²⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 105, lines 18–19.

²⁰¹ *Ibidem*, p. 106, lines 3–6.

²⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 105, lines 17–18.

and wished to sanction his position by peaceful means for the good of Poland. His opposite Zbigniew chose however to engage in war in the name of his own interests.²⁰³ This basic polarization of positions of both brothers with respect to the contents of the “Testament of Władysław Herman” should be remembered, since Bolesław had broken the basic prohibition of their father just as much as his older brother; in his struggle for power he made use of the aid of foreign powers, the Russian and Hungarian rulers. In this situation the chronicler had to explain this away, and he did this with reference to the portrait he had earlier painted of the ruler placing the needs of his realm before his own. He indicated that “if because of himself, or because of him [Bolesław] could not do anything, one might expect that the kingdom would have been lost”.²⁰⁴ Besides that, in contrast to Zbigniew’s, that decisions was not taken without deep reflection. The duke hesitated the whole day and only after “enquiring deep into his heart”,²⁰⁵ did he take the final decision. This emphasis on the deepness of Wrymouth’s reflection is exceptional in the chronicler’s text. Usually in the pages of his chronicle, Bolesław generally acted exceptionally quickly and at the same time effectively without allowing himself the luxury of doubts. The impression of the solemnity of the moment was made more powerful by emphasis on the intimacy of the act of taking a decision by Bolesław, and a lack of any mention of the advisors that were such an obvious feature of the description of Zbigniew’s behaviour. The differences in the psychological portraits of the two brothers became even clearer, and the independence of the younger brother and the dependence of the older on the advice of others would become even more significant in its consequences. The member of the royal family most worthy of the inheritance of the throne would take the most important and most difficult decisions by himself.

This great conflict, so dramatically developing, ended almost without any battle. Surrounded by his enemies, Bolesław was “wisely and correctly”²⁰⁶ reach an agreement with the Czechs, and on this news

²⁰³ This at least is how the chronicler presents matters. R. Grodecki suggests (*Zbigniew książę Polski*, pp. 98–101). that in reality the situation might have been completely different, that it might have been Zbigniew that was the superior, against whom Bolesław was in fact the rebel.

²⁰⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 36, p. 107, lines 1–3.

²⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 106, lines 16–17.

²⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, II, 37, p. 107, line 13.

Zbigniew escaped across the Vistula.²⁰⁷ Going after him, his brother took Great Poland and joining his forces with Russian and Hungarian reinforcements entered Mazovia. Zbigniew submitted to his brother and obtained Mazovia from him, but as a common knight, “not as a lord”.²⁰⁸ The conflict did not lead therefore to civil war, with brother fighting brother, unlike the situation earlier in the conflict between Herman and his sons. The chronicler included in his narrative however the topic of the interception of a letter from Zbigniew which confirmed his treacherous intent, which was said to have saddened “the whole people”.²⁰⁹ Due to this, the younger brother was to gain the full support of all Poles for his efforts and in Gallus’ narrative he appears as the only representative of the interests of the homeland. Whatever hesitation there may have been in the assessment of his actions in the matter of the conflict between Władysław and his sons, they would be unnecessary here. It would not be possible to question the right to the throne gained, almost bloodlessly, by the younger brother over Poland.

The Brother’s Exile

In taking over the rule of the whole country Bolesław continued his earlier plans and exhibiting the characteristics of his personality which were revealed in the period of his joint rule with his brother. After a winter campaign of five weeks, he conquered Pomerania.²¹⁰ He placed this task higher on his list of priorities than punishing his brother who once again had not honoured the oaths he had sworn.²¹¹ Bolesław “having his heart in God rather than his brother”,²¹² could achieve his aims without the help of the latter. The culmination of this run of successes for the ruler was the birth of an heir. In the opinion of the chronicler, both facts were closely connected with each other, for he wrote, “a greater joy arose from the glorious victory, the birth of his son from the royal family”.²¹³ Bolesław’s assurance of the continuity of the dynasty seems to have had a greater significance than the military victory.

²⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, II, 37, p. 107.

²⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 109, line 1.

²⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, II, 37, p. 107, lines 11–13.

²¹⁰ *Ibidem*, II, 39, pp. 109–110.

²¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 109, lines 9–11.

²¹² *Ibidem*, line 13.

²¹³ *Ibidem*, II, 40, p. 110, lines 18–19.

Bolesław, when he had assured the future safety of both the country (by the conquest of the Pomeranians) as well as his family (the birth of a son), now had to decide how to proceed against his faithless brother. This time the chronicler does not make the effort to justify the deeds of the duke, who now appeared after all as the rightful ruler of the whole country. The fact that he had once again to call on Russian and Hungarian troops to help him deal with Zbigniew also did not disturb the chronicler. After all, now that Bolesław was the ruler of the whole country, it did not conflict with any of the principles laid down in the “Chronicle”. Nevertheless the very nature of the event, the conflict between two members of the ruling dynasty was troublesome from the point of view of the values which guided the chronicler’s narrative. Princes, at least when they are guided by their own will, do not make mistakes, or at any rate the chronicler’s criticism of them is very heavily veiled (as in the case of Bolesław the Bold). Gallus consistently takes the opportunity to show therefore that though the whole of Bolesław Wrymouth’s actions was directed directly against his older brother, this was because “Zbigniew was powerless because of bad advisers”.²¹⁴ As in the case of the first conflict between the brothers, the weight of responsibility for the bad deeds of a person in whose veins flowed the royal blood was shifted to his advisers. The chronicler presents the expulsion of Zbigniew from Poland very laconically, “the duke’s patience was exhausted and together with his collaborators he forced his brother to escape the country”.²¹⁵ Finally, in this way “the whole kingdom of Poland was united under the rule of Bolesław”.²¹⁶ One might have suspected that it would be precisely this fact, not the defeat of Zbigniew in the first struggle would be the culminating moment of the narrative. But the chronicler did not place any special stress on the moment of interest to us, but places it in a series of other great events of one winter, alongside the conquest of the Pomeranians, the birth of a royal son and an expedition against the Prussians.²¹⁷

It seems that this form of the narrative was decided upon because the chronicler abided by certain principles of composition of the work. A number of times he indicates that he does not want to bore the reader with monotonous narration. Thus where there were a sequence

²¹⁴ *Ibidem*, II, 41, p. 111, lines 8–9.

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 7–9.

²¹⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 9–10.

²¹⁷ *Ibidem*, II, 42, p. 111, lines 15–17.

of very similar events occurring one after another, he added anecdotes. They strengthened the ideological content which the author wanted to convey, and sometimes even gave the described events new meanings. Above all they broke up the rather homogeneous structure of the narrative. This may mean that Gallus did not devote much space to the description of the conquest of Pomerania (though he did introduce a scene of the submission of the lord of Białogard), nor on the exile of Zbigniew. The reader however had been informed earlier why he had met his fate and how his power had been broken. It is not surprising that the chronicler regarded the first conflict with Zbigniew as more important. It was then, according to the “Testament of Władysław Herman” that the fate of the Polish throne was decided and the reader might have a shade of doubt whether Bolesław had acted in a righteous manner. What happened next was just the effects of this fundamental event which decided on its further history.

Bolesław's Sole Rule

The Beginnings of his Sole Reign

In the part of the story which is devoted to Bolesław's youth and establishment of sole power, the chronicler placed emphasis on his matching the characteristics suitable for the future ruler laid down in the “Testament of Władysław Herman”, chivalrous fame, valour, concern for the well-being of the country. Presenting his portrait of the ruler of the whole of Poland he accented the involvement with conflicts with his neighbours and partially modified the earlier picture of the ruler. He underlined the fact that the duke “persisted with all his power in the defence of his lands and the honour of his homeland”.²¹⁸ Although he still emphasised Bolesław's personal valour, he placed greater emphasis now on his abilities as a leader. Thus the siege of Czarnków which he conducted took place with the use of complicated siege machinery.²¹⁹ Writing about the later Pomeranian campaign, Gallus explicitly says that he did not go after “loot and livestock”, but then straight away set about besieging the stronghold at Wielen.²²⁰ An anecdote about a fight with the Moravians well illustrates that the chronicler now saw the role of the ruler of the whole country as the leader of his armies

²¹⁸ *Ibidem*, II, 45, p. 115, lines 12–13.

²¹⁹ *Ibidem*, II, 44, p. 114, lines 17–20.

²²⁰ *Ibidem*, II, 48, p. 117, lines 18–20.

in a different way. When the latter attempted in secrecy to take Koźle, Bolesław, not knowing of this, sent knights to occupy Racibórz, and himself went hunting and rested. The Poles met the invaders, defeated them and took the stronghold.²²¹ All of this was without the presence of the ruler who had only given them the orders to attack.

The actions of the ruler after the military victory had a different character than earlier. Still the gaining of loot was important, but the chronicler emphasised the wider political horizons of his political activity. Describing the struggle for Czarnków, he drew attention to the fact that Bolesław not only took the stronghold but also was to have “called many to the faith from their pagan beliefs and [himself] helped the lord of the stronghold get out of the baptismal font”.²²² This element of the ruler’s actions was completely consistent with the later description of his political plans, and this was not included in the story here by accident. Since this event is mentioned in connection with events which were unfavourable to Bolesław Wrymouth in Pomerania, the event seems to have had great value to the chronicler with respect to his wider intentions.²²³ Bolesław gave his new godson, this same Gniewomir of Czarnków, the charge of the stronghold at Ujście on the frontier between Great Poland and the Pomeranians. Gniewomir however betrayed his benefactor for which, the chronicler says, as man who was “treacherous, faithless and forgetful of bestowed grace”,²²⁴ he deserved the “chief punishment”,²²⁵ in other words, the death penalty. We do not however hear anything further about the execution of this punishment. In addition, Gallus in his chronicle indicates that as a result of treachery, the loss of Ujście was never actually made good. Marching rapidly, Bolesław returned to face the Czechs, but all he was able to gain was to be able to disprove the rumour being put about by Gniewomir about his defeat in the course of his fighting in the south.²²⁶ As a result this “missionary accent” in the narration serves only to emphasize the untrustworthiness of the Pomeranians. This

²²¹ *Ibidem*, II, 45, p. 115, line 13—p. 116, line 3.

²²² *Ibidem*, II, 44, p. 114, lines 21–22.

²²³ Learning of the fall of Czarnków, the duke of the Pomeranians submitted to Bolesław but—according to the generalised words of the chronicle in this place, neither he nor the newly baptised lord of the taken stronghold did not long retain their loyalty to the Polish ruler, *ibidem*, p. 114, line 22—p. 115, line 5.

²²⁴ *Ibidem*, II, 47, p. 117, line 4.

²²⁵ *Ibidem*, II, 44, p. 115, lines 3–5.

²²⁶ *Ibidem*, II, 47, p. 115, lines 6–11.

allowed the chronicler to justify the efforts of the Poles during their later fights in Pomerania over Wieluń. There Bolesław had promised safety to the Pomeranians who surrendered. His warriors however (the chronicler says without their ruler's agreement) murdered them all "remembering their labours, so many deaths, so many hard winters, so much treachery and so many deceits".²²⁷

The "treachery of the Pomeranians" mentioned in this place in the chronicle was especially accented by the juxtaposition of the narrative of the unfaithfulness of Gniewomir and his companions. In the chronicler's picture, especially of Bolesław's deeds, emphasis was placed on the notion of "faithfulness" in the creation of such links not only in the political sphere, but also the sacral one and the fatal results of the breaking of faith. It is no accident that Gallus placed so much emphasis on the person of Gniewomir, the only Pomeranian mentioned by name in the whole work. It is significant for him that this treachery was the doing of Bolesław's "filius spiritualis".²²⁸ In turn, in the rhetorical listing of the aims of both sides facing each other at Wieleń, the chronicler ascribes to the Poles the desire to fight for "justice and victory".²²⁹ On the one hand this "justice" undoubtedly was linked in his mind with the opposite characteristic of the Pomeranians, their "natural faithlessness".²³⁰ The second element of this list showed the other aspect of the Pomeranian expeditions in the period of Bolesław's sole rule: a full victory over them, not merely the defence of his lands from their attacks. Now the Pomeranians were forced to defend their "freedom", while it was the Poles that were "aiming for victory",²³¹ for victory over them and their lands.

Both these themes, that of trustworthiness and the changed nature of the descriptions of the military expeditions, appear at the moment when Gallus Anonymus leads his hero into the field of great conflicts, their nature extended beyond the ruler's previous scope of interest, that is the safety of his country. As a co-ruler, Bolesław had to defend it against invaders, but now he ruled alone, he was involved in treaty arrangements which obliged him to undertake more extensive military actions. For example, he contracted an alliance with Koloman king

²²⁷ *Ibidem*, II, 48, p. 118, lines 8–11.

²²⁸ *Ibidem*, II, 44, p. 115, line 4.

²²⁹ *Ibidem*, II, 48, p. 118, line 2.

²³⁰ *Ibidem*, line 3.

²³¹ *Ibidem*, line 4.

of Hungary according to which in the case of the Emperor crossing either of their borders, the other was to attack Bohemia.²³² Thus it was, in “keeping his faith”, Bolesław fulfilled his obligations, attacking the Czechs when Hungary was invaded by Emperor Henry V.²³³

Two themes which were so clearly emphasised in the description of Bolesław’s actions as a duke of the whole of Poland, his connection with the divine sphere of Christianity and the importance of faithfulness were forcefully presented in two anecdotes which conclude the second book of Gallus’ chronicles. Once again the Pomeranians in another year after their defeat at Wieluń invaded Mazovia and began to loot it, taking prisoners and burning homes.²³⁴ Comes Magnus went out to meet them with only a small number of Mazovian men. In a terrifying battle the Pomeranians were defeated. This was only because “there God showed his almightiness”.²³⁵ Szymon, the Bishop of Mazovia, accompanied by other priests dressed in liturgical robes had accompanied them, and with “pitiful voices accompanied their sheep attacked by wolves, and what mortal weapons could not achieve, they did with spiritual ones and watched over their flock with prayer”.²³⁶ Thus only by the support of the prayers of their bishop were the Mazovians able to overcome the Pomeranians “as once the sons of Israel had defeated the Amelachites due to the prayers of Moses”.²³⁷ An expression of the ultimate humiliation of the Pomeranians, but also an attempt at a joke on the part of the chronicler is the concluding story of two women who the day after the battle “gained a new victory” and captured one of the enemy knights.²³⁸ In turn, certain knights of Zbigniew invaded Silesia together with some Czechs and there they suffered the same fate as the Pomeranians in Mazovia, “some were captured, others slain by the sword”.²³⁹ In their case, betraying Poland brought them a tragic end.

²³² *Ibidem*, II, 46, p. 116, lines 9–11.

²³³ *Ibidem*, lines 11–15.

²³⁴ *Ibidem*, II, 49, p. 118, lines 19–21.

²³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 119, line 2.

²³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 119, lines 5–9.

²³⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 9–11.

²³⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 12–15.

²³⁹ *Ibidem*, II, 50, p. 119, lines 17–19.

Lord of War

The description of Bolesław as sole ruler added a whole series of fundamental elements to his portrait which the chronicler developed to varying degrees in the next (third) book of his work. Already in the dedicatory “letter” which introduces it, Gallus emphasised that he was encouraged to write it by the “broad subject of wars”²⁴⁰ and the “valour and magnificence of that martial prince Bolesław”.²⁴¹ The attempt to organize the material contained in the third book of Gallus’ work within the framework of “military matters” can be seen most clearly in the “Epilogue” which was filled with a description of the triumph over the Pomeranians and mentions of the victories over the German emperor, Czechs and Hungarians.²⁴² The theme of the author’s concentration on military questions returns many times in the “Letter”.²⁴³ Here however it is accompanied by an indication of the overall aim of the wars which was the benefits to Poland as a whole. Not to describe the stories of its rulers would be to condemn it to be the ranks of the “primitive unrefined barbarian peoples”.²⁴⁴ The knighthood should become acquainted with the glorious deeds of the rulers, to kindle in their spirit desire for virtue, for as defenders of the homeland they should study the honour and fame of rulers and spread their worldly fame, just as the clergy should by reading the “Lives” of saints take care of the spiritual life of the faithful.²⁴⁵

Nevertheless in the “Letter”, there was a lack of the element which we know from some vague mentions in the second book, but appears fully developed in the “Epilogue” of the third book, the links between the prince and the sacral sphere. The “Epilogue” begins with a verse which is highly reminiscent of a contemporary Easter hymn, “To God all glory and honour, the Kingdom, virtue and fame”.²⁴⁶ The drawing of attention to the coming of the Lord in glory, the most joyful of times for Christians has a special significance since it is accompanied by the

²⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, III Ep., p. 120, line 15.

²⁴¹ *Ibidem*, III Ep., p. 121, lines 1–2.

²⁴² *Ibidem*, III Epyl., pp. 123–126.

²⁴³ Including the places where the chronicler justifies himself that he took up “such a life”, writing of the “wars of kings and princes and not the Gospels”, *ibidem*, III Ep., p. 121, lines 11–13.

²⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 9–11.

²⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 122, lines 11–17.

²⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, III Epylogus, p. 123, lines 17.

information that “Pomerania came under the authority of the triumphal Bolesław, His [God’s] success and victory”.²⁴⁷ It is possible that the construction of this passage in this way indicates a desire to draw attention to the missionary character of the martial deeds of Bolesław which was already hinted at in book two. If the conquest was accompanied by baptisms, would the submission of Pomerania to Bolesław’s rule not be the coming of God to the pagans, and at the same time a raising them up from their spiritual death to salvation? It would be hard however to prove that thesis on the basis of the evidence in the “Epilogue” itself. The only thing that is clear is the emphasis itself on the connection between Bolesław’s military successes with divine assistance. Linked with the first verse is the content of the second, in which the chronicler declared that without the aid of Christ “who rules the whole world with his wisdom/human or knightly power would not be able to do this”.²⁴⁸ The magnificent victory over the Pomeranians had fallen on St Lawrence’s Day, and to him too, as well as God, thanks and praise were also due in equal measure.²⁴⁹ It was only due to God’s help that Bolesław could overcome even the emperor and “peace was signed with Augustus/ confirmed, as befits, by brotherly comradeship”.²⁵⁰ Finally “what use is virtue or good advice against God?/ Without his agreement neither can anything be done, not even a page be turned.”²⁵¹

God grants Victories

The first words of the main text of the book did not conflict with this, above all they accented the merits of Bolesław himself and his “many and uncounted chivalrous deeds worthy of memory”.²⁵² These, as results from the above-discussed declarations of the chronicler and the further parts of the story, were closely connected with his narration of stories from the Christian sacral sphere.²⁵³ Thus during the siege of Pomeranian Nakło, despite the earlier agreement on the suspension of fighting on St Lawrence’s Day, reinforcements arrived to aid the besieged. Not expecting such a turn of events, the Poles returning

²⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 18–19.

²⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 124, lines 2–3.

²⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 125, lines 10–12.

²⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 14–15.

²⁵¹ *Ibidem*, lines 19–20.

²⁵² *Ibidem*, III, 1, p. 126, lines 18–19.

²⁵³ Cf. R. Michałowski, *Ideologia monarchiczna*, pp. 188–189.

from celebrating mass were surprised by the sight of many enemies.²⁵⁴ Not having any time to organize his troops properly, Bolesław rapidly formed them into two divisions and delivered a notable speech. He said "Let your virtue and the necessities provoked by this direct threat, as well as your love for your homeland, stir you more than this speech. Today, by God's will and with the permission of St Lawrence, the idolatry of the Pomeranians and the pride of their warriors will be shattered by your swords".²⁵⁵ Once again the chronicler shows us Bolesław paying less attention to his own needs and provides affirmation of his personal virtues and love of his homeland. He added to these elements a further one, the connection between the military aspect and missionary activities in one indivisible whole. In the face of this crusading idea²⁵⁶ even patriotism, though present, was pushed into the background in this story, since this was a virtue that not only the Poles possessed, but also the Pomeranians.²⁵⁷

The accenting of the religious dimensions of the conflict can be seen in the chronicler's work, not only in the frequent invocations to St Lawrence which appear in the descriptions of the course of battles,²⁵⁸ but also in the identification of the Polish knights with "Christians" in general.²⁵⁹ Their opponents, the Pomeranians, were labelled "barbarians"²⁶⁰ and "pagans",²⁶¹ who fight "like wolves".²⁶² The theme of conducting a war in the name of extending the spread of the Christian faith gives the ruler's activities another dimension. His leadership skills, though still evident in the narrative,²⁶³ were now of less importance than the approval of God and his saints.²⁶⁴ The picture of the conflict at Nakło precedes a description of Bolesław's conflict with the emperor. From that perspective, the shifting of the stress from the characterization of Bolesław as a martial prince with a talent for leadership, to one with a

²⁵⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, 1, p. 127, lines 19–21.

²⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, III, 1, p. 128, lines 10–14.

²⁵⁶ Andrzej Feliks Grabski has already written on this topic, *Polska wobec idei wypraw krzyżowych na przełomie XI i XII wieku*. "Duch krzyżowy" *Anonima Galla*, "Zapiski Historyczne", 26 (1961), fasc. 4, pp. 37–64.

²⁵⁷ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, 1, p. 127, lines 10–12.

²⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, line 21; p. 128, lines 3–4.

²⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 127, line 19; p. 128, lines 1, 18; p. 129, line 2.

²⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 127, line 20; p. 129, line 1.

²⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 129, line 3.

²⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 128, lines 18–19.

²⁶³ *Ibidem*, lines 19–21.

²⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 127, line 17; p. 129, lines 4–5.

privileged relationship with the sacral sphere guaranteeing beneficial results for all of his subjects, takes on an especial significance.

In relation to the Emperor

The theme of the emperor's aggression begins unexpectedly in Gallus Anonymous's chronicle, without any warning. During Bolesław's pacification of Pomerania, Emperor Henry V decided to attack Poland.²⁶⁵ Only a little further on does Gallus present the reasons for this episode but at the very beginning of the story he defines quite precisely the character of both sides of the conflict, the emperor was driven by violence and hindered Bolesław in his struggle with the pagans. This picture was strengthened by the inclusion in Gallus' text of the contents of a letter allegedly sent by the emperor in which he presents not so much the reasons for his actions as his demands, the division of the country into two parts and awarding one of them to Zbigniew, and also sending him an annual tribute in either gold or soldiers.²⁶⁶ Bolesław's reply embodied all of the elements of his character as it was presented earlier, as a valiant soldier and concerned for the well-being of his country, he rejected the demand for tribute, which he labelled as being in conflict with "our freedom", as a wise ruler looking after the good of his country, he emphasized that acceptance of Zbigniew back again could not be enforced by anyone's will, but only the "joint advice of my [subjects] and the decision of my own will".²⁶⁷ The chronicler contrasts the violence and the greed of the emperor who wanted to divide the kingdom of Poland with the sword²⁶⁸ with the virtue of Bolesław here functioning not only as a warrior-leader, but above all citizen. The final words of Bolesław's letter refer to the changes mentioned above, from the young duke who was just a local warrior to the mighty and dignified ruler, above all—member of the Roman Christian community. The Polish duke did not completely refuse Henry his financial or military aid. He however made two conditions, the latter was to ask him for them "with kindness, not impudence", and only when it was needed "to help the Roman Church".²⁶⁹ If he fulfilled these conditions, he would receive "help and advice", just the same as his predeces-

²⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, III, 2, p. 129, line 15—p. 130, line 1.

²⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 130, lines 4–7.

²⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 8–13.

²⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, line 7.

²⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 13–14.

sors received them from Bolesław's forebears.²⁷⁰ This last phrase had a specific significance when we place it in the context of the information clearly emphasized by the chronicler that the future invader was not yet emperor, for he was only crowned in Rome two years later.²⁷¹ In this way, though Bolesław acknowledged Henry's special authority, not only did he not possess the formal right to present the Polish ruler with demands,²⁷² but Bolesław contrasted his inappropriate behaviour with the authority of the earlier collaboration of his predecessors with other emperors. This was a collaboration based on "freedom", and among the different contemporary meanings of this word there were those connected with the "freedom of the kingdom" from domination by an emperor and that which referred to the natural freedom of will of every man given him by God, which may be limited by laws, but cannot be eliminated.²⁷³ In no way then does the chronicler, or Bolesław in his narrative, insult the imperial power. On the contrary, it was Henry who ignored the established principles which should have guided the actions of a Christian ruler.

Despite everything, the chronicler does not actually represent Henry as an evil man. It seems that a significant role in determining events was the poor counsel of his advisors, especially Zbigniew who suggested that the Poles would offer almost no resistance to the emperor.²⁷⁴ According to the words of Bolesław's letter however, he is categorized as a "deceitful man". The Czechs, in turn, who also encouraged the German ruler to attack, were "used to live from looting and violence".²⁷⁵ In the end what caused Henry to decide to attack was that the Polish ruler's response to him "provoked him to extreme anger".²⁷⁶ In Gallus' work, the anger of the ruler could have a variety of meanings, Henry himself was angry not only at Bolesław, but even when faced with strong Polish resistance to his armies turned his anger towards Zbigniew.²⁷⁷ Nonetheless the chronicler, writing of

²⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 15–16.

²⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 129, lines 15–16.

²⁷² C. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, p. 329, analysing that passage drew attention to the emphasising by Gallus of the "autonomy" of Poland with regard to the emperor's authority, which could not interfere with the internal affairs of Wrymouth's rule.

²⁷³ See Johannes Fried, *Über den Universalismus der Freiheit im Mittelalter*, "Historische Zeitschrift", 240 (1985), pp. 338–339, 351–359.

²⁷⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, 3, p. 131, lines 2–3.

²⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, line 4.

²⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 130, line 20.

²⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 131, lines 9–10.

his making the decision to attack Poland, his anger is described as having been exceptionally strong, and it was that which pushed him towards a decision for which he was painfully punished.²⁷⁸ In this way, Henry was depicted as having been punished as a man with weaknesses—a tendency to anger easily, and to listen to bad advisers,²⁷⁹ but not yet evil. It was only in describing the later military events that Gallus presents him in a way which endows him with more negative characteristics.

Thus after a short siege of Bytom, the emperor unexpectedly crossed the Oder below Głogów. This move surprised the people in the stronghold, who were taking part in a mass celebrated in honour of St Bartholemew the Apostle.²⁸⁰ He thus broke one of the fundamental principles present in the “Chronicle”, to refrain from military action on holy days.²⁸¹ Those who ignored this principle were always punished, and this time too it was no different. Unable to take the stronghold the emperor agreed to a suspension of fighting, so the people of Głogów could discuss the situation with Bolesław. He took hostages who he promised to release when the delegation returned from the meeting with their ruler. Even at this time however he was said to be considering how he could take Głogów even “by breaking his word”.²⁸² Thus, when the defenders refused to submit as Bolesław ordered them to, the emperor broke his promise and threatened to kill the hostages if the stronghold was not surrendered.²⁸³ In rejecting his demands the inhabitants were said to have told the ruler of the Reich that putting his threat into action, he would be laying himself open to charges of “perjury and murder”.²⁸⁴ Despite that, Henry put his words into action and in the attack on the walls, tied the “most noble of the hostages and the son of the comes of the town” to their siege machines.²⁸⁵ He expected that the defenders would not fight back for fear of harming them. To his surprise, the defenders of the stronghold did not hold back and hurled stones and weapons at the Czechs and Germans

²⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, line 1.

²⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 6–7.

²⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, III, 5, p. 133, lines 15–17.

²⁸¹ Cf. W. Polak, *Czas w najstarszej polskiej kronice*, pp. 50–51.

²⁸² *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, 6, p. 134, line 23.

²⁸³ *Ibidem*, III, 7, p. 135, lines 10–11.

²⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 12–13.

²⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, III, 8, p. 135, lines 22–23.

attacking the stronghold.²⁸⁶ Finally Henry, realizing that he could not take the stronghold lifted the siege.

The extensive description of the emperor's activities in the first part of the narrative about this conflict is connected with the conventions which guided the writing of this part of the "Chronicle". In it the author attempts to highlight the heroism of the Polish knights, leaving their ruler a little in the background. At the same time he constructed a portrait of Henry as a ruler whose behaviour was the complete opposite of that of the Polish ruler. In the "Chronicle", Henry allows his rage to get the better of him which made him break oaths and commit murder. The Polish ruler on the other hand remained calm, having weaker forces watched the imperial army from afar and rejected the temptation to attack them immediately. This was not because he was afraid of death in battle, because he was willing to face that, but only when he was certain "that my death would not end in danger for my homeland", but since he could not be certain of that, he said it was nobler to wait than "die with arrogance".²⁸⁷ This attitude was not only a complete difference from the characterisation of the emperor as impulsive, but also from the portrait Gallus painted of him as a younger man, a warrior throwing himself into battle with the Pomeranians accompanied by only a few men. Now the chronicler places the stress in his portrayal on Bolesław's wisdom and concern for his country rather than on efforts to gain fame. This is because the homeland became the most important of values in this part of Gallus' chronicle. When the delegation came to their prince from the people of Głogów, asking if they could surrender, he "threatened them with the suffering they could expect if for their sake [the hostages—P.W.] they gave up the stronghold".²⁸⁸ This threat recalls the corresponding words of the emperor who threatened the defenders of Głogów. But the German ruler treated this as a punishment for their "rebelliousness",²⁸⁹ in other words resisting his will, while Bolesław was to have indicated that "it is better and nobler that the inhabitants die by the sword than capitulate and serve foreigners".²⁹⁰ It was not respecting the will of their ruler

²⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 136, lines 1–3.

²⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, III, 5, p. 134, lines 9–12.

²⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, III, 7, p. 135, line 5.

²⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, line 11.

²⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 6–8.

that was the most important criterion for the assessment of the behaviour of the people, but the retaining of their own freedom and that of their homeland.²⁹¹

In the end, the chronicler slowly comes to a comparison between Bolesław and the emperor as warriors. He presents a telling picture to end his description of the battle before Głogów. Here the only thing gained by the Germans forced to stay outside the stronghold was the “fresh human flesh of their own [knights]”.²⁹² Daily the disembowelled and embalmed bodies of their knights left on wagons for Bavaria and Saxony as “the Polish tribute”. The crime of murder which Henry had committed against the inhabitants of Głogów found retribution in the harm done by the guilty party to his own people. In contrast, Bolesław did not suffer any losses defending his homeland. He attacked the German knights foraging for food, he struck terror into the “camps of the emperor” by patrolling the area around and punishing the “looters and arsonists” he met.²⁹³ In the end, Henry was forced to withdraw from Głogów and head for Wrocław. It was there that he was ultimately to be confronted with the “virtues and inborn abilities of Bolesław”.²⁹⁴ He harried the marching imperial troops to such a degree that they were afraid to leave the camp not only to seek food, but also to relieve themselves.²⁹⁵ Indeed, he “infused this great and magnificent army with such fear that he forced those Czechs, born looters, either to eat their own [supplies], or to fast”.²⁹⁶ The ultimate assessment of the ruler’s military prowess were to be the words of his enemies, “you defend your lands in the wisest manner”.²⁹⁷

The chronicler presents the reader with various types of evidence of the fear with which Bolesław was seen among the emperor’s troops. The most important of them, however, was presented in an unusual form, a song which allegedly the imperial divisions used to sing. It is composed as a complaint of the imperial armies about their situation facing the virtuous ruler Duke Bolesław. It incorporates a justification and assessment of the defeat of the imperial army. In the work itself

²⁹¹ On the significance of the categories of “freedom” of the Poles in the work of Gallus Anonymus, see A.F. Grabski, *Z zagadnień genezy*, pp. 46–47.

²⁹² *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, 9, p. 137, lines 6–7.

²⁹³ *Ibidem*, lines 2–5.

²⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, III, 10, p. 137, lines 15–16.

²⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 138, lines 7–10.

²⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 5–7.

²⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, III, 11, p. 138, line 23.

was incorporated not only a discussion of the military prowess of the duke, but above all a strong criticism of the emperor's activities. There was even a statement describing Bolesław as "a man such as who was worthy of royal and imperial power".²⁹⁸ Expressed by the Poles or narrator, that could have been a remark which could be seen as offending the institution of the emperor, these words put into the mouths of the attackers meant that the chronicler was not responsible for them, he was only after all reporting their points of view. They however, like penitent sinners, added, "such a duke should inherit power and lands/he who with so few is able to chase so many in such a way".²⁹⁹ The military defeat became in the song a sign that hid a more important meaning. This was that "God is with him [Bolesław] and giving him victory/ while he repays us justly for the injustices we did".³⁰⁰ Bolesław was fighting a "just war" with pagans in Pomerania, while "we fight an unjust war against Christians".³⁰¹ They should have met him and celebrated his victory, while on the contrary "we planned to occupy [his] homeland".³⁰² The culminating point was the repetition of the words of "noble and wise men" among the attackers who were reflecting on the meaning of the song. Inspired by its words, they saw the intervention of God on the side of Bolesław both in the case of his wars with the pagans (Pomeranians) as well as the emperor.³⁰³ "If God had not lifted him so high to be so powerful, our people would not by any means praise him so greatly".³⁰⁴ In the opinion of the chronicler, there might have been a wider divine intent behind the song, "but maybe a secret intention of God who transferred to Bolesław the honour (laudes) due to the emperor".³⁰⁵ The meaning of this sentence is unclear. The reader can only infer that the author wanted to indicate the temporary exchange of roles mentioned in the song—due to God's help, in the opinion of the creators of this song, Bolesław changed from an enemy prince to someone worthy of the imperial throne.³⁰⁶ Such a conclusion

²⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 139, line 9.

²⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 5–6.

³⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 17–18.

³⁰¹ *Ibidem*, lines 15–16.

³⁰² *Ibidem*, lines 13–14.

³⁰³ *Ibidem*, III, 12, p. 139, lines 20–23.

³⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 23–24.

³⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 24–25.

³⁰⁶ Roman Michałowski, "Restauratio Polonie" w ideologii dynastycznej Galla Anonima, "Przegląd Historyczny", 76 (1985), z. 3, pp. 472–474 treated this song as the chronicler's declaration of a permanent status achieved by Bolesław II, thanks

is strengthened by the following words of the chronicler, “for the voice of man should always be in accord with the voice of God. Thus it is certain that the people singing are obedient to the will of God”.³⁰⁷ This formulation clearly explains the presentation of these assessments in the “Chronicle” in the form of a song; due to this, not only were the views of “the people”, but above all they had the character of a message from God.

The suggestion to the reader of such a dual origin of the work cited by the chronicler influences our assessment of the further actions of the emperor. He was said to be aware that not only was he “repressing the people” by his fruitless actions, but that he “could not oppose God’s will”.³⁰⁸ Although he knew this, he could not afford to openly apply the conclusions he drew from this, but “thinking one thing in secret, he pretended that he was intending to do something else”.³⁰⁹ He therefore headed off in the direction of Cracow, and at the same time sent a delegation to Bolesław with a further demand for tribute.³¹⁰ Again the chronicler inserted into his text the letters of both rulers, and their contents supplement the portrait of the rulers. The emperor now demanded only 300 *grzywnas* and had to admit that his change of mind was prompted by the counsel of his collaborators, but above all that he had observed the “virtue of valour” of his opponent. These financial requirements were in conflict with Henry’s words that “this will suffice for the sake of my dignity if we will both have at the same time peace and friendship”, but he was at the same time marching in the direction of Cracow in the case of Bolesław’s refusal to pay.³¹¹ The chronicler made the emperor utter a condemnation of his own policy, since he was to admit that because of his position, from Bolesław he only expected peace and friendship. Despite that, in his letter Henry also exceeded the scope of the demands “due to him”, driven by greed and pride. A confirmation of such a reading of the chronicler’s intent

to which he was to have been superior to the ideal Piast ruler, Bolesław the Brave. This thesis was opposed by Czesław Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, pp. 344, 347–348, who suggested that in the chronicler’s opinion, Bolesław Wrymouth at most tended towards an imitation of the ideals described in the characterisation of Bolesław I. Let us add that this song had its own specific situational context and its meanings had no reflection in any of the earlier or later characterizations of Bolesław Wrymouth.

³⁰⁷ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, 12, p. 139, line 25—p. 140, line 2.

³⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 140, lines 4–6.

³⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 6–7.

³¹⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 12–14.

³¹¹ *Ibidem*, III, 13, p. 140, lines 17–22.

hiding behind Henry's letter can be found in the words of Bolesław's letter. He is depicted as having started with the notable words, "Bolesław, duke of the Poles, certainly [owes—P.W.] the emperor peace, but not in the hope of denars".³¹² Once again the chronicler emphasized that the Polish ruler wanted to give the emperor what was due to him, but at the same time highlighted the contradictions present in the words of the emperor.

The reprehensible character of Henry's demands became clearer when the chronicler contrasted him with the values by which the Polish ruler was guided. The warrior was said to have answered that it was up to the emperor to advance or retreat, but not from fear or any other cause, but he would not obtain from Bolesław "a single coin". Bolesław Wrymouth would have preferred to even lose the kingdom of Poland "with unsullied freedom", than rule the country eternally and in peace "in shame".³¹³ Freedom (and it is not clear to what extent the chronicler separated the freedom and shame of the country from those of its ruler) was the most significant value, which the emperor was said not to understand.

The chronicler emphasizes the significance of freedom in this conflict once again when he wrote about the end of the expedition. Henry returned home and as the only tribute he received from Poland, he carried the bodies of his slain warriors.³¹⁴ It was above all, "because he had planned to violate the ancient freedom of Poland, the Just Judge frustrated that attempt".³¹⁵ Thus ultimately it was not Bolesław himself who saved Poland, but God had acted through him, and "Polish freedom" was safeguarded by the Almighty Judge. This was not necessarily because of some special bond between Poland and God, for the chronicler does not emphasise that. He does mention however that this was an "ancient freedom" and thus resting on principles the origins of which were immeasurably distant from his own times, and he seems to treat them as a natural element of the world. Henry's desire to sweep it away by violence was an assault on the just order of the world.

³¹² *Ibidem*, III, 14, p. 141, lines 2–3.

³¹³ *Ibidem*, lines 6–7.

³¹⁴ *Ibidem*, III, 15, p. 141, lines 16–17.

³¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 141, line 18—p. 142, line 1.

The death of Świętopełk

What is however interesting is that in the chronicler's opinion, it was not Henry who was directly punished. God was represented as exacting recompense for these injustices on Świętopełk, the emperor's advisor.³¹⁶ His fate was also presented in more detail by the chronicler with a didactic aim, at the end of his narrative on the emperor's aggression he says that the tale is included so "we may derive from his life and death something so that others may improve themselves".³¹⁷ The chronicler also ensured that the connection of both facts, the death of Świętopełk and the defeat of the emperor was not only visible in the context of the words quoted above concerning the vengeance of God.

Świętopełk was the ruler of Moravia who next, due to the assistance of Bolesław, gained power over Prague too.³¹⁸ The Polish ruler did not take advantage of the situation when escapees from Bohemia in his court saw him almost as their own duke.³¹⁹ In return for that, the Moravian ruler was said to have contracted a close alliance with the Polish duke and "not once, but many times swore to be linked with Bolesław with one shield".³²⁰ He promised that when he became the ruler of the Czechs "he [would be] his [Bolesław's] eternally faithful friend, and both will be together with one shield".³²¹ It is worth noting the repetitive phrase concerning union between Bolesław and Świętopełk by "one shield". We do not meet this phrase anywhere else in Gallus' work, and it is understood intuitively as an expression of close friendship, and above all as an expression of mutual trust.³²² It gains in significance in confrontation with the specific circumstances of Świętopełk's death. We are told that "when he sat safe and unarmed on a mule among his men, he was stabbed with a spear by one of the inferior knights and lay in his grave", nobody wanted to avenge his

³¹⁶ *Ibidem*, III, 15, p. 142, lines 1–2.

³¹⁷ *Ibidem*, III, 16, p. 142, lines 4–6.

³¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 142, lines 11–15.

³¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 143, lines 1–4.

³²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 142, lines 10–11.

³²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 143, lines 6–7.

³²² The explanation of this word seems somewhat enigmatic in the translation of R. Grodecki and M. Plezia, when they write that "the phrase *united by one shield* probably derives from the fact that in the medieval period, the word *scutum* also meant the smallest unit of the army, composed of a knight, his messengers and pages", Gallus Anonymous, *Kronika*, p. 138, footnote 3. We do not find such a meaning of the word "scutum" in Gallus' text and the translator's imagination of the organization of armies in the twelfth century seems somewhat anachronous.

death.³²³ Świątopełk was unarmed because the only defence he had was that which he gained from the alliance with Bolesław, shielded with him with “one shield”, which through his treachery he had rejected. Let us add to that, that God punished the Czech ruler as a warning to others, not only because he broke the alliance. Another reason was that when he gained the throne in Prague, “he did not fear God because he committed murder”.³²⁴

When we compare this catalogue of Świątopełk’s faults shown by Gallus with Henry’s deeds during the expedition against Bolesław, we find a number of significant parallels. The emperor too should have maintained peace and friendship with the ruler of Poland according to old customs. Henry too committed murder, during the siege of Głogów. Finally, he attacked that stronghold on a Christian holy day, and he had no intention of submitting to the will of God, which was seen and commented on in song by his own army. It is possible that in both cases we are dealing with a universal collection of what Gallus saw as the most serious faults a ruler could exhibit. Nevertheless it is difficult to regard such a close correspondence and the connections between the two as accidental. Maybe in this way Gallus was trying to suggest to his readers the way they should evaluate the emperor, without expressing it directly? We do not find an unequivocal condemnation of Emperor Henry anywhere in Gallus’ work. On the contrary, we have shown the respect he has for the imperial authority. He did not write, even though the words seem so easily to suggest themselves, that God punished or would punish Henry for attacking the Polish duke. He preferred to discuss another ruler, lower in the hierarchy of rulers who paid with his life for similar faults.

The Czech Epos

The story of the expedition and defeat of Emperor Henry was in Gallus Anonymus’ “Chronicle” juxtaposed with the story of Bolesław III’s expedition against the Czechs. After the death of Świątopełk, the Polish ruler placed his friend Borzyvoj on the throne in Prague.³²⁵ He had time to conquer the Pomeranians,³²⁶ and repair the strongholds

³²³ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, 16, p. 143, lines 11–13.

³²⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 9–10.

³²⁵ *Ibidem*, III, 17, p. 144, lines 1–6.

³²⁶ *Ibidem*, III, 18, p. 144, lines 9–16.

damaged by the Czech invasion,³²⁷ when the Czechs, “whose fidelity is unstable, turning as a wheel”,³²⁸ ejected Borzyvoj from the throne and replaced him with his own brother. Bolesław, in whose court the third and youngest Premyslid brother was staying decided therefore to mount an expedition to Bohemia in order to allow the third brother to take power, since (as Gallus tells us) Borzyvoj was now prisoner of the emperor.³²⁹ The emperor had previously fought for justice for Zbigniew on the advice of the Czech ruler Świętopełk. Bolesław on the advice and request of the youngest brother set off to return Borzyvoj, or at least his younger brother, to power.³³⁰ In this situation, it seems possible that Gallus Anonymous made efforts to make the two expeditions look dissimilar in the eyes of his reader. He explicitly added that Bolesław’s motivation was that he was acting “for justice”; he took up arms for the sake of loyalty to the imprisoned man,³³¹ and above all because he wanted to surrender the fate of the expedition into the hands of the Just Judge by engaging in battle with the Czechs.³³² The latter, whenever they could, avoided battle until in the end, despite the willingness of Bolesław and his younger companions and what the elder ones had decided, the Polish army had to return home because of a lack of bread.³³³ The retreating army was pursued and ambushed by the Czechs, who hoped that they could inflict considerable losses on the Polish forces during their passage through the forests of the borderlands. Only the foresight and bravery of the duke saved his army, when he himself, voivode Skarbimir and selected Polish divisions mounted a surprise attack and defeated the Czechs when the latter were not expecting any further resistance.³³⁴ In reality, Bolesław’s expedition ended in disaster. In addition, his army suffered in Bohemia the same difficulties that Henry V’s had in Poland. Nonetheless Gallus presents the expedition and its individual episodes as memorable triumphs of the Polish armies,³³⁵ and the shame of the Czechs who could not resist

³²⁷ *Ibidem*, III, 18–19, p. 144, lines 16–21.

³²⁸ *Ibidem*, III, 20, p. 145, line 7.

³²⁹ *Ibidem*, III, 20, p. 145, lines 10–11.

³³⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 14–15.

³³¹ *Ibidem*, lines 13–14.

³³² *Ibidem*, III, 21, p. 147, lines 23–24.

³³³ *Ibidem*, III, 22, p. 148, lines 23–24.

³³⁴ *Ibidem*, III, 23, p. 151, line 4—p. 153, line 12.

³³⁵ *Ibidem*, III, 21, p. 146, lines 9–11; III, 23, p. 145, lines 9–10.

the Polish armies trampling the soil of their land.³³⁶ Why, however, did the chronicler present it in this way, since he was in any case unable to demonstrate the ultimate triumph of the duke? Especially since he could concentrate on the wars in which he obtained more spectacular victories, and which the chronicler only mentioned.³³⁷

It seems that the connection between these efforts and the expedition of the German king was not without meaning. In the narrative of the Chronicle, God punishes Świętopełk for his sins, but also for the whole of the expedition of Henry against Bolesław. It was the Czechs, not the Germans that received the greater punishment, the loss of their ruler. This theme was developed in the actions of Bolesław, who after Henry had withdrawn set off for Bohemia in order to “avenge the harm done to him by the Czechs”.³³⁸ This expedition ended victoriously, and the second was its continuation. Despite all the parallels contained in the work of the chronicler shown above, the expedition was not so much a response to the invasion of Henry V, but was its opposite. Bolesław was not out to destroy anyone’s freedom, but was acting out of regard to the bonds of loyalty due to a friend. He aimed to resolve the matter in battle, treated here as some form of a trial by ordeal, in which God would show who was justified and therefore victorious.³³⁹ Undoubtedly the victor would be Bolesław, since he only wanted to “defend the justice of the exiled and the interests of the persecuted”,³⁴⁰ and thus do what it was the Christian’s duty to do. Above all he entrusted his fate to God,³⁴¹ whose support in this case was evident, even to those in the Polish army who were extremely cautious about the prospect of an invasion of the territory of the enemy.³⁴² It was the same category of warrior that in the German camp was singing the song praising Henry’s enemy who was at the same time their own persecutor. Henry had attacked Głogów on a Christian holy day, and had therefore been defeated. In Bolesław’s army on the other hand there were not only normal priests, there were even bishops who prepared the soldiers spiritually for the struggle.³⁴³ The Czechs, losing

³³⁶ *Ibidem*, III, 23, p. 145, lines 12–15.

³³⁷ *Ibidem*, III, 18, p. 144, lines 12–14.

³³⁸ *Ibidem*, III, 17, p. 143, line 21.

³³⁹ *Ibidem*, III, 21, p. 147, lines 23–24.

³⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 20–21.

³⁴¹ *Ibidem*, III, 23, p. 150, lines 2, 16–18.

³⁴² *Ibidem*, III, 22, p. 148, lines 19–21.

³⁴³ *Ibidem*, III, 23, p. 150, lines 18–21.

the battle when the Polish army crossed the border, acknowledged that “God’s justice does not approve of our cause”.³⁴⁴

Other features of the expedition however were similar to those that accompanied the conflict between Henry and Bolesław, though their assessment must be different. An unjust matter was being opposed by a just one, and the latter was the one of which gained the approval of the Almighty. If however something was to get in the way of the total fulfilment of Bolesław’s intentions, it was only prosaic human frailty, the hunger which spread throughout the army, and the damaging intentions of the priests.

The chronicler’s intent of connecting the expedition with the matter of the conflict with Henry V can be seen in the contents of the dispute between the prince ruling in Prague (who is nameless in the chronicle) and Bolesław. When the ruler of Poland called on him to award a suitable portion of the kingdom for the youngest brother, the Czech ruler is reported as saying that he was ready to accept back his brother only if Bolesław would accept the return of his brother, Zbigniew. He could not, however, award him part of the kingdom without the agreement of the emperor.³⁴⁵ Bolesław however rejected that argument. He stated that “the Czech prince in his answers [...] did not supply any incontrovertible argument, but only naked words”.³⁴⁶ By this means, the chronicler negates the right of the emperor to interfere in the political situation in Bohemia, just as he had earlier negated his right to destroy the “ancient freedom of Poland”. The reader in this situation must agree with the chronicler’s presentation of the argument, the Czech ruler, under the cover of having to consult the German emperor left Bolesław no alternative but to seek resolution of the matter on the battlefield. Let us note however that the linking in this one matter of these two different themes (the acceptance of the return of their exiled brothers and the assignation of land to them) allowed Gallus to emphasize both of them at the same time. Since the chronicler decided to introduce Zbigniew into this place in her narrative, and did not have to do this, it was very clearly important to him to emphasize the different situation of Bolesław from that in which the Czech ruler found himself. The acceptance of the return of Zbigniew

³⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 153, line 1.

³⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, III, 21, p. 147, line 24—p. 148, line 2.

³⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, III, 22, p. 148, lines 8–10.

to the Polish court would not have been the same as the return of the youngest Premyslid to the Czech court. Gallus however does not explain why. The introduction of this topic is itself especially interesting, it ultimately allowed the removal of the similarities between the activities of Bolesław and Henry, it was one thing to act in the interests of the youngest brother of Borzyvoj, but the expedition in support of Zbigniew was something else. The comparison of the two was senseless, it was just empty words.

The triumphal accents in the presentation of the results of that specific expedition³⁴⁷ had therefore deeper significance within the framework of the whole narrative and it is no accident that they appear here, and not in the earlier description of the conflict with the Pomeranians. In the “Chronicle”, the Czech invasion ultimately confirmed the multi-faceted (military and in terms of his relationship with the sacral sphere) superiority of Bolesław over the emperor and his allies, supplementing the picture of the victory over Henry and divine punishment on the Czechs for the whole imperial intervention in Poland. It was also a continuation of the definition of the position of Zbigniew, who appears in the “Chronicle” from the moment of his expulsion as an opponent of Bolesław everywhere where there was a just fight supported by the Almighty. It is not surprising that this time too he was found on the field where the last battle between the Poles and the Czechs was fought and (like the Czechs), he “gained more when he also fled, than when he remained there”.³⁴⁸

Prussian Intermezzo

Concluding his narrative of the Czech expedition, the chronicler then passes to a description of the military activities of Duke Bolesław in Prussia. Apart from the elements portraying this as a victorious expedition,³⁴⁹ typical of Gallus, we find an interesting remark in this portion of the text. The prince undertook this expedition in the winter, “he did not rest in peace like some lazy [person]”,³⁵⁰ but struggled over the ice in the swampy lands of barbarians.³⁵¹ This was something, the chronicler remarks, that not even the “Roman rulers” had attempted, when

³⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, III, 23, p. 153, lines 17–19.

³⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 15–16.

³⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, III, 24, p. 154, lines 8–11.

³⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 153, lines 22–23.

³⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 154, lines 1–3.

they were fighting the barbarians, they spent winter not in fighting, but in preparing their camps.³⁵² Maybe that remark should be linked with the earlier rhetorical comparison between Bolesław entering the Czech land and Hannibal attacking the Romans. Both of these phrases are linked by a common sense. Bolesław was not so much the equal of the rulers of the Eternal City, but was superior to them. This had significance in the context of the dispute between Bolesław and the German king Henry, but it is not possible to determine whether this was the effect intended by Gallus, mentions of the emperor no longer appear on the pages of this part of the chronicle. In the present form of the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymous we can only link this statement with the whole structure of the narrative about Bolesław, he tamed barbarian peoples, Prussians and Pomeranians, he defeated them or mercilessly looted their “homelands”,³⁵³ he also emerged victorious from confrontations with his Christian neighbours and in this way recalled the deeds of the first (pre-Christian) rulers of the dynasty who overcame all the peoples “around” their homeland. He did not have to fear the emperor, since the subjects of the latter even suggested he was worthy of becoming emperor himself, and he gave proof of more positive characteristics than the person currently occupying that position. He therefore, as “Prince of the North” created a sort of a counterbalance to the imperial authority. This was the same role as in the world of the chronicler, Bolesław I had once fulfilled in his time. It is worth remembering that Gallus did not refer unequivocally to Bolesław III’s great namesake. He repeated a certain narrative formula, but it is not possible to determine whether he had any more specific aim other than to just elevate Bolesław Wrymouth by the same methods he had successfully used earlier in his chronicle.

The Problem of Zbigniew

The efforts of the chronicler to present the increase of power and independence of Bolesław gained new significance when the author passes on to a description of the circumstances under which Zbigniew returned to Poland. Gallus Anonymous had to present it as the result of a decision which was precisely the opposite of that which Bolesław

³⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 153, line 24—p. 154, line 1.

³⁵³ The term “patria” is used by Gallus not only with reference to the lands of the Pomeranians, but also those of the Prussians, see *ibidem*, III, 24, p. 154, lines 2–3.

had uttered in the course of his attack on the Czechs. Then he rejected the idea of allowing Zbigniew to return to Poland in connection with the youngest Premyslid duke returning to Bohemia. Though, at the same time as the ruler of Prague had been forced to award his youngest brother the part of the inheritance that was due to him,³⁵⁴ Bolesław's older half-brother returned to Poland. Gallus however clearly keeps these two events separate in his narrative. In his story, the Polish ruler only decides to accept Zbigniew back home because the latter had begged him to award him even the smallest part of his inheritance from his father. He also promised that in no way would he attempt to equal his brother, but would serve him "as a knight serves his lord".³⁵⁵ The Czech ruler had been faced with a compulsory change of mind, while Bolesław was able to make his own choice. This is why Zbigniew had referred to the notion of "brotherly love".³⁵⁶

At that point, Gallus Anonymous makes a reference to the story filling the earlier pages of his book three, linking him with Zbigniew. The latter, sending a delegation "no longer trusted that he could gain victory, neither through the emperor, nor through the Czechs, nor through the Pomeranians".³⁵⁷ In this manner, there was an immediate reversal of the meaning of the text. That which had been a story of the rising power and glory of Bolesław turns out to have been instead a series of events representing the defeat of Zbigniew, who by "strength of arms" wanted to force his return to his country.³⁵⁸ The contrast of the brothers, of their political and military significance and their abilities, unequivocally indicated the inappropriateness of any comparison between the situations of the Czech and Polish rulers. As a consequence, Bolesław's agreement to allow the return of his brother was presented as another witness to the greatness of the Polish ruler. This time this was expressed not in military matters, nor in his political decisions, but in the sphere of mercifulness and morality. Bolesław, moved by the words of his brother, was said to have forgotten the wrongs Zbigniew had done in the past, not only to him personally, but also their homeland, and "to appease his soul", invited him to return.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, III, 25, p. 154, lines 15–17.

³⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, lines 18–22.

³⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, line 24—p. 155, line 1.

³⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 22–23.

³⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 23–24.

³⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 155, lines 4–7.

This observation of the chronicler took on considerable significance in the light of the events that were subsequently to develop after the arrival of Zbigniew. In the opinion of Gallus Anonymous, Zbigniew was “it seems” insincere when he sent his request to the ruler of Poland,³⁶⁰ and it is no accident that the chronicler indicates that fact before he reports Bolesław’s reply. In it, the younger brother emphasized that he would accept Zbigniew back if he was being sincere, and promised to resign from any outward expressions of pride, and symbols of aspiration to the status of a ruler.³⁶¹ Since Zbigniew falsely agreed to abide by these conditions, a deep moral abyss opened between the two brothers. Since Bolesław had from the beginning been deceived, no binding contract could have been agreed. This is especially the case since he is said to have declared, “if however [Zbigniew] hid in his heart the old resistance [and] dissent, better would be open disagreement, than if he brought a new conspiracy to Poland”.³⁶² In citing these words, the chronicler once again indicated that it was Poland that was the most important value which directed Bolesław’s actions. The decisive criterion, more important than the love for his brother remained the good of his homeland.

Zbigniew was the complete opposite of such a picture. When he came back to the country he appeared “on the advice of fools”³⁶³ with the symbols of ducal power (his sword carried before him, accompanied by a choir). He showed that he came, not to serve but to rule.³⁶⁴ Not only did he break his promise to his brother doing this, but he also showed that for him the most important values were his own dignity, while the well-being of his homeland was not his priority.³⁶⁵ Even then, it was not Bolesław who was to have turned against him, it was the people surrounding the ruler who were disgusted by Zbigniew’s behaviour that persuaded the prince to put an end to these activities.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, line 2.

³⁶¹ *Ibidem*, III, 24, p. 154, lines 8–10.

³⁶² *Ibidem*, III, 25, p. 155, lines 12–14.

³⁶³ *Ibidem*, line 15.

³⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, lines 18–22. Z. Dalewski has shown the significance of this passage as a picture of “adventus regis” against its wider ritual background, Z. Dalewski, *Rytuał i polityka*, p. 13–46.

³⁶⁵ Z. Dalewski, *Rytuał i polityka*, p. 46, sums up the significance of this scene in the sentence, “the arrival of Zbigniew is the arrival of an usurper, who was unable to find any justification for his claim to power other than brutality and violence”. See also *ibidem*, pp. 39–41, 99–101.

³⁶⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, 25, p. 155, lines 22–24.

Such a presentation of the genesis of the conflict is closely reminiscent of the circumstances of the rebellion of the two brothers against Herman and the expulsion of Zbigniew from Poland. In describing the conflict between the members of the dynasty, the chronicler did not want to show one of the Piasts as at fault. He places the blame on the bad advisors who led him to take the wrong decisions. This happened both in the case of Zbigniew, as well as Bolesław. We already observed earlier, that even if the chronicler indicated the insincerity of Zbigniew, he did not omit to inform us that this was not certain.

In the story of interest here we find another motif that was used earlier by Gallus, and that is the temporary loss of good judgement. This is what observers of events accused Herman of when he went to see Sieciech in the camp of his sons. A similar phenomenon is also said to have acted on Bolesław, the words of bad advisors “aroused his [Bolesław’s] human feelings”.³⁶⁷ The power of the ruler to judge was temporarily disturbed. This is especially the case that he had already been shown the pride of his brother as well as informed that Zbigniew had already hired a killer who was going to slay him.³⁶⁸ Gallus emphasised the latter accusation especially strongly, writing that it was “greater and more dangerous” than the first.³⁶⁹ In the first case only the pride of Bolesław was involved, but in the “Chronicle”, Bolesław is not driven by such personal feelings. The potential threat to his life however was another matter. It is not surprising therefore that the young ruler, as the chronicler tells us, was “driven by anger” and acting on the advice of “wise men” carried out “a certain offence”, thanks to which he escaped the danger of death. In one breath the chronicler includes in that sentence all the circumstances which lessen the guilt of the duke. He also adds another, due to this the duke was enabled to rule “safe from all conspiracies”.³⁷⁰

The chronicler did not end his account with this justification of Bolesław’s *Realpolitik*, once again he emphasized that Bolesław had not planned the offence he committed, but did so on the basis of accusations and suspicions.³⁷¹ This means that the main guilt falls on Zbigniew, who created this situation by his pride and “regrettably forced

³⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 156, line 1.

³⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 1–9.

³⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, line 5.

³⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 15–16.

³⁷¹ *Ibidem*, lines 16–18.

others into crime”.³⁷² Although the chronicler states that he neither accuses Zbigniew, nor explains away Bolesław’s actions, he nevertheless adds “but it is a lesser thing to commit the crime of impulsiveness as a result of anger in a situation created [for this], than commit one after thought and reflection”.³⁷³ It does not seem that these are words accusing Zbigniew however.³⁷⁴ The chronicler’s words clearly indicating the further circumstances which would lead us to assess Bolesław’s acts with more lenience refer to Bolesław’s advisors as those who had committed the “greater sin”. It was they who were said to have ignited the anger of the ruler by their words and give him new reasons to rise up against his brother. It is not possible to unequivocally state whether the chronicler accuses them of awakening the ruler’s anger with premeditation. It seems that this lack of clarity was intended by the author. In the next sentence he wrote, “we do not deny even the deliberately committed sin the right to atonement, but in assessing the penance we take in to account the person, age and circumstances [of the penitent]”.³⁷⁵ The writer deepens our confusion with this passage, looking almost like it has been taken straight from a confessor’s handbook. He seems to be referring to Zbigniew, it was certainly he who had committed the “sin of deliberation”. But we do not know of any penance that he had done. In turn, it was Bolesław committing the sin—about which the chronicler leaves no room for doubt—who was to have taken the responsibility of suitably atoning for it. But only his advisors, not him, had with forethought planned putting the sinful intention into effect. Only in the further part of the narrative do we find the clear statement that it was Bolesław who accuses himself of committing “such things”.³⁷⁶ Maybe Gallus wanted therefore by this sentence to link both brothers, Zbigniew and Bolesław, suggesting only the criteria by which their behaviour should be assessed?

Writing of Bolesław’s revenge, the chronicler ceases his earlier tendency to consistently and openly praise his deeds. The pages of the “Chronicle” emanate the concern of a pastor united in the same person with a judge assessing a crime about which he has unclear information, and a doctor evaluating the state of health of a patient. The body which

³⁷² *Ibidem*, lines 21–22.

³⁷³ *Ibidem*, III, 25, p. 156, line 23—p. 157, line 2.

³⁷⁴ See Gallus Anonymous, *Kronika*, p. 154, footnote 13.

³⁷⁵ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, 25, p. 157, lines 2–4.

³⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, lines 11–12.

needed such attention in the chronicler's narrative was not that of the Polish ruler, but the community as a whole, identified here maybe with the ruling family.³⁷⁷ We read in Gallus' text, "since that, which has happened to another part, cannot be returned to its original state, the ill member, able to accept the medication, should with keen and wise care be kept in a state of dignity".³⁷⁸ Otherwise, if that responsibility is ignored, to a bad situation will be added a worse one.³⁷⁹ The *Realpolitik* is still visible but moral values, so crucial in the history of the ruling dynasty and Bolesław himself, have not been ignored by the chronicler. This imprecisely defined "status dignitatis"—the dignity of a ruler?—to which Bolesław was to be returned could be obtained only due to a return to the state before the disruption of the normal state of things. This could only succeed through the application of spiritual medicines.³⁸⁰ Gallus presents the multitude of ways in which this desired order was restored (fasting by the duke, self-imposed solitude, good deeds, generosity towards those who shared in the penance, foundations for the Church and finally a penitent pilgrimage to Hungary and to Gniezno) and the support he always obtained from the bishops and abbots.³⁸¹ In this way the duke "suitably did penance and was sufficiently humiliated".³⁸² The last verb in particular deserves attention. Bolesław, the proud ruler who scattered his enemies before him, who never hesitated to fight in the name of freedom and his own dignity even the emperor himself—freely submitted himself to humiliation. So great was his guilt, so great was his atonement.

In this context occurs the question of the manner in which Zbigniew is portrayed in the chronicle. He practically disappears from its pages of the chronicle after the end of the story of his own offence and his undefined punishment. There is one exception. The older brother returns in a sentence in which the chronicler describes the

³⁷⁷ We cannot ignore the hypothesis that Gallus Anonymous by that name ("body") meant the whole of Polish society, for whom Bolesław's behaviour, including breaking the oath which is documented by Cosmas could have aroused disgust and earned even the awarding of the cognomen of "perjurer", see Elżbieta Kowalczyk, *Krzywousty—skaza fizyczna czy moralna?*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 101 (1994), nr 1, pp. 7–8, 10, 12. Kazimierz Jasiński, *Przydomek Bolesława Krzywoustego*, "Genealogia. Studia i materiały historyczne", 6 (1995), p. 137–146 does not agree with this opinion.

³⁷⁸ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, 25, p. 157, lines 6–9.

³⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 4–5.

³⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, lines 9–11.

³⁸¹ *Ibidem*, III, 25, p. 157, line 13—p. 158, line 1; p. 158, line 6—p. 161, line 11.

³⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 157, lines 12–13.

manner in which Bolesław's sin was fully atoned, "and what is more important than all these [things], especially when we consider his penance, in recompensing his brother, by the power of God, he was reconciled with him when he obtained forgiveness/absolution".³⁸³ In an alternative translation of this passage, introduced into the literature by Grodecki and Plezia,³⁸⁴ and the meaning of which was also accepted by Maleczyński,³⁸⁵ the verb "concordetur" is translated as "he made his peace with him", while the phrase "auctoritate dominica" as "according to the Lord's command". In both cases, the differences are not great, but the interpretation and conclusions are variant. In the chronicle, there is no clear indication that Bolesław was reconciled with Zbigniew in his lifetime, and from him obtained forgiveness or absolution.³⁸⁶ The older brother appeared in the whole passage once, when the chronicler indicated that the ruler "satisfaciens fratri suo". We do not know however whether he had in mind in his brother's lifetime, or after his death. In what way could he have recompensed him? Finally, who gave the brother forgiveness of his sin, his brother? Again, we do not find such a statement in this passage. If we look through the above-cited acts of penance of the duke, among those that might have been connected with his brother, the most important seems to be masses "for sins and for the dead".³⁸⁷ Was it not them that were to "satisfy the brother"? Does the phrase "auctoritate dominica" perhaps constitute a suggestion that the grace of forgiveness, crucial for the act of penance was given to the duke by God through his priests? We are told however that they tried on every possible occasion "to reduce the scope of the penance through the authority of Canon Law".³⁸⁸

It seems however that that manner of analysis of the text will lead us up a blind alley from which there is no way out, for the chronicler himself obviously was not concerned to include in his work the information which we seek. He did not attempt to emphasise the nature of the relationship between the brothers as something of crucial importance in the act of contrition of the duke. The very extensive description of Bolesław's penance concentrates on his pious deeds and acts of humil-

³⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 158, lines 4–6.

³⁸⁴ Gallus Anonymous, *Kronika*, p. 155.

³⁸⁵ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, p. 158, footnote 1.

³⁸⁶ Thus recently also Z. Dalewski, *Rytuał i polityka*, p. 103.

³⁸⁷ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, 25, p. 158, lines 1–2.

³⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 157, line 20—p. 158, line 1.

ity. But Zbigniew does not appear, alive or dead, as a participant in the broader ritual. Bolesław reconciles himself, but with the surrounding world, with society.³⁸⁹ This includes the international community, since he went to Hungary, leaving the safety of the country surrounded as it was by enemies in the hands of God. There he made many generous penitential gestures, of which Koloman was to find out about in detail.³⁹⁰ Bolesław did not however neglect his own subjects, especially the clergy, though the description of the culmination of his penance in a pilgrimage “to the grave of the holy martyr Wojciech” indicates rather the emphasis on the act of reconciliation with the whole “political nation” of Poland. The duke, after an entry to the town and then the church which was at the same time both ceremonial and humble, offered “as a testimony of his piety and penance” a magnificent reliquary for the remains of the Saint.³⁹¹ After this he “celebrated Easter together with his bishops, priests, chaplains and innumerable knights so magnificently and generously that he equipped all, both of greater and lesser [significance], with precious robes”.³⁹² He also generously gave gifts to all the inhabitants of Gniezno, independently of state and position.³⁹³ The conclusion of the ducal penance in the “Chronicle” took on the form of a renewal of the ties between the duke and his subjects, which however took place through joint participation in the sacral sphere.³⁹⁴ In the chronicler’s narrative, the duke behaved like a sinner who before Easter must confess and atone for their sins in order to take part in the joy of the Resurrection common to all Christians.³⁹⁵ The sacral issues were therefore in the narration of the “Chronicle”

³⁸⁹ Scholars who point out the close connection between the chronicler’s account of Bolesław’s acts and the ritual of public penance of in contemporary Europe are undoubtedly right, see Z. Dalewski, *Rytuał i polityka*, pp. 105–107.

³⁹⁰ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, 25, p. 158, line 8—p. 159, line 15.

³⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 159, line 22—p. 160, line 1.

³⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 160, lines 4–6.

³⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 160, lines 7–11.

³⁹⁴ See Z. Dalewski, *Rytuał i polityka*, p. 156.

³⁹⁵ It was only the IV Lateran Council 1214 (canon 21), that decreed the obligation of regular confession of lay people, however we may note earlier initiatives which aimed to impose such an obligation of penance on the occasion of the most important holy days. In the context of the connections of both Bolesław III and Gallus Anonymus himself with the Hungarians, it is worth drawing attention to the fourth canon of the Hungarian synod at Gran in 1114 which speaks of urging “ut omnis populus in Pascha et Pentacoste et Natali Domini poenitentiam agat”, See Martin Ohst, *Pflichtbeichte. Untersuchungen zum Bußwesen im Hohen und Späten Mittelalter*, Tübingen 1995 (=Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, vol. 89), pp. 25, 29–30, 31–32.

the most important elements of Bolesław's behaviour after the "sin" he committed on his brother.³⁹⁶ For the "spiritual" healing of the "ill member", the person of the brother himself no longer had any meaning after he was "atoned for".

The Narrative Breaks Off

The chronicle ends unexpectedly with a description of one of Bolesław's many expeditions to Pomerania. Gallus Anonymous tells us that the siege with which it begins had happened before the ending of Bolesław's penance, but he placed his account further on, so as not to disrupt the flow of the other narrative.³⁹⁷ In that situation, it is difficult to say to what degree the correlation between the ineffectiveness of Bolesław in this first siege of Nakło and his remaining in a state of sin due to the harm he had done Zbigniew was intended by the chronicler. The chronicler emphasized that the duke "daily heading off with alacrity to fight against the stronghold, assessed his efforts as completely in vain".³⁹⁸ This is an exceptional declaration in the chronicler's description of the military deeds of Bolesław which so far had consisted solely of triumphs. Nonetheless we immediately are given an explanation. This was "because he had not set up siege machines because of the wetness of the land, damp and swampy". Besides that, the stronghold was well-equipped with warriors and well-supplied with provisions.³⁹⁹ Were thus only the natural conditions the only reason for the difficulty of taking the stronghold according to the chronicler?

Despite the apparent obviousness of such a conclusion, let us suspend judgement and pass on to the description of the second campaign, carried out a year later—and thus already after the end of the ruler's

³⁹⁶ In the opinion of Z. Dalewski (*Rytuał i polityka*, pp. 137–138) Gallus showed Bolesław's penance as an *imitatio Christi*. This was to have been evidenced by the comment on the washing of feet of the poor by the duke. The author himself however notes that this reference does not have a further continuation in the sense proposed by the scholar. He therefore refers to the necessary "series of associations" this would have had to awaken in the readers. Did however this have to lead to regarding Bolesław's acts as an attempt to imitate the humbled Christ, or was it only to demonstrate the humility with which he carried out his penance? This second proposal seems simpler to set in the context of the narration of Gallus, and does not require the introduction of new hypotheses which depart from the sense of the text and perhaps inspired by reflections of German investigators on the behaviour of emperors (especially Johannes Fried on the penance of Otto III).

³⁹⁷ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, 25, p. 160, lines 12–15.

³⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, III, 26, p. 161, lines 8–10.

³⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 10–12.

period of penance. Then the ruler, when he reached the frontiers of Pomerania, left most of his army behind and with selected knights, so that “as in the old days” he could suddenly attack and take the stronghold of Wyszogród, situated between the Vistula and its tributaries.⁴⁰⁰ This sudden attack was not however successful, more than that, as a result of a mistake there even broke out fighting between his own troops which led to more losses than the next eight days fighting for the stronghold.⁴⁰¹ In the end, the stronghold was taken, garrisoned and the Polish ruler then besieged a second one. This he took “with great effort and after a long delay” since it was better supplied with defenders and more strongly fortified.⁴⁰² Investigators agree that this second site was Nakło,⁴⁰³ which is what the anonymous author of the chapter headings of the chronicle also believed.⁴⁰⁴ The author himself seems to suggest this possibility, though by a somewhat circuitous route, we learn therefore that the fighting concerned “another stronghold [other than Wyszogród].”⁴⁰⁵ Since the name of the first had been given, we may expect that the second would also be named. Since that name is missing from the account, we may assume that the chronicler thought it unnecessary. Indeed he mentions Wyszogród only once by name in his text, and thenceforth writes of it only as a “castrum”. The only name of a Pomeranian stronghold which had been used earlier in the chronicle was Nakło (“Nakel”).⁴⁰⁶ Gallus therefore seems to be ensuring, though without emphasis, that the reader understands that Bolesław returned to the stronghold which a year earlier he had attempted to take but failed. This time the results were completely different. While it is true that the siege was not easy, the chronicler writes of the levelling of the land and the use of siege machines, their destruction by the defenders of the stronghold, the great numbers of wounded and slain.⁴⁰⁷ This time however the attackers were not hindered in their use of machines by the “waterlogged ground” because all the wet depressions had been infilled and the machines given a

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 162, lines 5–7.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibidem*, lines 9–11.

⁴⁰² *Ibidem*, lines 18–21.

⁴⁰³ Gallus Anonymous, *Kronika*, p. 160, footnote 10; Karol Maleczyński, *Bolesław III Krzywousty*, Waław Korta ed., Wrocław/Warszawa/Cracow Gdańsk 1975, p. 98.

⁴⁰⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, 26, p. 161, line 16.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 162, line 18.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 161, line 6.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 162, line 21—p. 163, line 12.

hard standing of wood during the siege.⁴⁰⁸ In the end the stronghold fell despite the fierce defence, the lack of the arrival of reinforcements and the persistence of the besiegers.⁴⁰⁹

Writing of the retreat of Bolesław from Nakło after the first siege, when he left being satisfied only with a tribute and hostages, the chronicler mentioned that Bolesław “returned [home], hoping that he would be able to avenge himself at a more suitable time.”⁴¹⁰ We can treat these words in their literal sense of course, that Bolesław wanted to wait for a more suitable time of the year, when conditions would be better for military action. We should note however that the chronicler does not mention the weather as differing in any material way in the course of these two sieges. This was not however because he avoided giving details of the dates of military expeditions, where such details fit his purposes, he gives them relatively precisely. Writing of the length of the first siege of Nakło, he indicated that the action had lasted from St Michael’s Day to Christmas,⁴¹¹ that is it had lasted through the summer, autumn and winter. While he mentions the “suitability” of the time of the second expedition, he did not give any chronological details concerning the period it had taken place. It seems therefore that it was another type of time that had changed, not just the astronomical one. An important change which had taken place in the world created by the “Chronicle” which had occurred between the first and second expedition to Nakło was the penance of Bolesław which defined a “new time” in his life. Maybe therefore the chronicler deliberately connected the military successes of the ruler with his “spiritual illness” followed by the recovery of spiritual health, only by the taking of Nakło finally bringing the “matter of Zbigniew” to an end. The military triumph of Bolesław confirmed that Bolesław had regained his former power, or at least partly so, for the chronicler shows the lack of results when it was attempted to take Wyszogrod by a surprise attack, as Bolesław had been able to achieve “formerly”,⁴¹² and the punishment which he inflicted upon the treacherous Pomeranian duke Świętopełk was equally incomplete.⁴¹³ Maybe the further continuation of the “Chronicle” was to have been dedicated to the description of the conquest of

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 163, lines 1–2.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, lines 22–25.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 161, lines 18–19.

⁴¹¹ *Ibidem*, lines 7–8.

⁴¹² *Ibidem*, p. 162, lines 3–4.

⁴¹³ *Ibidem*, line 1.

Pomerania and the return of Bolesław's power, accompanied by the Christianisation of the region, but sadly we will never know whether this was the original intent of Gallus Anonymus.

2. THE TRADITION OF THE FAMILY OF THE DESCENDANTS OF PIAST IN GALLUS ANONYMOUS

The foundation of the chronicler's narrative about the fate of Piast and his descendents is his attempts to present a picture of the political realisation of the union between Piast and then Siemowit and God, and then the effects on Polish society of their gaining power. This is certainly not a story which Gallus composed only to discuss the ruling dynasty in terms of genealogical relationships. Strictly genealogical information here is sparse, and is almost entirely restricted to giving such information about the person ruling over the whole or a substantial part of the country. We do not find here information on a series of details about the lives and deeds of individual members of the dynasty known elsewhere. The genealogical order therefore here fulfils an important role, as it does in other historiographic accounts of the time,⁴¹⁴ but it is far from being a pattern regulating the manner in which the form of the past world was perceived.⁴¹⁵ Although we cannot negate its obvious influence on the construction of a framework of the history of Poland, in the case of Gallus' work, it seems to be closely related to the pragmatic function of the "Chronicle" (which was the strengthening of the power of the ruler coming from this dynasty). Thus the core of the "Chronicle" is created by information about the Piast clan partly referring to the past and partly to contemporary times which concerned their ruling over Poland and the community of the Poles. The aim of the "Chronicle" was not to present the detailed genealogy of Bolesław Wrymouth but the "dynastic tradition of the Piasts" in the narrow sense of the meaning.⁴¹⁶ On the one hand, its sense defined more precisely the meaning of the stories of the reign

⁴¹⁴ See Je. A. Mielnikova, *Istoricheskaya pamiat' w ustnoy i pismiennoy tradiciiakh (Poviest' vriemiennykh liet, i "Saga ob Inglingakh")*, "Drievniyshiye Gosudarstva Vostochnoy Evropy", 2001, pp. 56–57, 80.

⁴¹⁵ B. Kellner (*Ursprung*, pp. 77–92) has discussed the considerable changes that have taken place in research into of the influence of genealogy as a concept and manner of perceiving the world in the societies of the Middle Ages.

⁴¹⁶ See W. Polak, *Czas w najstarszej polskiej kronice*, p. 57, who emphasizes the significance of the succession of rule as the skeleton of the narrative, but at the same

of Bolesław III, but on the other hand it was enriched by the latter, by what the author (and his audience too?) regarded as the “correct” interpretation of the whole history of Poland. In the same manner, the way in which the mutual relations between rulers and their subject people were perceived formed the structure of the tradition of the Piasts transmitted to us in his “Chronicle” by Gallus Anonymus.

Certainly we are unable to indicate all the rules governing the creation of the narrative under analysis here, or the values which bound the perception of the early history of the dynasty into the homogeneous story which Gallus gives us. We are able however to indicate at least those that are suggested by the above analysis:

1. The legitimisation of the rule of members of the dynasty is to ensure the well-being of the Polish people. This is not however something which every member of the Piast dynasty was given once and for all just because they are members of the family. Those that are not able to fulfil that condition lose power either wholly or partially (Bolesław the Bold, Władysław Herman). In this context, the “Poles”, though they remain in the shadow of the main events of the narrative, were the second (after the Piast dynasty) collective subject of the story. One cannot dismiss them merely as a “member” of the “monarch-Poland union”.⁴¹⁷ We can perhaps indicate a somewhat different situation. “Polonia” was not so much an abstract entity, a geographical space, but an entity identified with Poles as a whole, their feelings (such as when they lament the deaths of Bolesław the Brave and Mieszko Bolesławowic) and their fate (when the blindness of Poland meant the pagan beliefs of the Poles, and her recovery of sight, symbolized by the miraculous recovery of his sight by Mieszko I, was brought about by the acceptance of baptism by the ruler and his subjects), and at the same time the presence of the dynasty. Without a Piast on the throne, there was no Poland, as seems to be suggested the emphasis in the title of Kazimierz I, “restaurator Poloniae”. Poland, and not the dynasty ruling over it, nor its inhabitants. In the “Chronicle”, the dynastic tradition of the Piasts is therefore very closely associated with the feeling of identity of the Poles and the survival of the country—Poland. This was an identity that it is not possible to name “tribal”, it

time emphasizes that this concerns the efforts of the chronicler to demonstrate the “dynastic ties”.

⁴¹⁷ See Cz. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, p. 157.

would be closer to its nature to label it “national”, without prejudice to whether its existence meant the necessity for such a nation to exist in the future.⁴¹⁸

In the “Chronicle” the partner of the ruling dynasty is treated in an almost personal manner (with some degree of exaggeration one might even say as a ‘civil society’). It is to this “collective” project, which is presented as a permanent relationship (though one needing constant renewal) between members of the dynasty and its subjects, which the picture of the dynastic tradition contained in the “Chronicle” refers. The importance of the bonds between the ruler and his subjects is emphasised by the fact that they were only broken by death (*vide* the permanent rule in Poland of Bolesław II, even though he was in exile). If this led to the disturbance of the harmonious collaboration between both parties, until these relations were restored, the party that was guilty of the cause of the breakdown suffered—the Poles after Kazimierz the Restorer was expelled, Bolesław the Bold when his sin brought exile to him, and Władysław Herman until he began co-operation with his sons and good advisors. It would be worth modifying the suggestive picture sketched by the pen of Czesław Deptuła, in which the main narrative of the chronicle is formed by the representation shaped on a Biblical model (following the Song of Songs) of the “betrothal” of Poland (the “bride”) with the Piast dynasty (the “groom”) and all the consequences that result from that.⁴¹⁹ We should consider seeing not “Poland” as some abstract entity, but the “Poles”. Above all we should see that the links between the people and their rulers through a Biblical prism was not suggested by the chronicler. It is possible that some parts of the audience, and even the author himself might have seen such an analogy, but the narrative itself emphasizes as an especial value the wholly natural connection between the dynasty and the

⁴¹⁸ An interesting comparison is with the work of Dudo of Saint Quentin, who in his “*Historia Normannorum*” not only recorded the glory of the ruling dynasty of Normandy but also built a feeling of identity and unity of the Franks (that is the original inhabitants of Normandy) and the descendants of the Norse men settled there around the glory of the dynasty, the responsibility of the nobility and the integrity of the territory already known as a “regnum” (A. Plassmann, “*Tellus Normannica*” und “*dux Dacorum*”, pp. 243–247). Although he himself bore witness to the existence of this feeling of identity as a realization of the vision of duke Rollo, actually in the end it never led to the creation of a Norman nation as such.

⁴¹⁹ See C. Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit*, p. 157.

community of the Poles—Poland with which God has entrusted it to govern.⁴²⁰

2. The ruler should have a privileged position with regard the sacral sphere, though in a specific dimension. Until the time of the baptism of Mieszko I, this took the form of direct divine intervention, and then later through contacts with God's representatives, people of the Church.⁴²¹ The ruler himself, without spiritual support was unable to assure himself the special grace of God.⁴²² It was Bolesław Wrymouth, as somebody who was born due to divine intervention and as a result of the prayers of monks, who was to benefit to the greatest degree from divine support of this type. But even he, in order to gain power, had to prove himself worthy of it by fulfilling a series of conditions, and in order to rule successfully, after committing an offence, atone for it by doing penance. God's blessing, united with the deeds of the Piast

⁴²⁰ Aleksander Gieysztor, *La chrétienté et le pouvoir princier*, p. 141, suggested that the development of the monarchic ideology in Poland was correlated with the shaping of the idea of "libertas Poloniae" and the obligation of the ruler to lead to the salvation of Poland.

⁴²¹ See P. Urbańczyk, *Władza i polityka*, p. 202 and M. Cetwiński, *Opieka nad biednymi*, pp. 34–35.

⁴²² Despite everything, it is difficult to agree with the suggestions of Z. Dalewski (*Rytuał i polityka*, p. 137), that Gallus through the use of the titles "rex regum, dux ducum" in reference to God elevating Siemowit wished to indicate that the Piasts "deserved the right to participate in the heavenly dignity of the Prince of princes who entrusted to them the task of princely rule on earth". The change by Gallus of the title from the traditional "rex regum, dominus dominantium" to that cited above can successfully be explained by assuming that Siemowit had become "duke of Poland" ("Polonie ducem concorditer ordinavit", *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I,3, p. 12, line 6). It is difficult however to say whether such a change of title initiated among contemporaries (as Dalewski suggests) the association between Christ as Prince of princes and the princes of Poland. This is what would justify the statement "if earthly princes acquired the right to share in the heavenly dignity of Christ, so equally the Piast princes, in the thinking of Gallus, were worthy of the right to participate in the heavenly dignity of the Prince of princes who entrusted him to exercise princely rule on earth" (Z. Dalewski, *Rytuał i polityka*, p. 137) Gallus uses this title for God only once and then never refers to it again. It is not possible to indicate the place where the chronicler in fact would suggest the Christocentric character of Piast rule which that scholar emphasizes (Zbigniew Dalewski, *Vivat princeps in eternum! Sacrality of ducal power in Poland in the earlier Middle Ages*, [in:] *Monotheistic Kingship: the medieval variants*, Aziz al-Azmeh, János M. Bak (eds) Budapest 2004, (CEU Mediaevalia, vol. 7), pp. 215–230, esp. pp. 225–226). Let us add also that since the times of the reign of Henry V, and especially from the beginnings of the twelfth century until the fourteenth century the sacral aspect of royal power was seriously questioned (Bernd Schneidmüller, *Zwischen Gott und den Getreuen. Vier Skizzen zu den Fundamenten der mittelalterlichen Monarchie*, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien", 36 (2002), pp. 219–220) and it seems unlikely that it would have automatically occurred to the contemporaries of Gallus, especially churchmen, as an essential element of the image of a ruler.

did not therefore result in the automatic granting of a “charisma”, permanently legitimating the power of all the members of the dynasty,⁴²³ neither was it connected with the dignity of king or duke which they obtained.⁴²⁴ As in the case of the idealised representations of power composed in the early and full Middle Ages the duke or king had to submit to the will of God (of which the chronicler more than once reminds us in the description of the story of Bolesław Wrymouth), and to oppose it was the greatest possible offence.⁴²⁵

God’s attention was not only turned to the Piasts, but also their subject people, the Poles, and ultimately the whole of Poland as a union between the two. There was an exceptional closeness to the mutual

⁴²³ Jacek Banaszkiewicz was of another opinion, and in this was also followed by Z. Dalewski (*Rytuał i polityka*, p. 136—here literature), placing emphasis on the permanent character of the grace of God for the whole dynasty, resulting from the divine intervention on the account of Siemowit. Already many years ago, Juliusz Bardach, *L'état polonais*, pp. 24–25 thought that the “Chronicle” contains a whole series of episodes in which the intervention of God on behalf of the Piasts was intended to convince the Polish public of the sacral roots of the dynasty. But he did not notice that in the “Chronicle” this is the result of one event, and rather shows the chronicler’s constant return to this topic in the context of public mistrust of such a resolution. It is worth drawing attention to the reflections of Franciszek Graus, who in his analysis of the “Chronicle of the Czechs” of Cosmas of Prague demonstrated that in the section devoted to the pre-Christian period, there were no traces of any kind of “charisma” of the Premyslids (idem, *K voprosu o proishozhdenii kniazheskoy (korolevskoy) vlasti w Chekhii*, “Voprosy Istorii”, 1959, nr 4, pp. 150, 153–155).

⁴²⁴ In the opinion of Z. Dalewski (*Rytuał i polityka*, p. 135): “For Gallus, the anointed king is the true God’s anointed, standing above the earthy order and answerable only to God”. It is difficult to justify such a thesis on the grounds of the text of the “Chronicle” in which apart from one phrase “christus per christum” used with reference to the conflict between Bishop Stanisław and King Bolesław II, the chronicler did not emphasize the receipt of the sacral symbols of coronation by the Polish rulers. In the case of Bolesław the Brave he only mentions his coronation by the emperor, and in the case of Bolesław II, he is totally silent about that moment in his history. The expulsion of Bolesław II only occurred because he exceeded his competence. In the “Chronicle” and without the involvement of God, the pride of Bolesław II and also as a king, deserved the criticism of observers. Finally, the actions of King (Gallus is careful to observe— not Emperor) Henry V against Bolesław Wrymouth were not only presented as reprehensible in the eyes of people, but in addition were presented as against the law regulating the coexistence of the Empire and the Poles—again without reference to divine law. Undoubtedly therefore the chronicler attributed an especial majesty to rulers, especially from the Piast dynasty, but in the pages of the “Chronicle” at least he did not exhibit the dignity of kingship as anything exceptional, differentiating them within the group of rulers of Poland.

⁴²⁵ Cf. Sverre Bagge, *The Political Thought of The King’s Mirror*, Odense 1987 (= *Mediaeval Scandinavia Supplements*, vol. 3), pp. 97–98, whose remarks concern above all the mirror of the kings of Norway, written in the first half of the thirteenth century, but the scholar also refers on this question to the models appearing in similar literature from the early Middle Ages.

links between the piety of the members of the dynasty, their successes in the exercise of their rule as well as between the well-being of the faithful and that of the ruler of his subjects. Leaving aside other examples, it is worth noting that Gallus indicated that Bolesław III was fully aware of this. In his description of the wars between Wrymouth and the Czechs, the chronicler cited the speech of the ruler in which the following words appear: “Deo iuvante Poloni suas iniurias vindicabunt”.⁴²⁶ On the day of victory over the Czechs, he says: “Deus omnipotens cornu humilitatis nostre dextera sue magnitudinis exaltabit”.⁴²⁷ After this, the preparation of the army included a mass with the bishops delivering a sermon to their congregations,⁴²⁸ which in the opinion of Josef Bujnoch recalls the preparation of the Crusaders for a decisive battle.⁴²⁹ Finally, one of the divisions in Wrymouth’s army “acies Gneznensis” was “patrono Polonie dedicata”.⁴³⁰ There was no question here of a passive reliance on the automatic receipt of the grace of God. On the contrary, both the Piast as well as his people, being aware of their special position had to make the effort to deserve it.⁴³¹

3. Each of the Piasts had to show his military prowess and ability to lead the army. The military deeds of the rulers shaped the political reality, they gave the communities they ruled a feeling of safety as well as providing material gains. In this respect the ideal would undoubtedly have been Bolesław the Brave who paid attention to both the redistribution of wealth, the safety of the country as well as the lives of each of his knights, especially foreigners. The wars conducted by the rulers had various aims: the recovery of the lost dignity of the ruler (Bolesław and the duke of Ruthenians refusing him his daughter, Kazimierz and the Mazovians rejecting his rule; Bolesław II and the Pomeranians rebelling against the Piasts), conquering neighbouring peoples (Siemowit, Siemomysł, Bolesław I), assuring his fellow citizens safety (Władysław Herman, Bolesław III), and finally as a missionary

⁴²⁶ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, 23, p. 150, line 2.

⁴²⁷ *Ibidem*, lines 17–18.

⁴²⁸ *Ibidem*, lines 18–21.

⁴²⁹ J. Bujnoch, *Gallus Anonymus*, p. 311.

⁴³⁰ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, III, 23, p. 151, line 9.

⁴³¹ While not opposing the basic thesis proposed by Roman Michałowski (*Ideologia monarchiczna*, p. 197), that it was “God who decided about the future of Poland and her rulers”, we would like to draw attention to the fact that this has more the form of a lively dialogue between, collaboration between those faithful to the Lord and the Creator, than a monologue of the latter decreeing the order of the world.

effort (Bolesław III). They were all linked by a common factor, they were the basic means by which the ruler realised his political intentions with regards his neighbours and the basic means of expression of the personality of the ruler. Both political unions as well as marital policy are overshadowed by these more dramatic and spectacular political tools.

In the narration of the “Chronicle”, there is a very clear division in this respect between the pagan and Christian periods of the history of the dynasty. In contrast to the descendants of Piast from pagan times, the Christian rulers of Poland conducted their conflicts in a manner that was in many ways governed by the principles of their religion. For example, they maintained peace on holy days—and if they failed to do this, they were defeated. During the battle they—like the ancient Israelites in the Old Testament—were supported by their priests. They could only achieve military success by living virtuous lives and when they broke God’s laws, they were defeated (like the proud Bolesław II, and maybe Bolesław III during the first siege of Nakło). It is possible that in this we see a distant echo of the new, twelfth century ideal of knighthood, which incorporated in itself the requirements of the life of a warrior as well as—at least in a certain sense—a monk.⁴³² This idea however never was nowhere unequivocally expressed. Above all the idea, with older roots, of the close relationship between the ruler, also as a warrior, and the Creator is dominant.

4. The ruler preserved and exercised the freedoms of both himself and also his subject people in a close relationship with the sacral dimension of the world. The ruler of the Poles together with his people were subject only to the rule of the Almighty, the rights of the emperor were related only to matters concerning the Church. This idea was especially clearly presented in the picture of Bolesław the Brave. In it one can observe an attempt to create a type of counterpoint to the idea of the universal power of the emperor. The themes of the rule over neighbouring peoples, care of the Church also the bestowal of the imperial competences in this sphere and the ruler’s special relationship with God leads the reader to a conclusion suggesting that Bolesław in some way was equal even to the emperor himself in power.

⁴³² See Harald Kleinschmidt, *Fighting for Status. Principles of Warfare in Medieval Europe*, “*Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica*”, 7 (2000), pp. 47–48, with references to the basic literature.

This theme returns, though in a slightly altered political context, in the description of the reign of the mature Bolesław Wrymouth and his conflict with Henry V.

5. The ruler could make mistakes, but should repair them, strive to the ideal. He was not just the embodiment of power, the anointed of the Almighty, but also possessed a series of characteristics which characterized also his subjects. This element is most fully visible in the case of Bolesław Wrymouth, who from a young warrior carrying out local engagements with the Pomeranians passed on to being the duke ruling over an undivided country, and then a ruler who affected the “imperial” ideal—“Prince of the North” indicated above. At the same time he committed mistakes, for which either he, or those around him were punished (such as when participation in a secular ceremony associated with the consecration of a church led to a bloody encounter with the Pomeranians of an indeterminate character), but for which only he did penance.⁴³³

6. The ruler should be independent, only then could he by his efforts assure his own success and that of the community of his subjects. The important mistakes committed by the Piasts, the ones the writer did not stay silent on, were due to the effects of bad advisors. The representatives of the dynasty could be characterized by a certain weakness of will, they could be affected by bad influences, sometimes even they were affected, as if by an illness, of the distortion of their ability to assess a situation correctly. None of them, however was naturally evil, not even Zbigniew, though the results of their own activities could lead to them losing power. Thus for example the conflicts within the dynasty were caused entirely by the activities of people from outside, most often their advisors. An exception was the equivocal character Bolesław II. He gained military successes, was generous towards people of the Church, but in his behaviour there was always a certain flaw, a lack of completeness brought about by a moral weakness—pride which brought unfavourable results to all his efforts.

7. This draws our attention to the significance of the personal characteristics of the rulers, especially those elements connected with Christian moral norms. Undoubtedly among them a significant place

⁴³³ Brygida Kürbis (*Sacrum i profanum*, pp. 192–193) was of the opposite opinion. Observing the words of the chronicler referring to the conflict between Bolesław and Bishop Stanisław and Bolesław III and Zbigniew, she remarked that in Gallus’ text, “as a result of the divine selection, all that the ruler does is good and acceptable”.

is occupied by a specific form of humility, though it does not dominate in the characterizations of rulers.⁴³⁴ Gallus Anonymous paints a rather stereotypical picture of valiant rulers, though adherence to the principles of Christian mercy and wisdom allows them to preserve harmony in his country and beyond its borders. They were no strangers to pride, which if it did not develop into vain gloriousness allowed them to preserve the inherited country and its law in the proper form. The totality of the positive characteristics of the ruler was expressed in his “probitas”, which should be widely perceived and accepted.

8. The life of a ruler had a strongly emphasized social role. An especially important element of the description of the history of each Piast in the “Chronicle” was the opinion expressed about him by his contemporaries. This is clearly visible in Gallus’ description of Mieszko’s forebears, the descendents of Piast. Siemowit was characterised by “fama probitatis” and “gloria honoris”, while by his deeds, Siemomysł thrice exceeded the “memory” (*memoria*) of the glory of his ancestors. In his descriptions, the chronicler emphasized the efforts of both Bolesław I and Bolesław III to maintain the good opinion of his contemporaries, while the loss of the positive opinion of his milieu appears as a negative element in his characterization of the reign of Władysław Herman in the period of his alliance with Sieciech and with Zbigniew after the revelation of his treacherous plans. The significance of “fama”—a good name among his contemporaries—was one more expression of the close links uniting the Piasts with their subjects.

In this context, it is interesting to note that Gallus limits the degree to which he refers to the emotions guiding the actions of the people he is writing about. Almost none of the rulers he depicts in the

⁴³⁴ Z. Dalewski (*Rytuał i polityka*, pp. 123–126) is of another opinion. He says that “in the representation of humility (*humilitas*) by the chronicler, it seems that basically he presents the basis of the rule of the Piast dukes and indicates their right to the position of monarchs” (*ibidem*, p. 123). It is very difficult however to find the element of humility in the pictures of Siemowit, Leszek, Siemomysł, Mieszko I, Kazimierz the Restorer and Mieszko Bolesławowic. In the portrait of Bolesław the Brave the element of humility most often refers to his relationship with the sacral sphere—also in times of war, sometimes in connection with his patience resulting from an effort to present the ruler as the father of his subjects. The humility of the ruler therefore mainly fulfills a supplementary function, defining the significance of his behaviours. However the “Chronicle” does not for the sake of it, create a picture of a “humble ruler” as a personal model.

“Chronicle” becomes sad, or sheds tears.⁴³⁵ They are driven sometimes by violent emotions, above all anger, they sometimes get carried away with joy. Sadness however is reserved in effect only for Władysław Herman in the face of the revolt of his sons against him. Even then it has a dual nature, because besides him, his bad spirit Sieciech also was saddened. Even if it was not the case that it did not become a ruler to become sad (for the positively-shown king of Hungary, the host in his exile of Bolesław the Bold is also shown as being saddened) it was certainly not the recommended form of behaviour for a good ruler. Let us remember that this same saddened Herman was to lose his ability to make judgments in the course of the subsequent civil war. The expression of the negative emotion of sadness might have been the prelude for this.

9. Finally, we should note that in the “Chronicle”, there are clear traces of the conviction that either the wives (in the case of Piast, Siemomysł, Mieszko I, Bolesław I), or mothers (in the case of Kazimierz, Bolesław Wrymouth) played an important role by the side of those rulers. This aspect of the narrative of Gallus Anonymus has, partly at least, analogies in the situation of rulers in France. While we know little of the real importance of the Piast women, it was in the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries that in Capetian France the royal wives and mothers played the greatest political role.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁵ There is no example in Gallus’ “Chronicle” of any of the five typical situations, in which—in Gerd Althoff’s opinion—the king could cry or be saddened in order to transmit a communication important from the point of view of the theory of representation and ritual (idem, *Der König weint*, pp. 242–243). Even in the case of committing a sin and its recognition (as in the case of Bolesław after the cruel punishment of Zbigniew), there is no place for tears, as the concept of G. Althoff (ibidem, pp. 245–247) would predict.

⁴³⁶ Marion F. Facinger, *A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France 987–1237*, “Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History”, series 1, 5 (1968), pp. 4–7. This may lead us to suspect that this aspect of the tradition transmitted by the “Chronicle” was, if not created, then emphasized by the chronicler who was familiar with the French situation.

CHAPTER FIVE

AFTER GALLUS ANONYMOUS... THE TRADITIONS OF BOLESŁAW AND THE LIVES OF BISHOP OTTO OF BAMBERG

The recording of the family tradition of the Piasts by Gallus Anonymous closed a certain stage in its functioning, but did not signify the end of its development. Unfortunately we have almost no contemporary evidence of this process. This is why later sources such as the Lives of the "Apostle of Pomerania" St Otto of Bamberg have an exceptional significance.¹ We shall leave aside the stories of the hagiographer about the relations between Bishop Otto and Bolesław in the course of the Pomeranian mission.² They are based on the narratives of the monks accompanying the bishop and are a witness to the traditions connected with the bishop and his entourage. The description of the stay of the future bishop in the court of Władysław Herman has the characteristics of a story which arose in the milieu of the bishop, maybe based on his own words.³ Of interest in our discussions are the parts of the story which concern the arrival of Bishop Otto to Gniezno in 1124 and the depiction of the deeds of Bolesław before the beginnings of Otto's

¹ For a review of the opinions concerning the circumstances in which the three works of interest to us—that is from the pen of the Monk of Prüfening (written 1140–1146), Ebo (1151–1159) and Herbord (1159)—see Eberhardt Demm, *Reformmönchtum und Slawenmission im 12. Jahrhundert. Wertsoziologisch-geistgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Viten Bischof Ottos von Bamberg*, Lübeck/Hamburg 1970, pp. 11–18; *Ibid.*, *Zur Interpretation und Datierung des Ottoviten*, "Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte", 39 (1976), fasc. 2, pp. 588–603; Kazimierz Liman, *Dialog Herborda. Ze studiów historycznoliterackich nad biografią łacińską XII wieku*, Poznań 1975 (=Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, seria Filologia Klasyczna, nr 6), passim; Jürgen Petersohn, *Probleme der Otto-Viten und ihrer Interpretation. Bemerkungen im Anschluß an eine Neuerscheinung*, "Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters", 27 (1971), pp. 330–341; *Ibid.*, *Otto von Bamberg und seine Biographen. Grundformen und Entwicklung des Ottobildes im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, "Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte", 43 (1980), pp. 9–15.

² A competent presentation of the mission and the historical conditions surrounding it were presented in the work of Jürgen Petersohn, *Der südliche Ostseeraum im kirchlich-politischen Kräftespiel des Reichs, Polens und Dänemarks vom 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert. Mission—Kirchenorganisation—Kultpolitik*, Köln/Wien 1979, pp. 217–224.

³ For more on this topic, see the monograph P. Wiszewski, *Domus Bolesłai*, pp. 351–357.

mission in Pomerania. These stories most probably were created under the influence of narratives which functioned in the court of Bolesław Wrymouth at the moment of the arrival of the bishop and his entourage in Poland. Due to them we have a chance to penetrate the nature of the tradition of the ruling family a couple of decades after Gallus wrote his “Chronicles”.

1. DUKE BOLESŁAW AND CHRIST’S CHURCH

Ebo of the Bamberg monastery on the Michelsberg describing Bishop Otto’s arrival in Gniezno and the greeting he was given by the Polish ruler presented a brief characterisation of the latter with reference to his earlier deeds:⁴ “this duke had a great respect for Christ’s Church, he was a friend [“amator”—P.W.] of the poor and very pious comforter of the impoverished, worthy of everybody’s love with regard to his humility and mercifulness, more used to good deeds for the community of believers and the saints than the building of castles.”⁵ This portrait of Bolesław can be regarded as a handy stereotype of a pious ruler constructed from conventional elements. In another part of his work, Ebo castigates the behaviour of those clergymen who in contrast to Otto “build towns and castles instead of churches and hospitals”.⁶ Even if the author was using comfortable schematic formulations, did Bolesław and his entourage have any influence on the creation of such a picture of the ruler? In other words, did such a picture reflect the tradition of the dynasty functioning in Poland, or is it merely a reflection of the facility with which Ebo could create a rhetorical vision of the royal host of the Saint?

In examining this question, of key significance is the description of the scene of the greeting of Otto by Bolesław at the gates of Gniezno in 1124 which accompanies this characterisation of the Polish ruler mentioned in the introduction to this work. It is completely exceptional. The duke went out to meet Otto barefoot, and together with him, the clergy and inhabitants of the stronghold. He also ordered that his sons who were not yet weaned be brought to the bishop so

⁴ *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis*, II,4, p. 62; Ebo von Michelsberg, *Das Leben*, pp. 224–227.

⁵ *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis*, II,4, p. 62; Ebo von Michelsberg, *Das Leben*, pp. 224–225.

⁶ *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis*, II,12, p. 73, III,24, pp. 137–138.

they could kiss his footsteps.⁷ We do not find any other description of a meeting between Otto and the ruler described with the same flamboyance in Ebo's work. This is not, however, the only place in which a meeting between the churchman and ruler are depicted, it is not the only story where Bolesław plays host to the bishop. Returning from his first expedition to Pomerania, Otto came to the Polish ruler, who together with his people greeted him "like one of God's angels". This was the occasion of a "general rejoicing of the whole people." After this Otto headed for Bohemia, where he was greeted by Duke Vladislav; "to whom and his [people] he brought great joy by his arrival".⁸ In turn in the course of his second Pomeranian expedition, the bishop of Bamberg, desiring to mediate in bringing peace between Bolesław and the Pomeranians paid a personal visit to the Polish ruler. The latter, hearing that the bishop was approaching "ran quicker to meet him" and with due respect received his guest and treated him in a "friendly" way, for he already knew him.⁹ Let us note the similarity of the depiction of the greeting of the bishop, even though it comes from the third book of the "Life" by Ebo, who based it on a different source than the first two books.¹⁰ Despite the similarities, the description of the greeting is different, it is less ceremonial than the first. The account of the monk of Prüfening also indicates the exceptional nature of the greeting of Otto at Gniezno in 1124, while not giving the personality of the host much space, he nevertheless emphasised that he greeted the bishop with all honours and "was as joyful on receiving such a great guest as he would have been if the Saviour Himself had come to visit him."¹¹ It is worth emphasis that the hagiographer did not use such words anywhere else in his work.

⁷ *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis*, II,4, p. 62; Ebo von Michelsberg, *Das Leben*, pp. 224–225.

⁸ *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis*, II,18, pp. 87–88; Ebo von Michelsberg, *Das Leben*, pp. 236–239.

⁹ *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis*, III,13, p. 116; Ebo von Michelsberg, *Das Leben*, pp. 256–257.

¹⁰ This is confirmed in the cited portion of text, where the narrator emphasized that the bishop "nam antea (...) eum [ducem—P.W.] notum habebat", *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis*, III,13, p. 116. For the reader of his Book II, this was obvious, the repetition of that fact by the hagiographer might have resulted from the account being based on a story taken from a different source from the one used to aid him in the composition of Book II.

¹¹ *S. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis Vita Prieflingensis*, Jan Wikarjak ed., introduction and commentary Kazimierz Liman, Warszawa 1966 (=MPH, s.n., t. 7, part 1), II,2, p. 30; *Die Prüfeningener Vita Bischofs Ottos I. von Bamberg nach der Fassung des Großen Österreichischen Legendars*, Jürgen Petersohn ed., Hannover 1999 (=MGH, Scriptores

It therefore seems very possible that in the time of the arrival of Otto, Duke Boleslaw manifested especial honour for his guest. We should however take note that Ebo in his "Life" creates with great persistence the portrait of Otto as the "Apostle of the Pomeranians", equal in his deeds to the Apostle Peter.¹² The exceptional greeting by the Polish ruler completely matches such a portrayal. This may raise some doubts about the reliability of the hagiographer's account, but the accordance between Ebo and the Monk of Prüfening concerning the very fact of the exceptional nature of the way he was greeted seem to assuage those doubts. The way in which he was greeted must have left a greater impression on the entourage of the bishop, all the more because the mission had not yet begun and it was not yet known whether Otto would achieve success. The behaviour of the duke could be the reason for the ascribing to him of specific moral characteristics, the virtue of humility and respect for the Church. In such an ostentatious form, Boleslaw's gestures were exceptional, but in a less ceremonial form were also used by Wrymouth in the case of other members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. It seems a probable hypothesis that in the period of interest here, the demonstrating—in a sometimes extravagant manner—of such deep respect for clergymen was a permanent element of the behaviour of the duke. This type of gesture might be regarded by those around him as characteristic of his personality and became a component of the tradition, a permanent and repeated manner of describing his person, which developed about him.

The effects on the viewer, however, of the gestures which were seen during the meeting between the ruler and bishop does not explain all of the elements in the above-cited praise of Boleslaw. It is true that they conform to the frame of the specific language used by Ebo, and maybe a wider context, the world of the values of the Bamberg monks or even Otto himself,¹³ and it is not possible to take them literally. At

Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum, vol. 71), pp. 82–83; *Vita aus dem Kloster Prüfening*, [in:] *Heiligenleben zur deutsch-slawischen Geschichte*, pp. 146–149.

¹² Zob. Jürgen Petersohn, *Apostolus Pomeranorum. Studien zur Geschichte und Bedeutung des Apostelepithetons Bischof Ottos I. von Bamberg*, "Historisches Jahrbuch", 86 (1966), pp. 264–274 and 279–281.

¹³ Ernst Ludwig Grasmück ("Cura animarum". *Zur Praxis der Seelsorge in der Zeit Bischof Ottos von Bamberg*, "Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg", 125 (1989): *Bischof Otto I. von Bamberg. Reformier—Apostel der Pommern—Heiliger (1139 gestorben, 1189 heilig-*

the same time however they indicate that Bolesław was the embodiment of the whole complex of Christian virtues and the hagiographer's own picture of the ideal ruler. The author of the "Life" however does not mention that (apart from these greetings) the first missionary to the Pomeranians, Bernard and later Otto were witness to other manifestations of the piety of the ruler. Meanwhile, the contexts of Ebo's work suggests that in portraying the ruler, he based his account on the opinions of others about him. Otto, returning to Bamberg christened some pagans who had returned from "the islands" to which they had fled out of fear for Bolesław, a fact which the chronicler commented: "just as Bolesław was eminent in honour and love for God and God's gardeners [i.e. priests—P.W.], so was he also eminent in his severity in justified fury towards idolaters and criminals."¹⁴ The rhetorical dualism present in this sentence is in accord with the general tendency of Ebo to create a picture of oppositions on different planes of the pagan and Christian realities.¹⁵ According to this the internal logic of the narrative itself could have led the hagiographer to introduce such a characterisation of the ruler. After all he earlier praises this ruler as a lover of pious and peaceful activities, at this point of the story he could easily have introduced information about his aggressiveness against the pagans. What is however important for us is that the brief description of Bolesław's piety cited above developed—at least that is what the text of the "Life" indicates—as a reaction to the opinion of the Pomeranians about the military activeness of the ruler, which after all have their basis in the real achievements of Bolesław.¹⁶ Can one therefore assume that the first element, that referring to Bolesław's piety also was based on the opinion that could be met in Gniezno? This would

gesprochen), p. 139) drew attention to the fact that in all three Lives, especial emphasis was placed on the virtue of care of the poor ("pauperes Christi") among the Christian virtues.

¹⁴ *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis*, II,18, p. 87; a translation differing slightly in its details—Ebo von Michelsberg, *Das Leben*, p. 237.

¹⁵ With regard to the specific topography of Otto's mission, in which Ebo opposes the lands of "Satan" (pagan Pomerania) with the lands of the Christians, see Stanisław Rosik, "Quae conventio Christi ad Belial? Konfrontacja duchowych potęg w średniowiecznej teologii (na przykładzie łacińskich przekazów o przedchrześcijańskiej religii Słowian i ich chrystianizacji), [in:] *Sacrum. Obraz i funkcja w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, Aneta Pieniądz-Skrzypczak, Jerzy Pysiak eds, Warszawa 2005 (=Aquila Volans, vol. 1), pp. 122–123.

¹⁶ Cf. Stanisław Rosik, "Grzech Samarytan"—epizod z pomorskiej misji św. Ottona z Bambergu, [in:] *Drogi i rozdroża kultury chrześcijańskiej Europy. Człowiek—Wiara—Kultura*, Urszula Cierniak, Jarosław Grabowski eds, Częstochowa 2003, p. 145.

especially be the case in that, while the information about Bolesław's treatment of the Pomeranians was of significance to a specific fragment of the narrative, the idealised picture of Bolesław's Christian virtues at the moment of his meeting with Otto did not add anything from the point of view of the aim of the story.

Maybe the main elements (though not necessarily the wording) of the fable of the arrival of the "Apostle of the Pomeranians" to Gniezno were based on information from an informer who had himself witnessed these events. Apart however from the general comment on the respect for people of the Church, which could have developed from the perception of the ceremonial reception in Gniezno and then was later repeated in the description of the baptism of the Pomeranians, there were also some specific elements which were never referred to later. This information must have been received by Ebo's informer from some source which he regarded as reliable, since he attached such weight to it that its inclusion in his story was obvious to the hagiographer. It seems most probable that this was from the direct milieu of the Polish ruler and from the time when, after the ceremonial greeting before the gate of Gniezno, the ruler talked with the bishop. We suggest this chronological relationship because it would explain the manner in which the two themes (the ceremonial reception and the praising of Bolesław) are merged together in the story recounted by the witness of the events. Theoretically to suit Ebo's aims, it would have been more beneficial to avoid mention of the praise of the virtues of the host, for in such a case, all the more visible would be the piety of Otto which would have persuaded the duke to provide a more humble reception for the guest. This is not, however, how it happened, in Ebo's text, both passages form a single unit. An explanation of this might be the structure of the communication of the informant, who strongly associated both these matters because it was in this order that he learnt of them.

To summarise: it seems very probable that the court of Bolesław III represented the ruler as exceptionally pious, as the very model of Christian virtue and that assessment was supported by ceremonial manifestations by the ruler, playing this role. This motif was created and popularised by the clergy in the milieu of Wrymouth and passed on to Ebo through one of the companions of Otto, was incorporated by the hagiographer in his story in a format complying with his own vision of the ideal ruler. A fuller insight into the picture of the ideal ruler and his predecessors functioning in the court of Bolesław III in

the 1120s comes from the passage (the “Dialogue”) from the pen of Herbord, describing Bolesław’s deeds caught up in a variety of tumultuous political events.

2. BOLESŁAW III AS A WARRIOR AND INITIATOR OF THE POMERANIAN MISSION

In the “Dialogue on the Life of St Otto” written by Herbord, we have preserved a substantial portrait of the personality of Duke Bolesław which is at the same time exceptional with regard to details concerning the historical reality. This extension beyond stereotypes in order to introduce facts into the description of the ruler gives us hope of the possibility to reach the vision promoted by his own court of the ruler—but also his forebears who are mentioned in passing in this story. In this manner we would learn of the next fragment of the Piast tradition alive in Poland.

The “Dialogue” of Herbord is the latest of the three surviving basic twelfth century accounts of the history of the holy bishop. Although it probably was written in 1159,¹⁷ it was however based on oral relations of the participants in Otto’s mission.¹⁸ It is probably from them that the information comes that was used in the compilation of the story of Bolesław III. After the death of the duke, there is no mention of the further contacts of his sons with Bamberg. The information in the “Dialogue” does not extend beyond the chronological horizon of the mission of Otto itself. We may assume that the monks who were in the entourage of the bishop-missionary became aware of the stories functioning in the court of Bolesław III, or among the clergy of the Polish Church, connected with the ruler and carefully introduced them into the structure of his narrative about Otto.

¹⁷ The precise date of the writing of this work is the subject of controversy. Kazimierz Liman, *Dialog Herborda*, p. 11, indicated 1158–1160, stressing the possibility that it had been finished by 1159, the latter date was favoured also by Jürgen Petersohn, *Zur Biographie Herbords von Michelsberg*, “Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung”, 34/35 (1977): *Festschrift für Gerhard Pfeiffer*, p. 413; *Ibid.*, *Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Ausgabe der Viten Ottos von Bamberg*, 2. *Herbords Dialog*, “Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters”, 33 (1977), pp. 546–559.

¹⁸ Kazimierz Liman, *Wstęp*, [in:] *Herbordi Dialogus de vita s. Ottonis*, pp. VIII, XVI. This thesis is confirmed by the narrative concerning the description of the journey of Otto to Poland in the first person: “(...) usque ad archiepiscopatum Gneznensem cum gaudio et pace conducti sumus”, *Herbordi Dialogus*, II,8, pp. 76–77.

The characteristics of Bolesław in the “Dialogue” can be summarised with the aid of two words used to describe him there, he is labelled a “brave and wise man”.¹⁹ While, however, the wisdom of the ruler was emphasised in a rather general manner, though ennobling, it was his love of the military arts which is presented as the main characteristic of the ruler.²⁰ The hagiographer depicts his concern and gift of foresight²¹ as the causes driving his actions, and though he is not very precise concerning the identity of those to whom they were addressed, but from the context it becomes clear that the terms apply to the “duchy of Poland”. Before however the reader learns how Bolesław “gereret”, he obtains the information that “ducatum Polonie administrabat”.²² There are no mentions in this short passage referring to the inherited nature of this power, these appear only later in the text. This means that it was not the defence of his “inheritance”, absent from this part of the text, that was being referred to, but the “duchy of Poland” which dominated in the description of the ruler. The later part of this text however leads us to modify this hypothesis. Defining the basic positive characteristic of Bolesław Wrymouth, it is stated that he fortified all the frontiers of his lands, which in the reigns of his predecessors had been under the pressure of the violence of their neighbours, while strongholds and castles that had been lost he had regained.²³ On the one hand the narrative concentrates on the returning of peace to Poland by the ruler, and the return to an ideal state of completeness a territorial fullness integrated with the achievement of peace. On the other it is an account of the deeds of a specific ruler, of his will, which assured him of glory in itself and for his own sake and not the abstract well-being of the “duchy of Poland”. Herbord depicts the portrait of Bolesław as the best protector Poland had had for years, but amalgamates in it two perspectives, of the country and the ruler.

The latter tendency began to dominate together with the development of the narrative, where the author’s attention concentrates now

¹⁹ *Herbordi Dialogus*, II,2, p. 62: “vir strenuus et prudens”.

²⁰ Kazimierz Liman, *Dialog Herborda*, pp. 122–123, draws attention to the elements of topos in the portrait of Bolesław and emphasised the lack of any mention of Bolesław’s lenience towards his subjects, a characteristic which is especially important in the canon of virtues of the Christian ruler.

²¹ Bolesław conducted his defensive wars “with care and forethought”, *Herbordi Dialogus*, II,2, p. 62.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ *Ibidem*.

entirely on Bolesław Wrymouth. In his portrayal, Herbord combined the characteristics of a ruler who was at the same time pious and martial. He so persistently persecuted the enemies who invaded his territories with “fire and sword” so that in the end, not only had they to give up their loot, but also render tribute to him to be able to contract with him an “alliance of peace”.²⁴ Bolesław, however, did not treat this as his own doing, but saw it as a gift from God, in relation to which he was “all the more meek and more devoted” the greater were his victories.²⁵ In his battles with the Pomeranians, it was God who directed Bolesław.²⁶ The duke himself in a letter to Otto is reported to have written: “the wild barbarity of the Pomeranians was not humbled by my, but by God’s virtue”.²⁷ This is in accord with the vision of the confrontation with the Pomeranians as a people subject to Satan, who only the will of God can lead—through those he has called—to salvation and baptism.²⁸ One of those called by God was the duke himself, who was to ensure the conversion of the defeated Pomeranians. He did this without the help of his clergy. For three years, he persistently tried to persuade them to undertake the conversion of the unbelievers.²⁹ It was only after not receiving any positive response to these pleas that he turned to Otto. Undoubtedly such a vision of the ruler corresponds only too well to the schematic hagiographic picture of a mission initiated by a pious ruler who was merely a tool in the hands of God.³⁰ This schematic picture is however enriched by the second theme in the characterisation of Bolesław, the image of a warrior and defeater of his enemies.

In the passage of the “Dialogue” devoted to Bolesław there is also found an anecdote which forms an almost independent entity in its

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ “humilior atque devocior”, *Ibidem*.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, II,5, p. 68.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, II,6, p. 72.

²⁸ Cf. Stanisław Rosik, *Sacrum Pomorzan “w oczach” św. Ottona z Bambergu (w kręgu chrześcijańskiej interpretacji religii Słowian)*, [in:] *Z dziejów chrześcijaństwa na Pomorzu/ Aus der Geschichte des Christentums in Pommern. Materiały z konferencji w Kulicach, 19–22 listopada 2000*, Lisaweta von Zitzewitz ed., Kulice 2001 (=Zeszyty Kulickie/Külzer Hefte, nr 2), pp. 47–49.

²⁹ *Herbordi Dialogus*, II,5, p. 71.

³⁰ This corresponds to the tendency of Herbord to emphasize the decisive role of Bolesław in the initiation of the mission, in contrast to the monk from Prüfening and Ebo, who omit any mention of Bolesław’s role in this regard, see E. Demm, *Reformmönchtum und Slawenmission*, pp. 57–59.

own right, since there is not very much which links it with the matters concerning the Pomeranians. In it is described the conflict with the Ruthenians, “a cruel and spiteful people”. Here is introduced a story of the conflict between the two states, an alliance contracted through the marriage of Bolesław with the daughter of the Ruthenian duke, mutual friendship in the period when she was alive, followed shortly by her untimely death (but with an annotation about her bearing Bolesław a son), and finally the breaking out again of a conflict and the victory of the Polish ruler due to a ruse thought-up by voivode Piotr.³¹ Only as the background of these events do we find a mention that pagan peoples, including the Pomeranians, were the allies of the Ruthenians, and that the second peace with the king of the Ruthenians was contracted in a very solemn manner to ensure that he would not support those which Bolesław intended to attack.³² After this there is a description of the victory of the Polish ruler against the Pomeranians which is extensive, though comparable in size to the Ruthenian element of the story.³³ In this part of the text, two elements are present, the personal bravery of Bolesław (who in his battles shattered the resistance of hordes of enemies, took their strongholds, resettled huge numbers of prisoners to distant areas of his kingdom) and the will of God. It was God who desired that “some of them [Pomeranians—P.W.] were crushed so that the rest would turn to the [Christian—P.W.] faith, he also drove them towards Bolesław so that they would be defeated by him”.³⁴ We cannot find in the Ruthenian story such a clear stress on the will of God, although it appears in passing in the statement of Piotr that he would be able by a ruse to overcome the king of the Ruthenians “if God will be on my side”.³⁵

The differentiation of both the Ruthenian and Pomeranian themes and the unequivocal connection of the first with the history of the Pomeranian mission leads us to consider the manner in which these stories could have functioned outside the pages of Herbord’s “Dialogue”. They are both linked by the person of Bolesław who is at the same time the defender of the country as well as the avenger of the damage done by the country’s neighbours. The generalized introduction

³¹ *Herbordi Dialogus*, II,3, p. 62—II,4, p. 67.

³² *Ibidem*, II,3, p. 63; II,4, pp. 66, 68.

³³ *Ibidem*, II,5, pp. 68–71.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 68–69.

³⁵ “Deo michi prestante”, *ibidem*, II,4, p. 66.

preceding both stories in the “Dialogue” concerns almost exclusively the military advantage of the Polish ruler. At the same time according to Eberhard Demm, it is precisely in Herbord’s text that we see the problems inherent in amalgamating the glorification of the warrior’s craft and the Christian love of peace.³⁶ This remark can be applied above all to the form of the mission propagated in all of the Lives of Otto, but especially clearly emphasized in Herbord’s text, the conversion of the pagans could not rely on military enforcement alone, but the acceptance of the Word preached by the missionary.³⁷ In this situation, there might be a conflict between the two pictures of the ruler in the “Dialogue”, the first composed of a narration of his victorious fights, of thousands of slain and resettled Pomeranians, which would contrast with that of the main initiator of the peaceful mission of Otto. Maybe this is why, at the point where he passes from the glorification of the ruler as a warrior and the presentation of Bolesław as the patron of the Christian mission, the monk decided to introduce the Russian element in which Bolesław appears as a ruler who tries to avoid unnecessary spilling of blood? Due to this, the author was able to reduce the conflict between these two opposing tendencies in a Christian ruler in the face of pagans on his borders, the use of violence in the defence of his own people, but resigning from it when it was not required, and assure the defeated pagans the teaching of a missionary.

Can we however define where the stories used by Herbord in his description of Bolesław Wrymouth arose and how they reached him? Are they fragments of the traditions Piasts which were alive in the court in Poland, or did they reach the author from somewhere else? The difficulties in defining the genesis and role which these elements of the narrative about Bolesław fulfilled in the “Dialogue” may suggest that they were inserted into the tissue of the story of St. Otto of Bamberg as elements which were already completed. Only later would they be adapted—for various, and sometimes unclear, reasons—to fit

³⁶ E. Demm, *Reformmönchtum und Slawenmission*, pp. 40–41.

³⁷ Cf. Klaus Guth, *Kreuzzug, Heidenfahrt, Missionsreise. Die Pommern-Mission Bischof Ottos I. von Bamberg im Horizont der Kreuzzugsbewegung des 11./12. Jahrhunderts*, “Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg”, 125 (1989); *Bischof Otto I. von Bamberg. Reformier—Apostel der Pommern—Heiliger (1139 gestorben, 1189 heiliggesprochen)*, pp. 148–150. Herbord does not condemn in general the participation of the clergy in military matters, discussed by Jürgen Petersohn, *Probleme der Otto-Viten und ihrer Interpretation*, pp. 364–365, where there are references to the literature.

the main contents of the work. This suspicion might be confirmed by the references in the “Dialogues” to the state of Poland in the times of Bolesław’s predecessors and the mention of the birth of a son by the dead Ruthenian wife. The latter element in particular adds nothing to the story of the Pomeranian mission as a whole, but it would have significance in the perspective of a story of the Piast dynasty based on genealogical facts. Let us also note that in its general outline, the portrait of Bolesław in the “Dialogue” is in agreement with the way he is characterised in the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymus, a martial ruler concerned with establishing the safety of the country subject to him from the attacks of enemies. Only the attention paid in Herbord’s text to the topic of the care taken over the conversion to Christianity of the conquered Pomeranians differs from the tone of the narrative known from the “Chronicle” of Gallus. It seems therefore that we can formulate as a probable hypothesis that in the “Dialogue” is incorporated a fragment of a vision of the ruler which was alive in his court and promoted by his milieu, and which most probably was an element in the broader story of the history of the dynasty.³⁸

Can we however indicate the route by which such a vision of Bolesław and his dynasty would have reached Bamberg? One of the routes might have been obtaining information still in Poland, this would be indicated by the emphasis placed on the topic of Piotr in the Ruthenian episode. His presence in the “Dialogue” is completely isolated from any of the other events in the rest of the story about Otto’s Pomeranian mission. One could however explain it perhaps as due to the desire to introduce the person of an informer or his patron into the wider story concerning the honourable churchman from Bamberg. Alternatively many years after the Bamberg monks were in Poland, the hagiographer and his informers might have been anxious to record as much information about the great mission to Pomerania and the events surrounding it as faithfully as possible, including that concerning Bolesław.

In turn the story of the wars in Pomerania is closely related to the contents of the letter which Bolesław sent to Otto calling on him to undertake this mission. Whether or not we regard the letter cited by

³⁸ Marian Plezia and Kazimierz Liman (*Dialog Herborda*, p. 63, with references to the older literature, *ibidem*, footnote 90) suggest that the Ruthenian element of Herbord’s “Dialogue” comes from the court traditions of Bolesław Wrymouth.

Herbord as a copy of an original, or created by him on the basis of oral tradition (which seems the more probable),³⁹ it arose in the context of a real event, the invitation from Bolesław to a clergyman to undertake a mission in Pomerania. The province was subject to his power; without his agreement and support it would be difficult to imagine the mission succeeding. It is another matter when Bolesław could have presented to the churchman such a formal invitation and give his permission for the mission. Both the author of the “Life of Prüfening” and Ebo were silent about the role of Bolesław in Otto’s decision to leave Bamberg.⁴⁰ Herbord alone ascribes the initiative to undertake the mission to the pagans, and the engagement of Otto in the process, to Bolesław. The work of Ekkehard von Aura, a Bamberg chronicler who was a contemporary (+1125) of these events and who was a collaborator of Otto, sheds interesting light on this problem. It was he, writing annotations to his own chronicle almost as the events unfolded, who wrote of the letters that Bolesław sent to Otto, and in which was supposed to have been information about the conquest of the Pomeranians and the efforts to bring them “into the shelter of Christianity”.⁴¹ We have therefore many reasons to believe that when he obtained this invitation, the bishop also obtained a certain amount of knowledge about the person inviting him and his previous military exploits.

The third route by which the monks of Bamberg could have obtained the information of interest to us could have been the long conversations which both the Monk of Prüfening and Ebo mention that the bishop had with the Polish ruler in Gniezno before he finally set off for his mission. If not earlier (which seems the most probable), it was probably then that the bishop and his entourage learnt of the details of Bolesław’s deeds, not only in Pomerania. Together with the invitation, these conversations in Gniezno must have presented what Bolesław had achieved in Pomerania and expressed his readiness to support the mission in the conquered territories. It would only be through knowing the ruler’s personality that the bishop could be sure

³⁹ Zob. *ibidem*, pp. 66–68.

⁴⁰ S. *Otonis... Vita Prieflingensis*, II,1, pp. 28–29; *Die Prüfeningener Vita Bischofs Ottos I*, pp. 80–82; *Vita aus dem Kloster Prüfening*, pp. 146–149; *Ebonis Vita s. Otonis*, II,2, pp. 54–55; Ebo von Michelsberg, *Das Leben*, pp. 218–219.

⁴¹ *Ekkehardi Uraugiensis chronica*, Georg Waitz ed., [in:] MGH, Series Scriptorum, Georg Heinrich Pertz ed., vol. 6, Stuttgart 1844, p. 262.

that his mission would receive the necessary support. The bishop and his entourage therefore had every possibility to learn of the traditions surrounding Bolesław directly from his courtiers, and maybe from the ruler himself.

Whichever of these three routes by which the information could have reached Otto of Bamberg we may choose, and even if we were to accept the partial participation of all three in the process of creation of the portrait of Bolesław as an ideal ruler, they all lead back to the Piast court. It was here that voivode Piotr was active, it was from here that the letter was sent to Bamberg inviting Otto to undertake the mission to the Pomeranians, and finally, it was here that both the bishop and his entourage first met with the splendour of the power of the Polish ruler. This gives more probability to the hypothesis that the stories concerning the characterization of Bolesław III in the "Dialogue" are fragments of narrative that were alive in the Piast court and indicate the form of the dynastic tradition cultivated in that milieu.

The elements of the three "Lives" of Otto of Bamberg analysed above have not given us an unequivocal vision of the nature of the dynastic traditions of the Piasts after the conclusion of the writing of Gallus Anonymus' work. It is only on the basis of the contents of the "Dialogue" of Herbord that we can conclude that the development of the oral tradition of the rule of Bolesław concentrated around his military deeds and the genealogical events occurring within the family did not end with the writing of the "Chronicle". The contents of Herbord's work seems to confirm the deliberate use and modification of the dynastic tradition to serve the needs of Bolesław's political efforts (avenging of wrongs which enemies did to Poland in the times of his predecessors). At the same time it is worth noting in these stories the further growth of the significance of the relationship between Bolesław and the world of the Christian sacral sphere compared with the narrative known from the "Chronicle" of Gallus. It cannot be excluded that such a picture arose under the influence of the convention for the type of literature in which it arose (the Life of a Saint). The extensive similarities, though with different emphases and values affirmed in the portrait of Bolesław Wrymouth, between the "Chronicle" of Gallus and Herbord's "Dialogue" suggest that there is, perhaps though only limited, autonomy of form of these stories in relation to the work of Herbord and the conventional form of hagiographical literature.

Despite the discontinuation of the writing of the monumental memorial to the Piast tradition, the picture of Bolesław as a martial ruler, a patron of the Church and as God's anointed, persisted among the elite of the court. It is time however to leave the domain of stories and turn to pictures and deeds. The following chapters will be devoted to examining whether the Piasts passed on to each other from generation to generation a certain range of manners of behaviour and visual representations defining them as a group, which were to be seen in the outside world as characterizing them, but which also served to tighten the bonds within the group. In short, we will attempt to find the family tradition which left its mark on the world through acts and images, with less attention to words. Together with this, however, it could embody a certain vision of the order of history of Poland and the Poles, and the role of the Piasts in it.

PART THREE

TRADITION IN ACTION

INTRODUCTION

In the earlier parts of this work, we have tried to reach the series of idealised visions of the history of the Piast dynasty and those on the mutual relationships within the family, the Piast clan. Above all we wished to examine the values embodied in these stories and which were commended to their recipients as defining the sense of existence of the royal dynasty. In this manner, however, we are unable to answer an important question. This concerns whether and to what degree these represented values—intended to create the views of their recipients—were in reality accepted by the dukes and their court. After all, they were contained all in communications transmitted in the form of the written word, a medium of elite character. As a result, that which we perceive as the “dynastic tradition”, theoretically might have been the product of a literate elite (in Poland of the period almost without exception churchmen), and directed largely to members of that elite. How can we check whether the tradition embodied in the written sources expressed a tradition which in reality was kept alive in the ruling family among the illiterate elite of the court? Was it accepted by them? The only way to examine both of these questions is to analyse the behaviour of the recipients and the communications they conveyed to the wider public.

For this reason, it is necessary to seek traces of the maintenance of tradition in some other—non-verbal—manner, the behaviours passed on from generation to generation and communications formulated in the form of iconography. Within the framework of the first problem we will consider not only the issue of gestures and their imitation, but also the question of the selection of the correct time and place for their use. We will thus also attempt to define the degree to which members of the Piast dynasty undertook activities of symbolic character under the influence of patterns of behaviour which were inherited within the clan or were connected with belonging to it. In knowing the deeds, and gestures of their ancestors, did the Piasts in power actually understand their sense in accordance with the intentions of the actors in past events?¹ Analysis of this problem may show not only a recipe

¹ There is still no resolution of the debate between supporters (Gerd Althoff) and opponents (Johannes Fried) of the idea of the existence in the Middle Ages of a broad

in the form of a written tradition but also the functioning of elements of tradition, which while they kept alive within a family or court, did not fit within the convention of a narrativised written account. We want to follow the questions connected with iconography making use of evidence of a mass communication character which characterize the person of the ruler and define his social position. It is they which had a better chance of affecting the illiterate members of the elite of the Piast state, rather than the chronicles and stories invented in the court on their basis. They had therefore to reveal the way in which the ruler and his entourage wanted that the ruling Piast was perceived.

The relatively small number of sources and the complications of their actual relationship with the realities they portray mean that it is especially difficult to define the relationships between the dynastic tradition communicated in the milieu of the Piasts and their deeds. This is especially the case that sometimes decisions taken by the ruler might have been influenced not only by the family tradition, but also by political, religious or—broadly understood—cultural factors.²

We will therefore attempt to analyse only those spheres of the activity of the Piasts in which it is possible to obtain a long enough list of examples of behaviour of a certain type over a period of time. This allows us to hope that we may separate by comparative analysis the sphere of behaviour which is related to extemporaneous politico-cultural needs from those belonging to a more permanent layer which may be described as connected with tradition.³

group of gestures and symbols understood in the same way by all participants in the Latin culture of the west, see Jean-Marie Moeglin, [Review:] *Geschichtswissenschaft und "performative turn". Ritual, Inszenierung und Performanz vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit, ... Weimar 2003 (...)*, "Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte", 33 (2006), fasc. 1: *Mittelalter/Moyen Age*, pp. 182–183.

² Within the framework of the topic discussed here we will not be discussing the dependence between the family or clan traditions analyzed in the previous chapters and the political efforts of the rulers. This sphere is too great a degree dependent on extemporaneous and temporary influences of particular social groups which are difficult to discern.

³ In opposition to the "Freiburg School", Jonathan Rotondo-McCord ("*Locum sepulturae meae...elegi*": *Property, graves, and Sacral Power in Eleventh-Century Germany*, "Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies", 26 (1995), pp. 77–106) attempted to demonstrate that in the choice of burial place, members of the family of the Reich's palatine Ezzo only to a certain degree were guided by any awareness of identity within the clan, but the choice was instead dictated by other factors, sometimes totally random. The significance of the, otherwise natural, tendencies which he identifies was overemphasized as a result of the analysis of a relatively small number of cases. The studies of J. Rotondo concerned only two generations of aristocrats, of which the first

Let us therefore leave aside these theoretical reflections and pass on to an analysis of those repeating moments in the life of the Piasts which are comparatively well-evidenced in the sources and in which there took place a definition of their situation within the family (dynasty), society and the surrounding world.

was the one which initiated the tradition of burials in the monastery of Brunweiler. It is therefore no surprise to find (as the author correctly indicates *ibidem*, pp. 93–95) that Ezzo was not necessarily convinced of the need to maintain the tradition which his wife tried—but in effect failed—to establish before her death.

CHAPTER SIX

FAMILY LIFE AND FAMILY TRADITION

1. THE CHILD BROUGHT INTO THE TRADITION—THE PROBLEM OF NAMING

Magnificent costume, a numerous court, and even a royal title could characterise the members of the various families which in a given moment in history could have become rulers of the country and its people. In the opinion of many historians, another characteristic which emphasised the membership of a given ducal or royal family was the repetition of the names given to its children across the space of a few generations. The repetition and duration of these two characteristics of tradition would guarantee the feeling of unity and exclusiveness of the ruling clan both for its own members, as well as people from the outside world. Can we identify such a tradition in the case of the Piasts?

More than half a century ago a Polish scholar wrote: “there is a certain number of names that within the Middle Ages were used only and exclusively by members of the Piast family. Thus whenever we meet in Poland persons of the name Ziemowit or Ziemomysł, Leszek, Mieszko, Bolesław, Kazimierz or Władysław, we are permitted to consider that they are members of the dynasty, that they belonged to the Piast clan.”¹ The dynastic tradition would be manifested here exceptionally strongly, almost as if governed by laws. In the first half of the twentieth century, this was the almost the *opinio communis* of medievalists with regard to different families of European rulers.² Although it is necessary to treat such theories with great care, they are not totally beyond the bounds of possibility.³ Scholars noted the repetition of the names

¹ Stanisław Kętrzyński, *O imionach piastowskich do końca XI w.*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Polska X–XI wieku*, epilogue by Aleksander Gieysztor, Warszawa 1961, p. 595 (first edition: 1951 r.).

² Hans-Walter Klewitz, *Namengebung und Sippenbewußtsein in den deutschen Königsfamilien des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts. Grundfragen historischer Genealogie*, “Archiv für Urkundenforschung”, 18 (1944), pp. 29–37.

³ See Karl Schmid, *Zur Entstehung und Erforschung von Geschlechterbewußtsein*, p. 28.

within the Piast dynasty long ago, and that fact has above all proved useful to genealogical research.⁴ This phenomenon is seen, however, more as a general tendency rather than a strictly defined law.⁵ But the very fact of at a particular time choosing a specific name referring to one of the ancestors of the family may help in the determination of the vision of the past of the dynasty which was being emphasized by the parents and their milieu, and the heroes and heroines with whom they wished to identify their children.

In contemporary Polish medieval studies, the dominant view is that which is expressed by Kazimierz Jasiński, that there was no strict system, “rather a complete freedom in the naming of children, though with an undoubted predilection from the middle of the eleventh century for genealogical names”, in other words, names that refer back to recent (to the grandfather) ancestors, both in the male and female lines. A lesser role was played by the names of the godparents (Otto, son of Bolesław I whose godfather would have been Emperor Otto III) and also so-called cult names, referring to people who were highly honoured, though not necessarily for religious reasons—Lambert and Karol.⁶ In the practice of name-giving, there was a certain dominance of clan names, that means inherited in the male line, over the agnatic ones, in other words carried along the female line.⁷ At the same time, some scholars suggest that the repetition of names within the dynasty is connected with the influence of external cultures, especially the acceptance of Christianity,⁸ as well as the long period when Kazimierz

⁴ See the review of the literature in Jacek Hertel, *Imiennictwo dynastii piastowskiej we wcześniejszym średniowieczu*, Toruń 1980, pp. 132–134; Krzysztof Mosingiewicz, *Imię jako źródło w badaniach genealogicznych*, [in:] *Genealogia. Problemy metodyczne w badaniach nad polskim społeczeństwem średniowiecznym na tle porównawczym*, Jacek Hertel ed., Toruń 1982, pp. 74–76.

⁵ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, p. 29. Henryk Łowmiański was of a different opinion. He thought that it is possible to indicate strict rules which guided the choice of names of the Piast family: “the names of the first Piasts form a specific pattern in which in succession we find two forms: 1. solemn with two members; 2. a diminutive with the ending—ko”, Henryk Łowmiański, *Dynastia Piastów*, p. 119. K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, p. 30, notes however that: “the above is however an ex post argument—the search for the existence of a certain contemporary system in the unsystematic occurrence of the list of names of the first Piasts.” Another writer who is critical of Łowmiański’s notion was K. Mosingiewicz, *Imię jako źródło*, p. 79.

⁶ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, p. 31.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 29.

⁸ Jerzy Dowiat, *W sprawie dziedziczności słowiańskich imion osobowych*, [in:] *Słowianie w dziejach Europy. Studia historyczne ku uczczeniu 75 rocznicy i 50-lecia pracy naukowej Profesora Henryka Łowmiańskiego*, Poznań 1974 (=Uniwersytet

the Restorer was in the German Reich.⁹ Let us examine the reasons behind such assessments and attempt to determine whether the practice of naming children within the Piast dynasty beginning from Mieszko I¹⁰ can be regarded as an indication of the maintenance of the dynastic tradition.

Undoubtedly we cannot talk of some form of strict system controlling the choice of names among the Piasts. It seems however that it is worth emphasising the custom of the giving of names referring to recent ancestors. Until 1138, we may observe the tendency to maintain bonds with the direct ancestors of the ruler's dynasty through the choice of names for his children. Most frequently the choice referred to his father,¹¹ or grandfather.¹² Until the times of Bolesław Wrymouth however we can say very little about the proportion of traditional cognatic names among the total number of names used for the children

Adama Mickiewiczza w Poznaniu, Wydział Filozoficzno-Historyczny, seria Historia, nr 58), p. 59.

⁹ Krzysztof Mosingiewicz, *Imię jako źródło*, pp. 76–77, 80–81.

¹⁰ We will omit the names given by Gallus Anonymous for the ancestors of Mieszko from our analysis. It is not possible to ascertain if they are the names of members of the Piast dynasty that actually existed. Neither have we taken into account the name "Dagome". In principle we agree with the opinion of Oswald Balzer on the palaeographic mistake which brought this entity into existence, see the review of different views on this given by J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko pierwszy*, pp. 64–67.

¹¹ Mieszko II, Mieszko son of Kazimierz the Restorer, Władysław II.

¹² Bolesław II, Mieszko son of Bolesław II, Kazimierz (the elder) and Kazimierz the Just. Even in the case of the name of Bolesław Wrymouth a greater role in its choice could have been played for Herman by commemorating his brother (Bolesław II the Bold) than the distant Bolesław I the Brave. Władysław I emphasised in many ways the continuity of power unbroken by the removal of his brother and thus the giving his firstborn the name of the dead king would have had considerable meaning. It is difficult to say to what degree Herman was aware of the memory of his great grandfather who had died half a century earlier.

The phenomenon among many peoples inhabiting ancient and medieval Europe of giving children the names of the parents' grandparents is discussed by Karl Ferdinand Werner, *Liens de parenté et noms de personne. Un problème historique et méthodologique*, [in:] *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval. Actes du Colloque de Paris (6–8 Juin 1974)*, Georges Duby, Jacques Le Goff eds, Rome 1977 (=Collection de l'École Française de Rome, vol. 30), p. 17. Werner regarded this custom as being connected with the common origins of the Indo-European peoples. Wolfgang Haubrichs (*Identität und Name. Akkulturationsvorgänge in Namen und die Traditionsgesellschaften des frühen Mittelalters*, [in:] *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen*, p. 95) indicated that while the custom of naming children after the parents' grandparents really did have a wide geographical extent in Early Medieval Europe, the naming of children after their fathers was a custom which existed for a longer period of time. In the ninth century though it was still foreign to the Saxons, Franks and Longobards, coming into fashion only a century later. In the eleventh century the custom was known among the Piasts, but we do not know, however, when it began to apply to the common people of Poland at that time.

of the Piasts. This is because we do not know all the names of the children, indeed we do not even know how many unnamed children there might have been.¹³ We are in a more favourable situation with regards to the offspring of Bolesław Wrymouth. Among the twelve of his children whose names we know, as many as seven¹⁴ or eight¹⁵ of them referred to the family tradition—sisters, mothers, father, grandfather, uncles,¹⁶ maybe even a cousin.¹⁷ It is difficult however to apply the observations we can make about this phenomenon in the times of Bolesław III to his predecessors. It was after all in his reign that the family tradition was especially strongly propagated in the circle of people around the ruler, which was not the case in the earlier history of the dynasty.

In previous generations there is a smaller number of cases of the choosing of names from the immediately preceding generations of ancestors among the children of rulers whose names are known. From the children of Bolesław I to those of Władysław Herman, in the sample of 17 children whose names are known, only 7 or 8 have names which occur in the generation of the father or grandfather of their parents. The gaps in the record cannot be regarded as undermining the reliability of this observation. The children whose names are unknown are just as likely to have the same ratio of names as those that are. The children of Kazimierz the Restorer are an exception to this general rule, among the five children whose names we know, three have the name of the father, grandfather and perhaps the uncle of their parents.¹⁸ The fourth child, Świętosława, could have borne a name referring to the sister or maybe niece of the grandfather (Sygryda-Swiętosława,¹⁹ or Świętosława the daughter of Gunhilda, daughter of

¹³ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, p. 38.

¹⁴ Władysław II, Kazimierz (the elder), Bolesław IV, Mieszko III, Judith, Agnes, Kazimierz II.

¹⁵ If we include Leszko, whose name seems to refer to the shape of the family tradition which was given literary form by the Chronicle of Gallus Anonymus.

¹⁶ Bolesław II, but maybe also a prematurely deceased Mieszko, a son of Władysław Herman?

¹⁷ Mieszko, son of Bolesław II.

¹⁸ Bolesław, Mieszko, Otto. In the latter case K. Jasiński (*Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, p. 179), showed however that the inspiration for the choice of name could have been the name of the uncle, the beloved brother of Rycheza as well as a reference to the imperial tradition—evidenced in the name of Kazimierz's father Karol.

¹⁹ J. Hertel (*Imiennictwo*, p. 140) is also of this opinion.

Mieszko, the wife of Sven Forkbeard).²⁰ This contradiction with the general tendency shown above prompts us to look at the situation in each generation of the Piasts separately. In the case of the children of Bolesław I, we find one, perhaps two, certain cases of the naming of children after ancestors,²¹ but in three cases (or four, depending on how we consider the double name of Mieszko II Lambert), they were given names which come from outside Slavic tradition. In the case of Mieszko II we know the names of two of his three children, including one double one. Only one, Kazimierz may be hypothetically linked with the naming customs of the dynasty.²² Bolesław II gave his son the name Mieszko, probably after his grandfather. Of the three children of Władysław Herman whose names we know, one (Bolesław III) was named after his brother.

Let us note that the repetition of the names of relations of the same or previous generation, but very rarely earlier ones, indicates a tendency to use names which were more family ones than dynastic ones. Maybe their virtue was emphasizing specific political bonds linking the Polish ruling family with the wider circle of families of the rulers of both nearer and more distant lands.²³ It seems that nobody in the Piast court attempted to “codify” a list of dynastic names. The foreign-sounding names were quickly lost, as well as those honorable

²⁰ Rafał T. Prinke, *Świętosława, Sygryda, Gunhilda. Tożsamość córki Mieszka i jej skandynawskie związki*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 70 (2004), pp. 99–102.

²¹ Mieszko II, maybe also Bezprym (Bezprzym), though there is no way of determining the origin of this name. According to the determinations of Jacek Hertel, *Imiennictwo*, pp. 107–109 it cannot derive from the milieu of his Hungarian mother, neither does it appear earlier in Poland, while it is known from Czech anthroponomastics though only in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *ibidem*, p. 107.

²² The genesis of the name Kazimierz is unclear. It comes from Slavic tradition, but only a few scholars consider it is related to the Piast dynasty, see the review of opinions by J. Hertel (*Imiennictwo*, pp. 114, 118–119), who finally decides that it derives from the group of names connected with the Piast dynasty. This name was also known in Bohemia, but it is not evidenced in Poland before the time of Kazimierz the Restorer. Since we do not know of any dynastic links between Mieszko and the Czechs, maybe as in the case of Bezprym, we have here a case of a name taken from some unknown ancestor, maybe an otherwise unknown brother of Bolesław I born of Dobrawa? This however is only hypothesis. We agree with the opinion of Jacek Hertel who considers that the name of Mieszko II’s son was of Polish origin.

²³ Andrzej Poppe, *O zarożdenii kulta swiatych Borysa i Gleba*, “*Russia Mediaevalis*”, 8 (1995), nr 1, pp. 56–67, draws attention to a different, political aspect of the naming of children among the Rurikids, he shows the relationship between the giving of a child the name of the deceased ruler who had it earlier and the intention that the child should inherit his power.

ones linked to a special respect for both holy figures (Lambert),²⁴ or great predecessors (Karol, see below), and those of lesser significance, such as Regelinda and Dytryk. Names of Slavic origin could also fall from use in the naming of Piast children (Świętopełk, Świętosława). What is characteristic is the openness of the Piasts to accepting names from the family circles of their wives. The best example of this is the name Bolesław, adopted from the Czech Premyslids by Mieszko and Dobrawa. This became one of the most frequently used Piast names. Alongside them, though used more rarely, also occur others: Adelajda (?), Agnieszka, Judith (Judyta), Matylda, Władysław, maybe also Kazimierz, taken from the tradition of the families of the Piast wives.²⁵ This tendency in the anthroponymy of the Piasts to “absorb” names from outside confirms the lack of strict rules guiding the choice of dynastic names.²⁶ This does not mean however that it is evidence of a lack of a tradition in the clan. In the Germanic circles of Early Medieval Europe, it was natural to allow the mother influence on the choosing of the name for her children.²⁷ Probably it was the same in the case of the Piasts. The duration and repetition of the phenomenon suggest that the linking of families by the use of names from the families of the wives became an element of Piast tradition.

It is with Bolesław the Brave and his milieu that we see the development of the idea of emphasising the high status and even higher aspirations of the family through the deliberate choice of names for children and grandchildren. Apart from Lambert, the most obvious example is Otto, an imperial name given in honour of Emperor Otto III.²⁸ It is thought that the emperor might have held the child during the

²⁴ Stanisław Kętrzyński, *O imionach piastowskich*, pp. 629–639 suggested a close relationship between the cult of St Lambert and the beginnings of the Polish Church and the Piast court at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries.

²⁵ See S. Kętrzyński, *O imionach piastowskich*, pp. 615–621, 670–671.

²⁶ In this context should also be mentioned the unresolved question of Dagome, Dagone, the hypothetical second name of Mieszko I. Most scholars regard this form of the duke’s name to be the result of a copyist’s mistake in the register of the collection of canons of Cardinal Deusdedit. Gerard Labuda (*Rzekome drugie imię Mieszka I. w Kronice Anonima Galla*, [in:] *Munera philologica et historica Mariano Plezia oblata*, Jan Safarewicz, Kazimierz Rymut, Krystyna Weyssenhoff-Brożkowska, Jerzy Wyrozumski eds, Wrocław/Warszawa/Cracow 1988, pp. 104–107) is critical of any attempts to find another explanation of the genesis of the name.

²⁷ K.F. Werner, *Liens de parenté et noms de personne. (Seconde partie)*, p. 25.

²⁸ *Kronika Thietmara*, IV, 59, p. 227.

baptism during his visit to Gniezno in the year 1000,²⁹ and by this means linking his family with that of Bolesław with an especially close bond.³⁰ Mieszko II Lambert is thought to have given his son the name of Kazimierz Karol. The second element of the name was supposed to be an expression of the vitality of the cult of Charlemagne in the courts of Bolesław I and Mieszko II,³¹ connected with the monarchic ideology of Bolesław and a possible visit to Aachen at the time of the opening of the grave of Charlemagne.³² The imperial origins of the mother of Kazimierz Karol, Rycheza is also emphasised.³³

These suggestions are based on a phrase of rather unclear meaning from the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymus, Mieszko fathered “Kazimierum, id est Karolum, restauratorum Polonie”.³⁴ It is striking that while the chronicler writes further in his narrative of “Kazimierz”,³⁵ he never again uses the name “Karol”. The chronicler’s statement “Kazimierz, that is Karol” could therefore merely signify the person who was thus named. More probable however seems that

²⁹ A number of scholars are in agreement, including Antoni Lewicki, Oskar Balzer, Stanisław Zakrzewski, Henryk Łowmiański, and finally Gerard Labuda, the literature has been collected by J. Hertel, *Imiennictwo*, p. 111, footnotes 445–446 and K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, p. 123.

³⁰ Thus Roman Michałowski, *Princeps fundator*, pp. 140–141.

³¹ Kazimierz Jasiński treated the name Karol above all as a “cult name”, propagating the tradition of honour for the dead emperor, *Ibid.*, *Polski podręcznik genealogii. Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, Genealogia. Instytut Historii PAN. Nauki pomocnicze historii (...) Warszawa 1959 (...)*, “Studia Źródłoznawcze”, 6 (1961), p. 154; *Ibid.*, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, p. 130.

³² J. Hertel, *Imiennictwo*, pp. 122–123; R. Michałowski, *Princeps fundator*, pp. 141–142.

³³ See Stanisław Kętrzyński, *Karol Wielki i Bolesław Chrobry*, “Przegląd Historyczny”, 36 (1946), pp. 19–25; *Ibid.*, *O imionach piastowskich do końca XI w.*, pp. 653–661; Herbert Ludat, *Piasten und Ottonen*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *An Elbe und Oder um das Jahr 1000. Skizzen zur Politik des Ottonenreiches und der slavischen Mächte in Mitteleuropa*, Köln/Wien 1971, pp. 86–87. Hans Constantin Faussner (*Kuno von Öhningen und seine Sippe in ottonisch-salischer Zeit*, “Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters”, 37 (1981), pp. 103–139) denies that Rycheza should be identified with the Liudolfings, and regarded her as a daughter of Palatine Ezzo from an unknown marriage with a Rycheza (otherwise unknown to science), a daughter of Kunon von Öhningen. This hypothesis was subjected to a thorough criticism by Eduard Hlawitschka, *Königin Richeza von Polen—Enkelin Herzog Konrads von Schwaben, nicht Kaiser Ottos II.?*, [in:] *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, Lutz Fenske ed., Werner Rösener, Thomas Zotz, Sigmaringen 1984, pp. 221–244, and Kazimierz Jasiński, [Review:] *Eduard Hlawitschka, Königin Richeza von Polen...*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 53 (1987), p. 184.

³⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 17, p. 40, line 6.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, line 15 (Kazimierz—the Restorer); Kazimierz: *ibidem*, I, 18, p. 41, line 4, p. 42, line 2, 7, 9, p. 44, I, 19, lines 1, 18.

the writer was providing an explanation for the reader who did not know the Polish language what the name “Kazimierz” meant. It would mean therefore exactly the same as “Karol” which would then refer to the ideological significance which was associated with this name.³⁶ The phrase “Kazimirus id est Karol” does not have to be an invention of the chronicler, who does not indicate any intended link between the name “Karol” and Charlemagne, even though in the context of his work, this would have been a beneficial comparison. It is however possible that in his times the etymology of the name was still remembered but the meaning behind it was not clear by that time. The explanation of the name “Kazimierz” as a reference to the great emperor Charlemagne (Karol, Karl)³⁷ would be natural only in a period when the reference to imperial names was more frequent among the Piasts.

This was however the case only in the times of Bolesław I. It was then that the son of the ruler was given the name Otto. It was the same Bolesław who gave his daughter the name Matylda, closely connected with the traditions of the Ottonian court. Matylda was the sister of Otto III and the mother of Rycheza, the daughter in law of Bolesław and the wife of Mieszko II.³⁸ The use of this name for a daughter born after 1018,³⁹ when the daughter of Empress Matylda had been in the Polish court for three years as Mieszko II’s wife, seems to confirm the suggestion of the influence of Rycheza,⁴⁰ or tradition brought to the court by her on the choice of name. This would not be the only name connected with the circle of tradition of the family of Rycheza among the descendants of Mieszko II. His daughter Gertrude may have obtained her name from an association with the cult of St Gertrude which was connected with the abbey in Nivelles where Adelaide, Richeza’s sister was abbess.⁴¹ To sum up, it does not seem likely that

³⁶ One may come across the problem of the translation of the names of foreign individuals into a form more acceptable for the Latin-speaking author in a number of written sources from German lands. Besides them were also cases of the deliberate changes to names in an effort to emphasize a new identity or place in society, see Wolfgang Haubrichs, *Identität und Name*, pp. 101–102.

³⁷ In a similar manner as almost at the same time in Italy Emperor Henry V was identified with Charlemagne, see Reinhard Schneider, *Karolus, qui est Wenceslaus*, [in:] *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann zum 65. Geburtstag*, p. 365.

³⁸ J. Hertel, *Imiennictwo*, p. 142.

³⁹ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, p. 125.

⁴⁰ J. Hertel, *Imiennictwo*, p. 142.

⁴¹ S. Kętrzyński, *O imionach piastowskich*, pp. 640–641, 672–674; J. Hertel, *Imiennictwo*, p. 143.

Kazimierz the Restorer had the second name “Karol”, but it is very probable that he was regarded as the “Second Karl”, either from just after birth in the lifetime of his grandfather Bolesław, or in the court of his father Mieszko II or mother Rycheza.

After the death of Mieszko II, the practice of projecting the Piasts into the political space of the highest spheres of power in Europe through the use of suitable names for their children was abandoned. Even the choice of the name Henryk for the son of Bolesław Wrymouth is connected with the name of his grandfather on his mother’s side, Count Henry of Berg,⁴² and not with the names of the Salian emperors.⁴³ The family circle of Bolesław the Brave was exceptional in this regard in the period of interest here and a form of contrast to this was the anthroponomastic practices of his grandson Kazimierz who primarily used dynastic names. The significance which was attached at that time to the choice of names from the pool of those borne by kinsmen from the side of the mother and father is evidenced by the fact that there are few traces of names used in the Piast anthroponomastics which refer to saints or characters from the Bible. This did not result from the weak religiosity of the Piasts, but the strength of their traditions.⁴⁴

Looking through the comments and observations presented above concerning the naming of the Piast children, one cannot deny the existence of a certain tradition of the naming of the members of the Piast dynasty. Karl Friedrich Werner wrote of the names given to members

⁴² Thus both S. Kętrzyński, *O imionach*, p. 734 and J. Hertel, *Imiennictwo*, p. 132, as well as K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, p. 248.

⁴³ Czesław Deptuła (*Niektóre aspekty stosunków Polski z cesarstwem w wieku XII*, [in:] *Polska w Europie. Studia historyczne*, Henryk Zins ed., Lublin 1968, p. 67, footnote 118) raised the question of the relationship between the cult of Henry II in Bamberg (which could have been brought to Poland by Bishop Otto and his entourage) and the choice of name for the son of Bolesław Wrymouth.

⁴⁴ Michel Parisse, *La conscience chrétienne des nobles aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, [in:] *La cristianità dei secoli XI e XII in Occidente*, pp. 262–263, noting the tendency among the aristocracy of the former west Frankish kingdom in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries the replacement of the traditional Germanic names by those referring to Christianity (and previously unused in the families of their mothers and fathers) observed a correlation between this behaviour and the deepening religious awareness of the aristocrats. At the same time he indicated attempts to unite the traditional family names with the new tendency to give Christian names by giving their children double names, a phenomenon known in Poland as for example the case of Mieszko II Lambert. Clearly however in the case of the Piasts the family tradition was stronger than the fashion of giving names closely associated with Christianity.

of the Early Medieval French nobility: “their choice was limited, normally it was only possible to give a name used in the family of the father or mother, one might say a name to which the family had the right of ownership”.⁴⁵ The Piasts also, with the exceptions noted above, attempted to emphasize their links with the family of the father—but not the family as a whole—especially among the sons. If anthroponomastic behaviour is the expression of a certain self-awareness of a social group, so in the case of the Piasts for a long time this group was formed by 2–3 generations. At the same time, due to the introduction of names from more distant relations of the family, the feeling of identity expressed through anthroponomastic tradition reached very broadly, though not very deeply into the community of the living and dead.⁴⁶

There was significant change in the reign of Bolesław III. It was then that appeared among the Piast names an example that recalled the distant past of the dynasty known from the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymous, Wrymouth named his son Leszek. Since we know that Gallus began the writing of his work a few years before the son’s birth in 1115, the conclusion about a connection between the “Chronicle” and the choice of the name seems unassailable.⁴⁷ Bolesław’s decision to name his son Leszek is part of a group of behavioural trends which refer to the traditions embodied in the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymous. It is possible that the choice of this name was made under the influence of the custom of accepting names which were regarded as suitable by persons especially valued in the family.⁴⁸ Bolesław might have been suggested the name Leszek by the trusted “guardians of memory”, members of the clergy.

In the anthroponomastic practices of the Piasts we can clearly detect two tendencies in the tradition which was kept alive by them and was important to them. The first is the existence of the family tradition, expressed primarily in the repetition of names over a period of a century and a half which stressed the bonds with the ancestors of the nearest generations and closest relations, as well as introducing names

⁴⁵ K.F. Werner, *Liens de parenté et noms de personne. (Seconde partie)*, p. 25.

⁴⁶ See Patrick J. Geary, *Exchange and Interaction between the Living and the Dead in Early Medieval Society*, [in:] *Ibid., Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca/London 1994, pp. 88–89.

⁴⁷ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, p. 210, footnote 3.

⁴⁸ W. Haubrichs, *Identität und Name*, pp. 96–97.

from the circles of the families of the mothers. The second trend comprises some specific anthroponomastic customs visible in the short duration, at the most two or three generations. A good example of this tendency is the reference of Bolesław the Brave and Mieszko II to the names from the circle of the imperial family. Much weaker is the trend representing the family tradition connected with the emphasis on the cohesion of the dynasty across the space of its entire history. It becomes clear only in the reign of Bolesław Wrymouth through the reference to the traditions recorded precisely then in the "Chronicle" of Gallus Anonymous. The repetition and duration, the core of tradition, in the case of the choice of names paradoxically concerned therefore mainly the families of the rulers. Only at the end of the period of interest to us here does a tradition with a deeper time dimension come into play. Further below, we will try to determine whether we can find traces of a similar phenomenon concerning other aspects of the family life of the dynasty.

2. DYNASTIC POLICIES—MARRIAGES

What guided the Piasts when they were planning the contracting of their marriages or those of their children and kinsmen? Was the choice of partners connected entirely with the exceptionally changeable political situation of those times? Although it is impossible to overestimate the importance of the latter, it would seem that it was not the only factor which guided their matrimonial strategies. The imitation of the behaviour of kinsmen and ancestors in the selection of partners could also have had an effect on the policies of the Piasts. Undoubtedly the family tradition in this field arose on the basis of the political situation, but was also a factor which created this situation.

The gaps in our knowledge on the subject of the genealogical details of the family in the period of interest are so great that they considerably hinder the undertaking of studies of a statistical nature.⁴⁹ The results presented below therefore are mainly for orientation purposes, indicating trends. Among the marital unions of the Piasts in the eleventh century those with the aristocracy of the German Reich and

⁴⁹ Cf. Kazimierz Jasiński, [Review:] *Henryk Koniarski, Jan Kwak, Małżeństwa królów polskich i książąt panujących z rodu Piastów w świetle statystyki*, "Zeszyty Naukowe WSP w Opolu", 6 (1967), pp. 3–56, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 14 (1969), pp. 232–233.

the Rurikids dominated.⁵⁰ This in itself may indicate a certain tradition in the clan, from which to a great degree the Czech ruling family (Premyslids) was excluded, despite the fact that there were alliances of other types between certain members of both families. Only a closer examination of the chronological and genealogical tendencies of marriage unions reveals the changing Piast dynastic policies in this regard. In the reigns of Mieszko I, Bolesław I and Mieszko II, the unions with families ruling the marches of the Reich bordering Poland were of the greatest significance. In total the Piasts contracted six marriages (and one unfulfilled) with the aristocracy of the Reich.⁵¹ In this period, we may note only single cases of unions with the Premyslids (Dobrawa), Arpads (the third wife whose name we do not know, of Bolesław I, probably a daughter of Gézja),⁵² the rulers of the North (the husband or husbands of Świętosława—Gunhilda),⁵³ and finally the Ruthenian rulers (a daughter of Bolesław whose name has not been preserved, wife of Świętopełk, duke of Turov). It should be noted that half of the unions between the Piasts and dynasties ruling over regions outside the German Reich involved female members of the family, while in the ones concerning the Empire, the greater proportion (5 in 7) involved male members of the family. The situation changed diametrically after the return of Kazimierz the Restorer to Poland. From that time until 1138 we know of 20 marital unions of members of the Piast family. Of these, eight were with members of the Rurikid family,⁵⁴ with members

⁵⁰ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, p. 155.

⁵¹ It was from the families of these parts that came Oda, the second wife of Mieszko I; the first wife of Bolesław the Brave (her name is unknown), the daughter of Margrave Rygdag, and also his last wife Emnilda; also from here was Rycheza, the wife of Mieszko II; the husband of Regelinda the sister of Mieszko I. Only the union (though in effect unfulfilled) between Matylda, the sister of Mieszko II with the Swabian duke Otto of Schweinfurt was more distant. Dobromir, father of Emnilda (the second wife of Bolesław) was also from the political circle of the Reich.

⁵² This traditional view was presented by Györfy György, *Polnisch-ungarische Beziehungen zur Zeit der Formierung beider Staaten*, "Südostforschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Kultur und Landeskunde Südosteuropas", 47 (1988), p. 5. A more skeptical approach was adopted by Gerard Labuda, *Ze stosunków polsko-węgierskich w drugiej połowie X wieku*, [in:] *Europa—Słowiańszczyzna—Polska*, p. 82.

⁵³ See Rafał T. Prinke, *Świętosława, Sygryda, Gunhilda*, pp. 98–99, who negates the possibility of a union between Erik Segersäll (Erik I the Victorious) with the daughter of Mieszko I, but accepts that there was one with Sweyn Forkbeard.

⁵⁴ Kazimierz the Restorer and Dobroniega; Gertrude and Izjaslav; Mieszko son of Bolesław and unnamed daughter of Ruthenian duke; Bolesław Wrymouth and Zbysława; unnamed daughter of Herman with a Ruthenian duke; unnamed daughter of Bolesław III and Vsievotod of Murom; Ryksa and her second husband, Vladimir

	Imperial family	Aristocracy of the Reich	Rurikids	Arpads	Premyslids	Rulers of the North	Others
Mieszko I		3		1	1		1
Bolesław I		3	1	1 (?)		1	
Mieszko II		1					
Kazimierz the Restorer			2	1			
Bolesław II					1		2
Władysław Herman	1		1		1		
Bolesław III Wrymouth		3	5	1		1	1

of the aristocracy of the Reich there were two (plus one planned)⁵⁵ and one with the imperial family,⁵⁶ with the Hungarian Arpads two,⁵⁷ with the Premyslids two,⁵⁸ and with the rulers of Sweden one.⁵⁹ Apart from that, one Piast woman was wedded to an unknown member of the Polish aristocracy.⁶⁰ The origin of the wives of two Polish dukes is unknown.⁶¹ Let us attempt to arrange these data in a chronological framework based on the periods of the reign of successive rulers of Poland.

This table shows how dynamic the Piast matrimonial policy was, which hinders making generalisations invalid. It also shows some variance from the general observations made above. In the case of Mieszko I and Bolesław the Brave we may speak of the confirmation of the trend of contacting marital alliances with the elite of the German Reich. Maybe in this case, as also in the case of Mieszko II, we should talk of some form of family tradition. This was however very clearly discontinued in the reign of Kazimierz the Restorer, who initiated a process of the creation of stronger links with the Rurikids. This trend weakened slightly in the period of rule of his sons, but was revived in Bolesław Wrymouth's reign.

Vsievodovich; Bolesław IV and Wierzchosława, daughter of Vsievod of Novgorod (sister of Vladimir Vsievodovich).

⁵⁵ Bolesław III and Salomea of Berg; Władysław II and Agnes, daughter of the margrave of Austria; unnamed daughter of Bolesław III, betrothed to the prematurely deceased Konrad, margrave of the North March.

⁵⁶ Władysław Herman and Judith (II), daughter of Emperor Henry III.

⁵⁷ Unnamed daughter of Mieszko II and Bela I, Mieszko III and Elżbieta.

⁵⁸ Władysław Herman and Judith (I); Świętosława, daughter of Kazimierz the Restorer and Wratysław II.

⁵⁹ Ryksa, daughter of Bolesław III and Magnus, king of Sweden.

⁶⁰ Unnamed daughter of Władysław Herman.

⁶¹ The mother of Zbigniew, son of Władysław Herman, and the wife of Bolesław II.

Can one therefore speak of the effects of some kind of family or clan tradition on the matrimonial policies of the Piasts? There is a clear indication of its significance for the shaping of the matrimonial strategies of the first three of the historical Piast rulers. The tightening of the bonds by this means with the aristocracy of the Reich was closely related to their political and cultural aspirations. But this persistence in choosing marital partners from this milieu was to have greater consequences for the wives of the Piasts than for them themselves.⁶² This tradition within the Piast clan however died out with the collapse of the first state. It seems that Kazimierz the Restorer rebuilding the power and authority of the clan attempted to create a dynastic matrimonial strategy in a more pragmatic form. Thus there was now a wider range of political circles with which the Piasts were linked by marriage. He also however attempted to favour one group of allies, the Ruthenian dukes. This did not however lead to the creation of a fixed strategy of dynastic marriages which would be followed by his sons. It was only Bolesław III who would lead to a change in this situation. Once again he turns out to be the ruler with the greatest significance for the development of the dynastic tradition. He linked his family by marriage in an almost equal manner to both the Reich and the Ruthenians. He treated the other directions as only auxiliary measures. In this manner he not only achieved a synthesis of the previous family traditions concerning the marriages of the Piasts. He also defined a clear vision of linking the family of the Polish rulers in an equal manner with the two most powerful political spheres in the region. It is possible that a certain role in this process was played by his own deeper knowledge, and that of his advisors of the history of the dynasty not just restricted to the last two or three generations, but throughout its history. This would mean, as in the case of the anthroponymy of the Piasts that in the reign of Bolesław Wrymouth, in the actions of the ruler,

⁶² It is worth looking at this problem from the external viewpoint. We may take as an example the marriage between Mieszko II and Rycheza. Stefan Weinfurter (*Die Zentralisierung der Herrschaftsgewalt im Konflikt. Das Beispiel Kaiser Heinrichs III.*, [in:] *Ibid., Gelebte Ordnung—Gedachte Ordnung. Ausgewählte Beiträge zu König, Kirche und Reich. Aus Anlaß des 60. Geburtstages*, Helmuth Kluger, Hubertus Seibert, Werner Bomm eds, Ostfildern 2005, pp. 252–253) sees it in the perspective of the efforts of Emperor Henry II to weaken the dukes of the Reich utilize them (in this case Ezzo, the father of Rycheza) to ensure a stabilization of the political situation on the fringes of the state. From that point of view, it was not the political aims of the Piasts that decided on the marriage, but the imperial efforts to attempt to pacify the pugnacious Bolesław.

family tradition was subordinated to dynastic tradition which was learnt from the “guardians of memory”. If these clergymen had such a great influence of the transmission and functioning of dynastic tradition in family life, can one observe a similar trend with regard the religiousness of the rulers?

3. THE CULT OF SAINTS IN THE RULE OF THE PIASTS—DYNASTIC RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS?

Investigators of the European Middle Ages have for many years discussed the persistence of the custom of establishing a specific cult of one or two members of a dynasty and the measures taken by rulers to obtain canonisation for former members of their own family. These repeated efforts by dynasts in this direction certainly have enough characteristics which allows them to be regarded as the persistence of a certain tradition in the religious sphere. In the case of the Piasts the situation is more complicated. None of the early members of the family became saints, none of them even had some kind of local cult of quasi-religious character.⁶³ Undoubtedly however, from the times of Bolesław I, many of the Piasts supported the cult of St Wojciech, who was treated as characterising their religiosity. The confirmation of the duration of this cult from the year 1000 through all the generations of the Piasts allows us to talk in terms of a certain tradition of their religiosity. The scope and nature of the cults of the saints in the Piast dynasty seem however to have been extremely dynamic phenomena. Not even the devotion to St Wojciech had an immutable character. Certainly, as we shall see below, it is possible to talk of certain elements of religious tradition with respect certain members of the dynasty, but with regard to the whole clan in general it is very difficult.

Without doubt, the first saint who was regarded with special respect by many members of the dynasty was St Peter. “Dagome Iudex” is an early document which shows the honour in which Mieszko I held the Prince of the Apostles. A continuation of this is at least seen in some of the deeds of Bolesław the Brave who in his relationship with his milieu

⁶³ Karol Górski (*La naissance des états et le “roi-saint”*. *Problème de l'idéologie féodale*, [in:] *L'Europe aux IX^e-XI^e siècles. Aux origines des Etats nationaux*, Varsovie 1968, p. 432) notes that in contrast to many other freshly converted countries, there was no case in Poland of the canonisation of a ruler who was a martyr for his faith.

emphasized his association with this saint.⁶⁴ The commemoration of his gesture of devotion to St Peter in his “Epitaph” is equally significant.⁶⁵ It is not however clear when the church of St Peter in Poznan was founded. The oldest traces of architecture in the stronghold there date to the 970s, and a little later, though still in the reign of Mieszko I, the modest church with a hypothetical baptistery was replaced by the pre-Romanesque basilica.⁶⁶ It seems therefore that the dedication of the most important church in the stronghold can be linked with the period of rule of the first of the historical Piasts, though not necessarily at his inspiration.⁶⁷ It is difficult to say whether this cult, having such a strong political foundation, survived the collapse of the monarchy in the times of Mieszko II. The iconography of the miniatures in the codex with the prayers of Gertrude, the daughter of Mieszko II⁶⁸ seems to indicate it persisted in the royal family. In this context the dedication to St Peter of the church in the Benedictine monastery at Tyniec,⁶⁹ maybe replacing at the moment of the foundation of the monastery an earlier dedication to St Andrew may be significant.⁷⁰ There are however problems establishing who founded this monastery, so it is difficult to say whether it was an expression of the piety of the milieu of Kazimierz the Restorer, son of Mieszko II, or Bolesław the Bold, his grandson. Bearing in mind that the foundations which without question date to the reign of the latter (Mogilno, Lubiń) do not bear traces of the cult of St Peter, we may link it rather with the family of Mieszko II, that means with Kazimierz the Restorer. Did the political realities which forced the Piasts in the second half of the eleventh century to

⁶⁴ See the letter of St Bruno of Querfurt, *Epistola Brunonis ad Henricum regem*, p. 103, lines 3–4.

⁶⁵ See above, pp. 62–65.

⁶⁶ Zofia Kurnatowska, Michał Kara, *Początki architektury sakralnej na grodzie poznańskim w świetle nowych ustaleń archeologicznych*, [in:] *Początki architektury monumentalnej w Polsce. Materiały z sesji naukowej, Gniezno, 20–21 listopada 2003 roku*, Tomasz Janiak, Dariusz Stryniak ed., Gniezno 2004, pp. 51–57.

⁶⁷ Józef Nowacki (*Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 1: *Kościół katedralny w Poznaniu. Studium historyczne*, Poznań 1959, pp. 42, 53) demonstrated the functioning of this dedication under Mieszko I but also connected with a direct dependence of the Poznan bishopric on Rome.

⁶⁸ See above, p. 77.

⁶⁹ Paweł Szczaniecki, *Święty Piotr na Tyńcu*, [in:] *Tradycje i perspektywy nauk pomocniczych historii w Polsce. Materiały z sympozjum w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim dnia 21–22 października 1993 roku, profesorowi Zbigniewowi Perzanowskiemu przypisane*, Mieczysław Rokosz ed., Cracow 1995, pp. 247–251.

⁷⁰ See Paweł Szczaniecki, *Odgadywanie początków*, [in:] *Benedyktyni tynieccy w średniowieczu*, pp. 42–43.

establish close relations with the Papacy encourage the promotion of the cult of the Prince of the Apostles? Even if this was the case, this was not accompanied by any other devotional gestures of the nature as we may observe in the earlier part of the Piast history.⁷¹

Another saint associated with the dynasty due to Mieszko I, or more precisely due to his family connections was St Lambert. The naming of the son of Mieszko I after the saint was no doubt due to his mother Oda, whose family was connected with his cult. But the choice of the same name for the sons of Bolesław I and Mieszko II Lambert, resulted from the personal decision (though maybe politically-induced) of the father.⁷² These names could have been carried by Polish princesses to the families of Scandinavian and Hungarian rulers with whose representatives they married.⁷³ Nevertheless together with the death of Mieszko II, the last traces of the devotion of the Piasts for St Lambert disappeared.

The history of the cult of St Wojciech among members of the dynasty is very complicated. The especial devotion of Bolesław I to this saint is beyond doubt,⁷⁴ though even in this case it is difficult to separate political intentions from personal feelings which favoured certain religious practices.⁷⁵ The situation is less satisfactory under

⁷¹ Here we should mention the functioning of churches dedicated to St Peter in the settlements adjacent to the strongholds at Sandomierz and Wrocław. The chronology of their foundation is however unclear (end of the eleventh century? twelfth century? End of the twelfth century?) neither is their founder known, perhaps he was from the Piast family (Sandomierz?) or the local nobility (Wrocław?), see Marta Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *Św. Paweł na grodzie kaliskim*, [in:] *Kościół, kultura, społeczeństwo. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*, Stanisław Bylina, Ryszard Kiersnowski, Stefan K. Kuczyński, Henryk Samsonowicz, Józef Szymański, Hanna Zaremska eds, Warszawa 2000, pp. 83–84; Paweł Rzeźnik, Adam Żurek, *Wrocław około roku 1000*, [in:] *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia*, p. 343.

⁷² Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Kulty świętych w Polsce X w.*, [in:] *Polska w świecie. Szkice z dziejów kultury polskiej*, Jerzy Dowiat, Aleksander Gieysztor, Janusz Tazbir, Stanisław Trawkowski eds Warszawa 1972, pp. 67–70.

⁷³ See S. Kętrzyński, *O imionach piastowskich*, p. 630.

⁷⁴ Besides the ruler's concern to obtain the saint's body and assigning it a place of rest (the future cathedral) at Gniezno, we should also take into account the possibility of the foundation of a church in Poznań dedicated to St Wojciech, see Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Wezwania św. Wojciecha w Europie Zachodniej około roku 1000*, [in:] *Święty Wojciech w polskiej tradycji historiograficznej. Antologia tekstów*, selection and presentation by Gerard Labuda, Warszawa 1997, p. 373 (originally published in 1982).

⁷⁵ Aleksander Gieysztor (*Sanctus et gloriosissimus martyr Christi Adalbertus: un état et une église missionnaires aux alentours de l'an Mille*, [in:] *La conversione al Cristianesimo nell'Europa dell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto 1967 (=Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 14), pp. 645–647) wrote of the "national cult"

the later rulers of Poland. The removal to Bohemia of the relics of St Wojciech by the Czechs in 1038 weakened the cult of the saint among the Piasts. It is interesting that there are no traces of attempts of the Piasts to obtain the return of the lost remains of St Wojciech. It is true that Pope Benedict IX is said to have expressed his anger at the Czech ruler Bretyslav and Šebř (Severus) the Bishop of Prague about the removal of the reliquary. This however was only because a certain “Godless denunciator” suggested to him that the translation of the relics without Papal permission was an attack on the Papal prerogatives.⁷⁶ It is difficult to agree with the suggestion that this “denunciator” was a Pole, still less probably a member of the Piast family.⁷⁷ In the whole narrative there is not even a suggestion that he tried to persuade the Pope to enforce the return of the relics.⁷⁸ Certainly, it mentions the punishments that the Czech nobles were to receive for their actions, but they were only to affect them personally.⁷⁹ Nevertheless this element of the story indicates that there was the possibility of raising the legality of the translation of the relics if their loss by the rulers had been regarded as damaging. This however did not occur. It is also of note that Emperor Henry III, learning of Bretyslav’s raid on Poland apparently only demanded the portion of the spoils which he said was due to him, he made no mention of the relics of Saint Wojciech. There is no confirmation in the written sources for the suggestion that it was Kazimierz the Restorer⁸⁰ who told the ruler of the Reich about the size of the Czech spoils.⁸¹ Neither do we read there anything about

(“culte national”) of St Wojciech and the close relationship between this cult and the political expansion of Bolesław’s state into areas occupied by pagans.

⁷⁶ *Cosmae pragensis Chronica*, II,6, p. 91, lines 10–13.

⁷⁷ Stanisław Kętrzyński, *Kazimierz Odnowiciel*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Polska X–XI wieku*, pp. 447–449.

⁷⁸ Perhaps therefore in this part of his narrative, Cosmas was merely making use of metaphor, the “godless denunciator” as a metaphor for the opposition of Satan to God’s will? Elżbieta Dąbrowska indicates Bardo, the archbishop of Mainz as the initiator of the action taken by the Pope against the Czechs, however she does not develop that argument any further, see eadem, *Cluny a św. Wojciech. Relacja “Historiae libri quinque” Rudolfa Glabera o męczeństwie św. Wojciecha*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 110 (2003), nr 3, p. 10.

⁷⁹ *Cosmae pragensis Chronica*, II,6, p. 91, lines 15–20.

⁸⁰ S. Kętrzyński, *Kazimierz Odnowiciel*, p. 451 even wrote that Emperor Henry III talked of the “harm done to Kazimierz”, we do not however find that actually mentioned in the sources.

⁸¹ The chronicler refers however to “gossip” (“fama”), which exaggerated the size of the spoils the Czechs had carried away, *Cosmae pragensis Chronicon*, II,8, p. 93, lines 18–23.

Kazimierz touching upon the problem of Wojciech's relics during his later conflicts with the Czechs.

Only in the reign of Władysław Herman, maybe together with the reconstruction of the cathedral in Gniezno about 1064 and the appointment of the archbishop, and certainly from about 1090 the cult of the saint was revived.⁸² It was Bolesław III who attached importance to its role legitimising the ruler during his penitential pilgrimage after the blinding of Zbigniew (1113). For that occasion he had commissioned a valuable silver reliquary made. This, together with the choice of Gniezno as the place where during the celebration of Easter he finally made peace with his people and Church, may be connected with the emphasis on the cult of the saint as the "patron of Poland".⁸³ It also seems very probable that due to his support of the discovery of the relics of the head of St Wojciech in Gniezno in 1127, the cult of the saint was revived at a beneficial moment, when conflict broke out with the Czech duke.⁸⁴ The most widespread manifestations of the ruler's devotion to the cult of St Wojciech are the representations on coins coming from the final years of his reign (c. 1131–1134), and their striking too can equally be connected with contemporary political needs.⁸⁵ It is therefore difficult to determine to what degree Bolesław's behaviour was mainly a result of his perception of a special bond between the

⁸² The date given is however a hypothesis, see G. Labuda, *Św. Wojciech. Biskup—męczennik*, p. 273, here also the literature (footnote 563). On the lack of a cult of St Wojciech still in the times of Bolesław II the Bold see G. Labuda, *Św. Wojciech w działaniu, w tradycji i w legendzie*, [in:] *Święty Wojciech w polskiej tradycji historiograficznej*, p. 411 (text originally published in 1992).

⁸³ See above Chapter 3, section 2, "the Problem of Zbigniew", generally G. Labuda, *Św. Wojciech. Biskup—męczennik*, p. 274.

⁸⁴ See K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław III Krzywousty*, pp. 272–273; G. Labuda, *Św. Wojciech w działaniu*, p. 412.

⁸⁵ Ryszard Kiersnowski (*O brakteatach z czasów Bolesława Krzywoustego i roli kultu świętego Wojciecha w Polsce*, [in:] *Święty Wojciech w polskiej tradycji historiograficznej*, pp. 322–325) suggested that they were struck in the 1130s and that was connected with the necessity to defend the metropolitan rights of Gniezno in the conflict which lasted from 1131 to 1134 with Norbert, the archbishop of Magdeburg (bracteate with a representation of St Wojciech robed as the bishop of Gniezno, struck about 1133) and with the emphasis about the protection of the ruler by the Saint during the Bolesław III's conflict with the emperor Lothair III (the duke and the saint reaching out to him with his hands, struck c. 1135–1138). Stanisław Suchodolski (*Święty Wojciech w świetle źródeł numizmatycznych*, [in:] *Święty Wojciech i jego czasy. Materiały III Symposium Historyczno-Archeologicznego Polskiego Uniwersytetu na Obczyźnie, Saint-Maurice, 12–13 kwietnia 1997 roku*, Andrzej Źaki ed., Cracow 2000, pp. 166–168) wrote of these coins only as evidence of a revival of the cult of St Wojciech in the times of Bolesław III.

family and the saint. This seems possible. An indicator of this is the fact that his wife, Salomea, brought to Poland a copy of the “First Life” of St Wojciech from the family’s monastery in Zwiefalten.⁸⁶ We are unable to determine whether she did this as a result of the atmosphere which she found in the Piast court, or whether she knew of the significance of the cult of St Wojciech in Piast circles before her betrothal and she took the manuscript with her on her departure for Poland. In either of these situations, however, we seem to have confirmation of the picture that in the circle of Bolesław III the cult of St Wojciech was being emphasized. It seems that at the end of the eleventh century the cult of the saint underwent a transformation, as a result of which the saint finally became at the beginning of the twelfth century the patron of the Poles, and the support of his cult was an obligation of the rulers which was a consequence of the inheritance of power.⁸⁷ We cannot ignore the possibility that from the 1120s, Bolesław III supported the cult of St Wojciech in connection with his Pomeranian mission, for which the martyr, slain by the pagan Prussians, was an ideal patron.⁸⁸

At the end of the period of interest here, the cult of St Gilles became popular among the Piasts. The most strongly attached to this saint was Bolesław III which resulted from the circumstances surrounding his birth. It was not only he who was most strongly associated with the monastery of Saint Gilles in Provence, but also his parents (see below). An attempt to determine the relative chronology of churches with dedications to St Gilles in Poland seems to indicate that both Władysław Herman as well as Bolesław Wrymouth were influential in promoting the devotion to this saint.⁸⁹ The strong attachment of the latter ruler to the saint is evidenced by his sending gifts and undertaking a pilgrimage to the Hungarian monastery in Somogyvár, where

⁸⁶ See G. Labuda, *W sprawie autorstwa*, p. 119, where there is a review of the literature (footnote 21).

⁸⁷ Aleksander Gieysztor, *Drzwi gnieźnieńskie jako wyraz polskiej świadomości narodowościowej XII wieku*, [in:] *Drzwi gnieźnieńskie*, Michał Walicki, vol. 1, Wrocław 1956, pp. 6–8. This problem was also addressed in general, in the framework of a synthetic biography of the saint by Gerard Labuda, *Św. Wojciech. Biskup—męczennik*, pp. 268–269.

⁸⁸ Cf. the review of the literature: J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, pp. 221–222.

⁸⁹ See K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław III Krzywousty*, pp. 262–263, where references to the older literature can be found, and J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, pp. 160, 179–183, who presents the results of newer discussions.

relics of St Gilles were deposited.⁹⁰ It is notable that after 1138, however, the Piasts did not continue the interest of their forebears in supporting the cult of this saint.

Besides those saints whose cult was supported by more than one member of the Piast dynasty, we may also observe the efforts of the majority of them to support devotion to their own special saintly guardian. Leaving aside the problem presented above of the cult of St Gilles, which had however a wider extent, Bolesław the Brave was particularly active in this area. The earliest evidence however for a personal cult of a saint is the vow of Mieszko I to donate a *votum* to the sanctuary of St Udalryk in Augsburg in gratitude for his being healed after being wounded with a poisoned arrow. Leaving aside the political dimensions of the gesture,⁹¹ let us note that this devotion towards the saint was not reflected among his descendents, even though Gertrude, his great-granddaughter was keeping the holy days of other saints connected with Augsburg.⁹² In the times of Bolesław I and at his initiative, Bruno of Querfurt was the object of a cult in Poland. Devotion to him however did not survive the collapse of the first state of the Piasts, to such an extent as even the place where the remains which Bolesław bought from the hands of the pagans were interred was forgotten.⁹³

There is relatively little information about the participation of the Piasts in the propagation of the cult of the Five Martyred Brothers.⁹⁴ Bolesław could have sent a delegation to Rome with information on their martyrdom and the miracles that were taking place by their tomb. Less certain is the information (related by Peter Damiani) about the construction of a new monastery and church, the halting of the construction of which was said to have led to a cooling of relations

⁹⁰ See Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Saint Gilles a Polska we wczesnym średniowieczu*, "Archeologia Polski", 16 (1971), pp. 651–665. There is no evidence in the sources for an analogous cult in the circle of Bolesław III connected with the pilgrimage that the ruler undertook to the relics of St Steven in the monastery of Székesfehérvár.

⁹¹ See below, pp. 403–409.

⁹² Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Kulty świętych w Polsce X w.*, p. 67.

⁹³ See Brygida Kürbis, *Purpurae passionis aureus finis. Brun z Kwerfurtu i Pięciu Braci Męczenników*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii* vol. 2: *O świadectwach do dziejów kultury Polski średniowiecznej*, Poznań 2001, pp. 167–169, who suggests that they were laid in Gniezno, beside St Wojciech.

⁹⁴ See Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Najstarsi polscy święci: Izaak, Mateusz, Krystyn*, [in:] *Kościół, kultura, społeczeństwo*, pp. 44–47, where the role of the Piasts in the propagation of this cult was almost completely omitted.

between the ruler and the Brothers.⁹⁵ There is not much one can say about the role of Bolesław the Brave in the translation of the remains of the Martyrs to Gniezno.⁹⁶ After 1038 the involvement of the Piasts in the propagation of their cult is difficult to perceive.⁹⁷ The only trace of the persistence among the Piasts of a memory of their tragic deaths is a mention in a calendar in the Psalter of Egbert about a celebration devoted to the Martyrs which occurred during the stay of Gertrude the granddaughter of Bolesław II in Cracow about 1068–1077.⁹⁸

Many years ago, it was shown that Bolesław the Brave might have wanted to make St Wenceslas, who was a distant relative, the patron of his dynasty.⁹⁹ This was suggested by the dedication of the cathedral on Wawel Hill in Cracow. The first church (maybe of wood) on the site later occupied by the cathedral however could have been built in the time when Cracow was subject to the Czechs, and perhaps it is with this that the dedication should be linked.¹⁰⁰ A stronger argument for the functioning of a cult of St Wenceslas in Bolesław's kingdom at the end of the tenth century is the ascription to Bolesław I coins with the (reconstructed) legend VENCIEZLAVVS on the obverse and BOLES LAV on the reverse.¹⁰¹ Despite critical remarks on the topic of the attribution of these coins,¹⁰² the concept of Bolesław supporting the cult of this saint as a patron of his authority which is based on

⁹⁵ J. Karwasińska, *Świadek*, p. 103; B. Kürbis, *Purpurae passionis*, p. 177.

⁹⁶ Roman Michałowski (*Translacja Pięciu Braci Polskich do Gniezna. Przyczynek do dziejów kultu relikwii w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej*, [in:] *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy*, Halina Manikowska, Hanna Zaremska eds, Warszawa 1995 (=Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia, vol. 2), pp. 173–184) presents the state of research on this question together with an attempt to connect the translation with a hypothetical pagan reaction in the reign of Bolesław I.

⁹⁷ See Brygida Kürbis, *Inskrypcja nagrobna w katedrze gnieźnieńskiej z początku XI wieku*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii*, vol. 2, pp. 320–321.

⁹⁸ B. Kürbis, *Opracowanie*, pp. 24–31.

⁹⁹ Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Który Bolesław?*, pp. 88–89.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Zbigniew Pianowski, "Który Bolesław?"—*problem początku architektury monumentalnej w Małopolsce*, [in:] *Początki architektury monumentalnej w Polsce*, pp. 277–278 who indicates that the discovery of elements of the foundations of buildings on Wawel Hill may be evidence of the existence of sacral buildings from Czech times on the site of the later cathedral. He himself, however, *ibidem*, p. 279, following Jerzy Rajman links the dedication of the cathedral with Bolesław the Brave.

¹⁰¹ Stanisław Suchodolski, *Moneta polska w X/XI wieku (Mieszko I. i Bolesław Chrobry)*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne", 11 (1967), fasc. 2–3, pp. 85–95.

¹⁰² Stanisław Trawkowski, *Najstarsze monety polskie*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne", 13 (1969), fasc. 1, p. 32; Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Kulty świętych w Polsce X w.*, p. 73, footnote 70.

their existence is generally accepted.¹⁰³ The fact however remains that devotion for the saint from the Czech ruling family (perhaps initially supported in the circle of Bolesław I by St Wojciech or the Slavnikids generally)¹⁰⁴ did not take permanent root among the Piasts. Probably it disappeared as a result of the activities of Bolesław I in the propagation of the cult of St Wojciech.

In the period under consideration here, the interest of the Piasts and their subjects in Saint Gotard (Godehard) of Hildesheim was only just beginning.¹⁰⁵ In August 1135 as the result of setbacks in his policies concerning his southern neighbours, Bolesław III set off for Merseburg in order to make an alliance there with the Czech ruler and “becoming a knight” of emperor Lothair, accepted his overlordship with regard to the holding of Pomerania. After the conclusion of the ceremony, the Polish ruler was reported to have gone to Hildesheim, to pray at the tomb of St Gotard.¹⁰⁶ This information, written down by an author who was a contemporary of these events, seems to be fully reliable. The reasons for this act may be sought in the context of the “political piety” of Bolesław, who by this gesture attempted to find favour with the emperor who had supported the relatively recent (1131) canonization of the saint.¹⁰⁷ Indeed it was while returning from precisely this brief pilgrimage that Bolesław was feted in Magdeburg by order of the emperor with such a feast that almost nobody previously had ever been honoured.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Recently new arguments indicating a connection between these coins and Bolesław the Brave have been presented by Stanisław Suchodolski, *Kult św. Wacława i św. Wojciecha przez pryzmat polskich monet z wczesnego średniowiecza*, [in:] *Kościół, kultura, społeczeństwo*, pp. 87–92; *Ibid.*, *Kult svatého Václava*, pp. 30–32.

¹⁰⁴ Stanisław Suchodolski supports this suggestion by an analysis of coins of the Bohemian Slavnikids, the kinsmen of St Wojciech. They contain references to the cult of St Wenceslas, and influenced the iconography of the Polish coins of Bolesław the Brave, *Ibid.*, *Ikongrafia monet Sobiesława Ślawnikowica*, “Wiadomości Numizmatyczne”, 50 (2006), fasc. 2, pp. 138–140. František Graus (*St. Adalbert und St. Wenzel. Zur Funktion der mittelalterlichen Heiligenverehrung in Böhmen*, [in:] *Europa Slavica—Europa Orientalis*, pp. 208–210, 228) drew attention to the fact that the first devotees and promoters of the cult of St Wenceslas in Bohemia were not the Premyslids, but in fact the Slavnikids.

¹⁰⁵ More lively effects of the cult of this saint are seen in Poland only after the middle of the twelfth century, see Marta Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *O kulcie św. Gotarda w Polsce XII i XIII w.*, [in:] *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej*, Stefan K. Kuczyński ed., vol. 6, Warszawa 1994, pp. 75–90.

¹⁰⁶ *Annalista Saxo*, Goerg Heinrich Waitz ed., [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 6, Stuttgart 1844, pp. 769–770.

¹⁰⁷ See *Translatio Godehardi episcopi hildesheimensis*, Heinrich Georg Pertz ed., [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 12, Stuttgart 1856, pp. 641–642.

¹⁰⁸ *Annalista Saxo*, p. 770.

Let us note that Norbert, the archbishop of Magdeburg had been much more closely involved than Lothair in the solemn Papal canonization of Gotard during a synod in Reims.¹⁰⁹ The pilgrimage of Bolesław may therefore be treated as an element demonstrating the mutual recognition by both rulers of the great significance of the alliance.¹¹⁰ Just as Merseburg and Magdeburg belonged to the group of centres of his power of the highest rank created by Lothair, so Hildesheim was the seat of his devoted ally, Bishop Bernhard,¹¹¹ an ardent promoter of the cult of St Gotard. It is possible that the pilgrimage was an expression of the private devotion of the duke, the result of the influence on the inhabitants of Poland of the newly developing cult. In the collection of “Miracles of St Gotard” written in the first half of the twelfth century, there is a mention of the miraculous healing of a certain man from Poland at the tomb of the saint.¹¹² At the same time we know that the monks from the monastery of Saint Gilles in Provence highly valued the person and power of Gotard before the saint’s canonisation by the Pope.¹¹³ This was the same monastery which was so closely related to the history of Władysław Herman and his son Bolesław. Here it was the influence of Boleslaw’s wife or her entourage however that might have been the most important, since we know that some years later one of the ladies of the court of Salomea had a relic of St Gotard which was sent back to the monastery of Zwiefalten.¹¹⁴ Whichever way we see the motivations of the Polish ruler, none of the sources from Hildesheim mention the stay of Bolesław in that town, there is also a lack of any

¹⁰⁹ See Josef Fellenberg gen. Reinold, *Die Verehrung des Heiligen Gotthard von Hildesheim in Kirche und Volk*, Bonn 1970 (=Rheinisches Archiv. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande an der Universität Bonn, vol. 74), pp. 39–40.

¹¹⁰ Gerd Althoff (*Symbolische Kommunikation*, p. 301) sees the significance of the visit of Bolesław III to Magdeburg in this way, but leaves aside the question of the pilgrimage and its significance.

¹¹¹ See Oliver Hermann, *Lothar III. und sein Wirkungsbereich. Räumliche Bezüge königlichen Handelns im hochmittelalterlichen Reich (1125–1137)*, Bochum 2000 (=Europa in der Geschichte. Schriften zur Entwicklung des modernen Europa, vol. 3), 189–191, 202.

¹¹² *Translatio Godehardi episcopi hildesheimensis*, pp. 647–648.

¹¹³ See Josef Fellenberg gen. Reinold, *Die Verehrung des Heiligen Gotthard*, p. 34.

¹¹⁴ More hypothetical is the suggestion of the links of Boleslaw III’s voivode Piotr Włost with the cult of St Gotard and the founding of a church under that dedication in Kostomłoty, *ibidem*, p. 112.

mention of him in the necrology of that place.¹¹⁵ Clearly therefore this single journey was not the beginning of any permanent and personal bonds between Bolesław and the centre of the cult of the saint.¹¹⁶

A review of the dedications of churches which were founded by the Piasts revealing their preferences in the choice of patron¹¹⁷ allows the possibility of indicating two more cults of family character in dynastic circles. The family of Mieszko II seems to have especially promoted the cult of St Nicholas brought to Poland by Rycheza from the traditions of her own family, the Ezzonids. Among the evidence of this is the dedication of the church founded in Giecz and possibly Cracow by the royal pair Mieszko II and Rycheza.¹¹⁸ Many years later their daughter Gertrude founded a monastery in Kiev dedicated to the same patron.¹¹⁹ Although in the latter case one of the reasons for this may have been the popularity of the cult of St Nicholas in Eastern Orthodox culture, the initiative must have been in the hands of Gertrude who had been brought up in the Roman Catholic tradition, and so we may assume that she chose from the group of saints to the devotion of which she was particularly attached, the one that would have been easier for the people around her to accept.

The cult of Saint Gereon, originating in Cologne and to whom one of the circular churches on Wawel Hill in Cracow was dedicated, also was a cult connected with the narrow family circle of the Piast rulers. Its presence there was related to Kazimierz the Restorer, connected

¹¹⁵ *Das Necrologium des hildesheimirchen St. Michaelisklosters Benediktiner-Ordens in Auszügen*, edited and prepared by E.F. Mooyer, part 2, "Vaterländisches Archiv des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen", 8 (1843), pp. 51–75 (entries from October and November, Wrymouth died twenty-eighth October).

¹¹⁶ Which does not exclude the possibility that Bolesław III had an influence on the propagation of the cult in Poland, which is what Marek Derwich suggests (referring to the work of Marta Młynarska-Kaletynowa): Marek Derwich, *Monarchia i możni a Kościół polski [Na marginesie monografii Józefa Dobosza, Monarchia i możni wobec Kościoła w Polsce do początku XIII wieku, (...) Poznań 2002 (...)]*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 68 (2002), p. 202.

¹¹⁷ Aleksandra Witkowska (*Titulus ecclesiae. Wezwania współczesnych kościołów katedralnych w Polsce. Historia*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 54–55) draws attention to the difficulties in defining the motivation for the choice of a particular dedication for a church, it is an indication of the will of the church's founder, but only in exceptional circumstances did a church receive a dedication to their patron saint.

¹¹⁸ See Roman Michałowski, *Kościół św. Mikołaja we wczesnopiastowskich ośrodkach rezydencjonalnych*, [in:] *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej*, Stefan K. Kuczyński ed., vol. 4, Warszawa 1994, pp. 63–74.

¹¹⁹ Andrzej Poppe, *Gertruda-Olisawa, regina Russorum. Materiały do życiorysu*, [in:] *Scriptura custos memoriae*, p. 588.

through his mother, Rycheza, with the church centre in Cologne. This cult however was apparently not taken up by Kazimierz's successors.¹²⁰

It should be stated that the cult of saints among the Piasts did not have a homogeneous shape reflecting the existence of a single tradition common to the whole family throughout the period under consideration here. The period of especial interest of the first three historical rulers in the cults of saints that were created as patrons for themselves and connected with their rule meant that first the cult of St Peter and later St Wojciech were treated as dynastic cults. This tendency however was weakened by the collapse of the first Piast state. The special status of the cult of St Peter was extinguished with the death of Mieszko II's children (Kazimierz and Gertrude). The interest of members of the dynasty in St Wojciech revived only in the reign of Władysław Herman with the renewal of the archdiocese of Gniezno which had been destroyed in the years 1038–1039. It now took on a completely different character. The saint was no longer the special patron of the ruling dynasty, but became the patron of all Poles. It was as such however that he also supported their ruler. In the whole period, it remains characteristic of the Piasts to remain faithful to cults of significance to the family, which as a result of various factors might be adopted by the whole dynasty (St Wojciech) or dies out after one generation (Sts Bruno of Querfurt, Wenceslas, Gereon, Gotard), or perhaps two (Sts Lambert, Nicholas, Gilles), but rarely three generations (the Five Martyred Brothers).¹²¹

It would not be too bold to suggest that there was no doubt a specific tradition of religiosity of the Piasts which was expressed in the cults of the saints which they supported. This tradition did not have however a linear or continuous character. All the Piasts had the custom of supporting the devotion to a single, chosen, saint within the family, but the saint chosen varied from generation to generation. Within this tendency, we may define three periods: the first was the period of the first state of the Piasts with the attempts to create a dynastic cult alongside the cult of saints promoted by individual rulers. Then there

¹²⁰ Jerzy Wyrozumski, *Święty Gereon i próba zaszczepienia jego kultu w Polsce*, "Studia Waweliana", 4 (1995), p. 11.

¹²¹ See the review of research concerning the early stages of the development of the cult of the Five Martyred Brothers—Krzyszyna Górską-Gołaska, *Kult Pięciu Braci Męczenników w Kazimierzu Biskupim i rozwój towarzyszącej mu legendy*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 61 (1995), pp. 112–114.

was the renewal of power by Kazimierz the Restorer when there was an increase in significance of short-lived family cults; this was followed by developments in the reign of Bolesław Wrymouth when one can clearly see the tendency (begun probably in the reign of Władysław Herman) for the co-existence of family cults and the personal cult of the ruler together with that of St Wojciech, now of a national character. It is possible that the clergy connected with the arch-cathedral of Gniezno were responsible for the above-mentioned transformation of the cult of St Wojciech. It was they and not the royal court who revived the cult of the saint after finding his head, which was the one relic of Saint Wojciech that had not been carried off by the Czechs. It is here too that the basic core of the story of the history of Poland which served as the basis for the first book of the "Chronicle" of Gallus Anonymous could have been kept alive. The "guardians of memory" discretely, and perhaps not completely aware of what they were doing, could have had an effect on the changes occurring in the cult of St Wojciech which was being revived among the Piasts. The tradition clearly underwent change, the unity of the dynasty was assured by conviction concerning the especial protection of the sacral sphere over the rulers which was based not so much on the specific character of the religious traditions of the Piasts themselves, but their participation in the broader European current of the cultures of the West.

4. THE LIVING AND THE DEAD—WŁADYSŁAW HERMAN AND BOLESŁAW WRYMOUTH

The results of the analysis of the phenomena presented above concerning the family life of the Piasts has accented on the one hand their replication and on the other the significance of the bonds within the family in the narrower scope of the meaning of the word. Tradition appears here mainly as a means of strengthening the relations between children, parents and at the most, grandparents. Due to a unique reference by the monk Ebo of Michelsberg we have the possibility to raise a question about the intended dimension of this relationship. Was it really directed to the "inside" of the clan? Or was it to a considerable degree based on a tradition of models of behaviour of the Piasts that was directed towards the community which they ruled?

Describing the history of the second missionary expedition of Otto of Bamberg to Pomerania, Ebo reports the specific reason why

Bolesław III was driven to conduct a second war with the Pomeranians under the rule of Duke Warcisław. Bolesław said that “this people had with the impudence of wild beasts devastated his lands and robbed his people and even removed his parents from their graves and from their severed heads broken the teeth out and scattered their bones on the highway”.¹²² It is easy to imagine that the duke felt personally injured by such a manner of treating of the remains of his kinsmen and driven by justifiable anger swore vengeance on the guilty parties. This passage would therefore be clear proof of the respect which Bolesław cultivated for his parents.

However if we look more closely at the context of the information within the story of Ebo, the picture becomes more complicated. It turns out that the gesture of the profanation of the grave of his ancestors was perceived by Wrymouth above all in the context of the public’s reaction to his own behaviour as a result of it. So, Bishop Otto came to Bolesław to try and persuade him not to attack the Pomeranians. He had succeeded in converting them to Christianity and was concerned that if Bolesław attacked them, they would turn away from the faith, as they themselves had indicated to him would be the case.¹²³ Learning of Otto’s motives for coming to see him, the duke first of all rejected the idea that he should resign from preparing an attack. He did not however mention the personal affront he had met, but instead “said that it was [not only—P.W.] difficult to agree to call off the intended expedition but also because later the whole people would regard him as a nothing, if he will not exact revenge on the duke of the Pomeranians who had been subjected to him by their efforts”.¹²⁴ There is no mention here about the duke’s own personal feelings. It was only because of the fact that he had already begun to prepare the attack that Bolesław did not want to call it off at the bishop’s request. This however was only the introductory, less important part of the argument. The second part unequivocally relates the Bolesław’s main argument against the bishop’s proposal to the social conditions of his situation—if he resigned from exacting revenge, he would lose his authority in the eyes of the public, he would no longer be the ruler, but “nothing”.

¹²² *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis*, III,13, p. 116: “parentes suos e sepulchris protraheret, et collis capitibus dentes excuteret, ossaque eorum per publicum aggerem dispergeret”.

¹²³ *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis*, III,13; Ebo von Michelsberg, *Das Leben*, pp. 254–255.

¹²⁴ *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis*, III,13; Ebo von Michelsberg, *Das Leben*, pp. 256–257.

In this sentence of Ebo's we find a reference which may explain the dramatic situation in which the ruler found himself. Warcisław, the ruler of the Pomeranians had been with some difficulty subjected to the Polish duke. Since the hagiographer mentions this fact in the context of the consequences of calling off the expedition, let us examine it in the context which Ebo proposes. If Bolesław had resigned from exacting revenge for the affront, it would here mean that somebody who was formally dependent on him was allowed to harm his people and profane the remains of his parents without retribution. This would mean that the duke would not have any real power over one of his own subjects, and furthermore over somebody which it had taken a great effort by Bolesław's own people to bring to that state. Could someone like that be worthy of being a ruler? Would any of his other subjects obey his will? Or would that rather also be "nothing"? Ebo's narrative leads us towards an affirmative answer to that question.

Can we accept that here we are dealing with the real motivation of Bolesław Wrymouth, and not a creation of the hagiographer's own imagination? Scholars agree that the invasion would have taken place in 1126–7, while Ebo was writing his work about thirty years after these events. We may justifiably ask whether after such a long time Ebo's informants could have remembered even the main element of the argumentation of the Polish ruler presented during one of his meetings with Otto. This is especially the case when we know that this writer writing about the stay of the young Otto of Bamberg at the court of Władysław Herman named the latter as Bolesław Wrymouth.¹²⁵ In the latter case however he was reliant on a third-hand account, while in his description of the conversion of the Pomeranians he was utilizing the recollections of participants in the events discussed. Unfortunately Ebo's narrative has not so far been confirmed by archaeological investigations in the place where they are supposed to have happened, that is the Piast necropolis in Płock, where Władysław Herman had been buried.¹²⁶ Was therefore the description of the reaction of Bolesław Wrymouth to the news of the profanation of his parents' graves merely a component of Bamberg tradition, built on oral tales and literary ele-

¹²⁵ *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis*, I,1, p. 10.

¹²⁶ For more on this, see Przemysław Wiszewski, *Zemsta, zemsta na wroga... czy wyzwanie? Rzecz o obcinaniu głów zmarłym i społecznym wymiarze emocji (Ebo, III,13)*, [in:] *Cor hominis. Wielkie namiętności w dziejach, źródłach i studiach nad przeszłością*, Stanisław Rosik, Przemysław Wiszewski eds, Wrocław 2007 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 3049, Historia 176), pp. 63–65.

ments which were circulating in the community, a further reflection of a certain “narrative matrix”?

We should examine the reasons why the information about the profanation of the remains of Bolesław’s parents is found in the pages of Ebo’s “Life”. It does not lead to anything of importance in the narrative itself and was not referred to again in the further parts of the work. In order to maintain the completeness of the story, the hagiographer only needed to refer to the great destruction caused by the Pomeranians and the need for the wronged ruler, Warcisław’s overlord, to avenge it. In that sense, the story of their profaning the grave of Bolesław’s parents is superfluous. Therefore the reason for it being included must be sought in some other factor than the mere maintaining of the logic of the narrative and the principles of the construction of a hagiographic account. What could have prompted Ebo’s informants (maybe even bishop Otto himself) to place such emphasis on the significance of this anecdote that it found its way as a piece of superfluous information into the narrative? We should see the bishop of Bamberg as the person responsible for the preservation of the memory of this event. From Ebo’s point of view, the events he was describing took place on the peripheries of Europe and probably would not have had any real significance for him. The significance of these events however could be clear—and also moving—for Otto and his entourage. The future bishop had been in the circle of close collaborators with both the imperial family as well as Władysław Herman from at least 1088 (when he took part in the preparations for Herman’s betrothal to Judith of Swabia). It would therefore be understandable if he himself was moved by the fate of the earthly remains of his former patron in Poland. The “Life” however does not make any mention of anything like that. The sad fate of the bodies of the deceased Piasts had however an additional emotional value for Otto but also those around him, since these events were the mirror image of events which filled the whole Empire with astonishment and disgust in the times of the reign of Henry IV, the father of Otto’s protector, Emperor Henry V.

During the great Saxon revolt against the emperor, despite the contracting of a truce, at the beginning of 1074, the rebels took Harzburg, an imperial stronghold not far from Goslar. Here was an imperial foundation, a church intended as a memorial for Henry’s family, and in it were interred the remains of his brother and son. The victorious rebels not only plundered the castle and church, but also profaned the family tombs of the ruler, throwing about the bones of his son. This angered

Henry to such a degree that he again started the war against the rebels who he eventually overcame in a battle in 1075 near Homburg on the Unstrut. The plundering of Harzburg and the profanation of the bodies of the interred members of the imperial family was widely talked about in the Reich at the time,¹²⁷ but memory of these events was still alive in the twelfth century.¹²⁸ There is little doubt that Otto, and very probably his entourage knew of these events and their tragic consequences for the Saxons. Otto's entourage could well appreciate the power of the picture of the visit of Otto to the ruler distraught by the news of the profanation of the grave of his parents. In the "Life" which Ebo wrote, which was an account mainly addressed to inhabitants of the Reich, dissuading Bolesław from exacting revenge would be an argument expressing the persuasive ability of the bishop in such extremely difficult situations. This motif appears again in Ebo's narrative when after three days of fruitless attempts at discussion between Bolesław and Warcisław the personal intervention of the bishop finally led to an agreement, and by this means he managed to stave off the threat of a destructive attack on the Pomeranians. The remarks included above explain why this episode is to be found in the tradition associated with Otto of Bamberg.¹²⁹ It does not however prove that it was a fiction created on the basis of the events in Harzburg. There are several things which seem to argue against this, not just differences between the two stories. The mention of the severing of the heads from the bodies of both Piasts seems to be related to real customs of the Pomeranians.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ *Annales Hildesheimenses*, p. 43 (sub anno 1073): "Saxones Hartesburg destrunt, ubi regis filii sepulchrum violant ossaque dispergunt"; the conquerors did not hesitate to "defunctorum violare sepulchra reiectis ossibus", *Carmen de bello saxonico*, Oswald Holder-Egger ed., [in:] *Carmen de bello saxonico. Accedit: Conquestio Heinrici IV. imperatoris*, Oswald Holder-Egger ed., Hannover 1889 (=MGH SRG in usum scholarum, vol. 17), III,19–20, p. 15.

¹²⁸ Saxons breaking the peace in Hartzburg dared in "ossa filii regis (...) effodere", *Vita Heinrici IV. imperatoris*, Wilhelm Eberhard ed., Hannover 1899 (=MGH SRG in usum scholarum, vol. 58), p. 15, lines 3–6, which drove the emperor to declare war. A close relationship of the "Vita..." with the "Carmen" (written shortly after 1075) and the dating of the "Life of Emperor Henry" to the first years of the twelfth century are suggested by Manfred Schluck, *Die Vita Heinrici IV. Imperatoris. Ihre zeitgenössischen Quellen und ihr besonderes Verhältnis zum Carmen de bello Saxonico*, Sigmaringen 1979 (=Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband 26), pp. 102–104.

¹²⁹ For more on the emotional dimension of the story and its connections with the idea of conversion of the Pomeranians, see P. Wiszewski, *Zemsta, zemsta na wroga*, pp. 71–72.

¹³⁰ Archaeological finds of skulls, several of which had been cut off bodies are discussed by Rudolf Grenz, *Das Opfer des menschlichen Hauptes bei den Westslawen*

This seems not to be a stereotypical description which could have been copied from other texts. The written sources tell us of the severing of heads by the pagan Slavs of people they have killed,¹³¹ though do not mention the deliberate removal of bodies from graves in order to do this.

As we wrote above, in his discussion with Otto, as far as we can tell, Bolesław avoided mention of the personal aspects of the affront committed by Warcisław. He saw primarily a political-social dimension to the gesture of the Pomeranians. It is precisely in the point of contact between the significance of the acts the invaders committed and Bolesław's assessment of them which appears to indicate the manner in which he defined his relationship with his dead parents, and maybe the wider family. In the actions taken by the attackers in the case of the bodies of the parents of Bolesław, we can identify four important elements: removal from the grave, severing of the heads, knocking out of the teeth and throwing the bones on the public highway. The first of these may be treated as obvious in the case of the intention to profane the remains and so therefore no special meaning need be attached to it. This is not applicable to the other three gestures which not only must have been deliberately chosen by the invaders from a range of possible behaviours but in addition they seem to form a coherent complex of symbolic significances. We do not have any records of behaviour completely analogous to what happened to the remains of Bolesław's parents, but we do have account of similar cult practices. Adam of Bremen in his "Acts of the Bishops of Hamburg" gives a very vivid description of the martyrdom of Bishop John of Merseburg which occurred in 1066. The Polabian Slavs in rebellion against the Saxons had captured the bishop in his city and then used him and other Christian captives "ad triumphum" presenting them in their strongholds (we assume as a sign of their victory). When however

in Ost- und Mitteleuropa, "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung. Länder und Völker im östlichen Mitteleuropa", 12 (1963), pp. 531–554, especially 536–541. Grenz indicates the ritual character of the burial of heads on, or at the foot of, the ramparts surrounding cult places. On the basis of the written sources, he indicates that these heads may have been cut off either as part of a rite of sacrifice or from enemies slain on the battlefield, *ibidem*, pp. 551–552. The wider comparative background of the decapitation of bodies among the Polabian Slavs and Pomeranians in the context of cult is discussed by Stanisław Rosik, *Interpretacja*, pp. 216–217.

¹³¹ *Magistri Adami Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesie Pontificum*, Bernhard Schmeidler ed., third edition, Hannover 1917 (=MGH, SRG in usum scholarum, vol. 2), III, scholia 71, p. 163 and *ibidem*, III,51, pp. 193–194; and also *Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica*, I,35, p. 70.

the bishop “through the name of Christ could not be forced to kneel”, his hands and feet were cut off, and his body was left in that place, while his head was taken to Retra.¹³² Helmold of Bozow describing the events concerning the rebellion of the Slavs describes the death of Duke Gotszalk. He was said to have died in an ambush in a campaign against the Slavs. Although his body was found, his head was not, as it must have been taken by his killers.¹³³ The chronicler is however silent about the reason it had been taken.

Ebo does not suggest that the severed heads of Bolesław’s parents were used for cult purposes. Neither were they taken away by them; since we learn that the teeth were knocked out, the heads were left near the place of burial. All three types of action are linked however by the general context—the behaviour of the victors against the vanquished. The removal of the heads seems to be the final act which concludes the struggle with a stronger opponent. In the light of the high value attached to the head in the religion of the pagan Slavs,¹³⁴ such a gesture could express the final overcoming of the vanquished. From the information supplied by Ebo it appears that the skulls of the dead people were left in such a manner that it could be determined without difficulty that they belonged to those specific individuals, Bolesław’s parents. If so, the state of the skulls—the removal of the remaining teeth was clearly intended to convey specific information to those who found them. We may only surmise that the removal of the teeth would have left the skulls looking like those of toothless old people, devoid of their strength. In addition the lack of teeth would emphasise even more that the overcome person is in no state to defend themselves, to give any kind of wound with the last weapon they possess. The dead were thus ultimately conquered and their fate totally dependent on their victors. There remains the gesture of throwing the bones onto the public road. This seems to be the final expression of the humiliation of the conquered. The body of Bishop John after the removal of his hands, feet and head was also left lying in a public place. In the case of Bolesław’s parents the problem was not so much the laying bare of the dead, but taking them from their proper place in the sacred sphere. To achieve this it was enough to remove the bodies from the tomb, but the Pomeranians added insult to injury by throwing the bones

¹³² *Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta*, III,51, p. 194.

¹³³ *Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica*, I,35, p. 70.

¹³⁴ See S. Rosik, *Interpretacja*, p. 216.

on a public highway, and thus a place frequented daily by ordinary travellers. It was therefore unavoidable that their remains would be trampled on by passers-by. All these acts had one common factor, revealing the weakness and humiliation of the dead rulers.

We should now return to the arguments used by Bolesław against breaking off preparations for a military campaign against the Pomeranians. He unequivocally indicates that the actions of the invaders had been directed towards him, and in particular his authority as a ruler. It is in this context that his reading of the behaviour of the Pomeranians should be seen. Without doubt Bolesław had been their special enemy for a period of a number of years and had not made a secret of that fact. It is in this context that he understood their gesture, an action directed against him as a ruler and not the son of the deceased. Let us recall that Ebo wrote clearly that at the same time the invaders had looted a considerable area of Bolesław's lands. In that situation, such a precise description of the profanation of the remains of the ruler's parents appears as a challenge to the Polish ruler, an accusation of weakness. At least that is how it seems from what we are told of the way that Bolesław took it. This does not mean that he did not feel any links with the dead. If this had been the case, the gesture of the invaders would have had no meaning, neither for him, neither for those around him. On the contrary, if the ruler had clearly expressed the great role this whole affair played for him and his position in society, this is understandable only if he felt strongly linked to the deceased.

This however was not about a son's feelings, but the mutual representation of membership of the dynasty. The affront to the dead only aroused such deep emotions in Bolesław that he was prepared to oppose bishop Otto because it was at the same time an affront to him. This is why, when he finally agreed to call off the attack, it was under one condition, that Warcisław would stand in front of him in the deepest humility, and lower himself by the appropriate gestures to a suitable level.¹³⁵ As a result of the final agreement, the ruler of the Pomeranians had to agree to donate a significant sum of money to the cathedral in Gniezno, to the "canons of St Wojciech".¹³⁶ This reparation for the damage done had its own significance. It was not paid to the living

¹³⁵ *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis*, III,13, p. 117: the duke agrees to the bishop's request, "si, inquit, humiliatus Pomeranorum dux per semet ipsum michi occurrere et veniam deprecari voluerit".

¹³⁶ Z. Dalewski, *Rytuał i polityka*, pp. 88–91 thinks that apart from exchanging the kiss of peace and contributing tribute for the use of the "canons of St Wojciech",

descendant of the deceased whose remains had been so ill-treated, but the holy patron of him and his people, the patron of Poland. Once again the specific social dimension of the relationship between ruler, his forebears and the Poles as a whole is emphasised. The members of the dynasty represented their people, that which humiliated them humiliated their people. If therefore reparations were demanded for the harm done, it was not the ruler that was to receive them, but the highest representative and defender of the Poles, St Wojciech to whom they were due. For Bolesław the sense of community with his ancestors was contained precisely in such a social frame of reference.

The above observations persuade us to exercise caution in our assessment of the degree to which the behaviour of the Piasts in the sphere of family relationships is only dependent on family tradition. The example of Bolesław III shows that although tradition served to strengthen the links between family members and without doubt did exert great influence on the way they behaved, at the same time the activities undertaken within the framework they create had an important dimension. The ruler had to take into account not only what his family's tradition required him to do in a given situation but also an ideal of the world's order, i.e. how his gesture, his acts would be interpreted by the society of his subjects who were linked by a certain vision of the necessary reactions of a member of the ruling family. Their performance was necessary in order for him to continue to be regarded as the ruler. It should however be remembered that there was a huge difference between the social and political situations of Bolesław I and Bolesław III. The first to a greater degree created the society that was subject to his rule, the latter was obliged to respect their common traditions. Nevertheless the principle itself remains unchanged, the gestures of the ruler, including with respect to his family life did not exist in a vacuum, but were read in the framework of the tradition which was ascribed to the clan and kept alive among his subjects.

The dynastic tradition of the Piasts emerges from the results of the analyses presented above primarily as a phenomenon which does not have a homogeneous character. In a relatively short period between 966 and 1138 there were deep changes in every analysed sector of the life of the dynasty: anthroponymy, matrimonial strategies, religious

Warcisław must have also performed some act of humility. This fact however was not recorded by the "Life".

life. There are however striking parallels in the changes occurring in different forms of the expression of dynastic tradition. Two main periods can be differentiated: the period of the state of the first Piasts, and the reign of Bolesław Wrymouth, though the latter was in several aspects closely related to changes which were already beginning in the reign of his father. Between these two relatively clearly definable periods is one in which there was a less homogenous expression of the dynastic tradition. Here in only some spheres can we see the creation of some more stable forms (anthroponymy, cults of saints) and in others the lack of tendencies which extend beyond the span of one generation (matrimonial strategies). In the first period, there develops a tendency to build a tradition of norms for the lives of the Piasts in the perspective of two to three generations, and at the same time to take on a form closely related to the culture of the aristocratic and imperial courts of the Reich. The second is a phase when the Piasts concentrate on the family traditions in the narrower sense concerned with at the most two generations and sometimes limited only to the ruler himself and his nearest milieu. Here there also develops a tendency to make a break with the norms known to us from the previous period. Finally the period of Bolesław III is one of synthesis of both currents of family tradition, that from before 1034 and that from afterwards. It is at the same time a period of change, the introduction of the traditions of the family or clan of the Piasts into the current of envisioning the world in which the dominant role is played by the people, by the Poles.

The behaviour of the Piasts not only concerned their family life, which as is the nature of things tended towards continuity and replication, and thus to take on a traditional form. We should look at whether their activities in the sphere of wider social interaction was equally connected in some way with tradition, or whether it took place outside it. The analysis presented above of the behaviour of Bolesław III in reaction to the profanation of the remains of his parents allows us to examine the relationship between the deeds of rulers including those which would be to a great degree influenced by family tradition, to the obligations placed on them by the community of their subjects. In such a situation, could the communication between the Piasts and their subjects, necessary for the maintenance of stability in their mutual relationships, be based on some form of tradition, or was it entirely elastic, adapting itself to current socio-political needs?

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PIAST GESTURE—A SIGN OF POWER

The ruler who in exercising his rule wishes to appear before his subject people must be easily recognisable, and his acts precisely understood. In the early Medieval period, words alone, especially the written word, were not sufficient to serve this purpose in the ruler's relations with a multicultural and often multiethnic communities of his subjects. In this regard therefore, more importance accrued to gesture (an act or its codified forms confirmed by repetition) and ritual. In recent years there has been much research on this topic, and there is a considerable literature, which it is not necessary to summarise here.¹ For us what is important is only that such a gesture or act, in order to have value as a communication and in order to be understandable, had to refer to the recipient's knowledge.² This would be knowledge based either on

¹ As an introduction to the issue of "gestures" may serve the works of researchers who see the problem in completely different ways. Some see them as acts whose course in the past we can identify together with their meaning for contemporaries, such as Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La Raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris 1990; or those who regard gesture as a historiographic fact, recorded and living due to the culture of writing and of a symbolism legible to persons connected with it, such as Philippe Buc, *Dangereux rituel. De l'histoire médiévale aux sciences sociales*, Paris 2003. In the opinion of some researchers a new paradigm has developed in the historical sciences, an analysis which focuses not so much on the text and its reception but also the broad range of behaviour and its social context. There have been many of these in recent years (let us recall only the "linguistic/narrative turn", "cultural turn", and the "historic turn" in the social sciences). This "performative turn" in Medieval studies was presented by Jürgen Martschukat and Steffen Patzold, *Geschichtswissenschaft und "performative turn": Eine Einführung in Fragestellungen, Konzepte und Literatur*, [in:] *Geschichtswissenschaft und "performative turn". Ritual, Inszenierung und Performanz vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*, Jürgen Martschukat, Steffen Patzold eds, Köln/Weimar/Wien 2003 (=Norm und Struktur. Studien zum sozialen Wandel im Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, vol. 19), pp. 12–18.

² See the recent remarks of Philippe Buc prompted by the meeting in January 754 in Ponthion between Pope Stephen II with Pippin (Ibid., *Warum weniger die Handelnden selbst als eher die Chronisten das politische Ritual erzeugten—und warum es niemandem auf die wahre Geschichte ankam*, [in:] *Die Macht des Königs. Herrschaft im Europa vom Frühmittelalter bis in die Neuzeit*, Bernhard Jussen ed., München 2005, pp. 32–35). He emphasized the significance of defining the context of the creation of the account, and an attempt to approach how the chronicler in the light of his own knowledge might have read the gestures made during the meeting. The counterpoint

education referring to older analogies of such behaviour (and therefore most often ancient and biblical tradition), or on a knowledge of a universal or local tradition of exercising rule. We are only interested in a narrow aspect of this problem. When the Piasts communicated with the community of their subjects or, in the broader scope, neighbouring peoples, did they refer to some form of tradition which was built among and supported by the members of their own family? Did they use gestures—acts which linked them with their predecessors—to create a dynastic tradition?³ This would have been a tradition which would have imposed a specific manner of behaviour and acts in specific situations. Since in the present work we are studying the Piast dynastic traditions, we need to concentrate on those manners of behaviour of members of the dynasty which were not dictated to them by the current norms of the contemporary society.⁴ This problem appears especially clearly in the course of the analysis of the iconographic sources. Here the use, especially by the ducal mints, of stereotypical patterns of imagery used in other areas of Europe too requires us to define more precisely the degree to which a given representation is to be associated with a local tradition, and how much is due to the acceptance of more widespread patterns. Similar analyses of the context of the execution of a given gesture are however necessary in other cases.

We would like to begin our necessarily brief journey in search of the Piast gestures of rule from the question of their establishment of a privileged relationship with the sacral sphere and the ritual manner of taking on the responsibilities of rule which results from that. The next station in this journey would be the problem of the description through the use of gesture of the character of ducal rule intended for mass consumption and recorded in iconographic sources. Since our story will inevitably revolve around the issue of rule over the people, the question arises of the degree to which the Piasts deliberately created the space of their rule, when dividing their lands into parts,

of these remarks is the stress on the universal significance of the gestures at the imperial coronation of Charlemagne in the discussion of Janet L. Nelson, *Warum es so viele Versionen von der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Großen gibt*, [in:] *Die Macht des Königs*, pp. 38–54.

³ We exclude from our discussion ecclesiastical foundations and commemoration of the dead as separate topics which are discussed in a subsequent chapter.

⁴ The definition of a group of gestures of universal character and performed by Bolesław Wrymouth was discussed in his latest works by Zbigniew Dalewski, summarizing his reflections in the work under the notable title *Rytuał i polityka*, passim.

provinces, ruling from “centres of power”, whether they were doing so without reflection, accepting pre-existing divisions? Did they themselves create the stage for their rule, also making of the specific political geography the sphere of the ruler’s gesture—the Piasts dividing space up according to their own will? Can we ascertain the presence of a tradition which is legible to the audience of the communication, the community living in the ruled space? There is a great variety of questions that could be posed, but they may be reduced to a single one: in their communication with the community of their subjects concerning the issues of most importance to them, did the Piasts refer to their dynastic tradition?

1. UNDER A SAINT’S PROTECTION

Earlier in this work we wrote of the efforts of Mieszko I and his wife Oda to create special and personal bonds with St Peter, for purely personal rather than political reasons. We have also shown, in another part of this work, that Bolesław the Brave and probably also Mieszko II already transformed the one-off gesture of Mieszko I into a tradition of specific bonds between the dynasty and St Peter.⁵ Here we would like to draw attention to the great divide between the superficially similar gestures of members of the dynasty sharing their cares with the saints at the end of the tenth century and a century later. In more precise terms, our analysis concentrates on the circumstances of the sending to cult places of the saints votive gifts by Mieszko I and Władysław Herman symbolising parts of a body or a whole body which was to be called to life.

As it is chronologically earliest, we should start with the note in the list of miracles of St Udalryk that “Mieszko prince of the Vandals” swore with “great faith and persistence” an oath that if he survived the wound in his shoulder with a poisoned arrow, he would give a silver arm as a gift for the shrine of the holy bishop.⁶ This record comes from a source written in 982/983–993,⁷ and thus probably still in the

⁵ See the sections of Chapter 1 of this work about “Dagome Iudex” and the “Epitaph of Bolesław the Brave”, pp. 7–11, 63–65.

⁶ *Gerhardi miracula sancti Oudalrici episcopi Augustani*, Georg Waitz ed, [in:] MGH SS, vol. 4, Hannover 1841, p. 423, chapter 22.

⁷ For a new discussion of the time of creation of the “Life”, see Rolf Schmidt, *Legitimum ius totius familiae. Recht und Verwaltung bei Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg*, [in:]

lifetime of Mieszko I (+992). There is no reason therefore to doubt that it refers to an authentic event. Why though did Mieszko at that critical moment choose that saint as his protector? Why is it that it was this saint's cult which developed in the milieu of the Polish ruler?⁸ The source does not answer these questions.

Some scholars seek the reasons for Mieszko's gesture in the circumstances in which he received his wound. The Polish ruler is thought to have been in Bavaria, expressing his close connections with the Bavarian duke Henry the Quarrelsome, the opponent of emperor Otto II. The meeting of these allies is dated by the chronicles under the date 974.⁹ It was in the circle of Henry that the cult or the Saint was strongly supported, and the lack of further evidence of the continuation of the cult in Poland would be due to the breaking off of political ties between Mieszko and Henry,¹⁰ or the later union between the Bavarian and Henry II, the enemy of Bolesław the Brave.¹¹ The written source under discussion here however does not contain any suggestion that Mieszko was ever in Bavaria. The general statement that after his healing "Mieszko returned home" can be regarded as understandable in the context of the story, especially since the wounding by an arrow could have taken place during a military expedition. What is interesting is that the duke sent the votive gift "to Saint Udalryk", omitting the patron saints of Augsburg, Saints Afra and Magnus, who were highly regarded among the later Piasts. We can therefore only suggest that when he was wounded, there was someone in Mieszko's vicinity somebody who placed great importance on propagating the cult of Udalryk. The ruler did not have to go to Bavaria however to find them.

Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken. Festschrift für Raymund Kottje zum 65. Geburtstag, Hubert Mordek ed., Frankfurt am Main/Bern/New York/Paris 1992 (=Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte. Studien und Texte, vol. 3), pp. 207–211.

⁸ Cf. Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Die neuen Heiligenkulte in Mitteleuropa um das Jahr 1000*, [in:] *Europas Mitte um Jahr 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*, Alfred Wieczorek, Hans-Martin Hinz eds, Stuttgart 2000, vol. 2, p. 835.

⁹ See T. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Kulty świętych w Polsce X w.*, pp. 63–64, also recently Andrzej Pleszczyński, *Bolesław Chrobry konfratrem eremitów św. Romualda w Międzyrzeczu*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 103 (1996), nr 1, p. 9. Jacek Banaszkiewicz, *Mieszko I i władcy jego epoki*, pp. 100–101 suggests the mediation of the Czech ruler Boleslav II, also connected with Henry the Quarrelsome. This would indicate that this event took place in 979.

¹⁰ T. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Kulty świętych w Polsce X w.*, p. 67.

¹¹ Thus J. Banaszkiewicz, *Mieszko I i władcy jego epoki*, p. 102.

It is probable that Mieszko received the wound in the course of one of the campaigns against the Polabian Slavs undertaken together with the aristocracy of the Reich and in support of the imperial policies. This may have happened for example in the course of the fight against the rebellious Slavs in 985.¹² Saint Udalryk, responsible for the Augsburg diocese in 923–973,¹³ was related to the imperial family through empress Adelaide. He always remained faithful to Otto I.¹⁴ In turn, in the court of Otto II, and especially the juvenile Otto III, the grandmother Empress Adelaide still played a significant role, from 991 as regent.¹⁵ It was to her that Udalryk owed much of his own influence in the court of Otto I,¹⁶ and she supported the growing cult

¹² Piotr Bogdanowicz, *Uwagi nad panowaniem Mieszka I. Przypuszczalna przyczyna sojuszu z cesarzową Teofano*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 26 (1960), pp. 101–106, 110–111 indicates the close collaboration of Mieszko with the imperial court, especially with Theophano, but today we would have to add with empress Adelaide.

¹³ See Manfred Weitlauff, *Das Bistum Augsburg von seinen Anfängen bis zur Säkularisation (1802/1803) und seine spätmittelalterlichen Bischöfe (1184–1423)*, "Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte", 37 (2003), pp. 22–25.

¹⁴ His fight on the side of Otto I during the rebellion of his son Liudolf (953–954) and its consequences for the image of the bishop in his "Life" is discussed by Georg Kreuzer, *Die "Vita sancti Oudalrici episcopi Augustani" des Augsburger Dompropstes Gerhard. Eine literarkritische Untersuchung*, [in:] *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg, 890–973. Seine Zeit—sein Leben—seine Verehrung. Festschrift aus Anlaß des tausendjährigen Jubiläums seiner Kanonisation im Jahre 993*, Manfred Weitlauff ed., Wißenhorn 1993 (=Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte, vol. 26/27), pp. 172–173. For a brief biography of the bishop with references to further literature see *Die Regesten der Bischöfe und des Domkapitels von Augsburg*, vol. 1: *Von den Anfängen bis 1152*, Wilhelm Volkert ed., introduction by Friedrich Zoepfel, Augsburg 1985 (=Veröffentlichungen der Schwäbischen Forschungsgemeinschaft bei der Kommission für Bayerische Landesgeschichte, Reihe IIb, vol. 1), nr 102, pp. 62–63, 327–328.

¹⁵ On the role of Adelaide in ensuring the inheritance of power by the juvenile Otto III against the attempts of Henry the Quarellsome in 983–984, see Johannes Fried, *Kaiserin Thephanu und das Reich*, [in:] *Köln. Stadt und Bistum*, pp. 151–156, 162–169. The strength of her position rose even further after the death of Theophano in 991 and becoming regent for her grandson, Ludger Körntgen, *Starke Frauen: Edgith—Adelheid—Theophanu*, [in:] *Otto der Grosse, Magdeburg und Europa*, Matthias Puhle ed., vol. 1: *Essays*, Mainz am Rhein 2001, pp. 126, 128, 131. The influence of Adelaide on the rule of the Reich is presented by Stefan Weinfurter, *Kaiserin Adelheid und das ottonische Kaisertum*, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien", 33 (1999), pp. 1–19.

¹⁶ This was due to the bonds of kinship present between Udalryk and Adelaide. It is true that his kinship was rather distant, as the Empress was the grandchild of the brother of the mother of Udalryk, the Swabian duke Burchard II. Nevertheless scholars emphasise this link as decisive in the political decisions of Udalryk, and especially in determining his position in the imperial court, see Albrecht Graf Finck von Finckenstein, *Bischof und Reich. Untersuchungen zum Integrationsprozeß des ottonisch-früh-salischen Reiches (919–1056)*, Sigmaringen 1989 (=Studien zur Mediävistik, vol. 1), pp. 88, 283, plate XIV.

which developed after the bishop's death. Somebody from her milieu could have advised the Polish duke on the most appropriate behaviour, and the latter acting on this suggestion would have made not only a devotional but also a political gesture.¹⁷ Due to this, "it would be an event which was a form of warranty of St Udalryk for Mieszko, for his rule and domain".¹⁸ It was a gesture which would have been important either at the moment of acknowledging imperial power and distancing himself from the claims of the Bavarian ruler, or the placing of his sons from his second marriage under the protection of St Peter. If we agree with the opinions which see in the latter act an element of political demonstration (the confirmation of the division of power in Poland between Bolesław and his brothers in the face of fear that the former will attempt to dominate the juvenile Piast sons), Mieszko's obtaining the favour (and maybe too for the future widow Oda, the guardian of those sons) of the imperial court would play an important role.

Modern researchers into the "Life of the Holy Bishop Udalryk" indicate that in the first years after the death of the bishop his cult was connected above all with his closest milieu.¹⁹ Udalryk's successor bishop Henry (973–982) did not support its development in any way. The "Life" itself could have been an expression of the dislike of the clergy connected with Udalryk towards his successor.²⁰ The fact that his cult rapidly spread at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries over the entire Reich²¹ was due to the issue of a Papal Bull in 993 to the Churches of Gaul and Germania

¹⁷ Perhaps this would not have been the first case of this type in his life if we accept the hypothesis of Piotr Bogdanowicz, *Geneza aktu dyplomatycznego zwanego Dagome iudex*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 25 (1959), pp. 25–31, that Mieszko got the idea of dedicating the state to St Peter from Theophano or one of her collaborators. The same scholar writing of the collaboration of Mieszko I with the emperor suggested that the aim of this policy was to obtain his own metropolitan bishop and the royal crown, *Ibid.*, *Uwagi nad panowaniem*, pp. 116–117.

¹⁸ J. Banaszkiwicz, *Mieszko I i władcy jego epoki*, p. 102.

¹⁹ Rolf Schmidt, *Legitimum ius*, pp. 210–211.

²⁰ See Friedrich Prinz, *Hagiographie als Kultpropaganda: Die Rolle der Auftraggeber und Autoren hagiographischer Texte des Frühmittelalters*, [in:] *Literarische Interessenbildung im Mittelalter. DFG-Symposion 1991*, Joachim Heinze ed., Stuttgart/Weimar 1993 (=Germanistische Symposien Berichtsbände, vol. 14), pp. 161–163.

²¹ See Walter Berschin, *Über den Ruhm des heiligen Ulrich*, [in:] *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg*, pp. 181–182; Franz Xaver Bischof, *Die Kanonisation Bischof Ulrichs auf der Lateransynode des Jahres 993*, [in:] *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg*, pp. 197–198 gives references to the literature connected with the cult of the saint.

ordering the devotion to the saint.²² The issue of this document was due to the efforts of another successor of Udalryk, Liutpold who scholars are of the opinion came from the “familia” of empress Adelaide.²³ He did this just after taking part in November 992 in the coronation of the young Otto III in Halberstadt. During this he dedicated one of the side altars to Saints Sebastian, Boniface, Liudger, Magnus—as well as Udalryk and Afra.²⁴ By this means a local cult became especially elevated in one of the main churches of the Ottonian realm.²⁵ Not much later Liutpold set off on a diplomatic mission to Rome and returned with its result—a Bull of Canonisation, most probably from the synod which took place at Easter 993 in Ingelheim in the presence of the regent Adelaide and Otto III.²⁶ The solemn form of the issuing of the Bull and it being addressed solely to the Churches of Gaul and Germany was no accident. At a time of conflict over the right of the emperor to influence the appointment of the archbishop of Reims, it was intended as a symbol of the unity of the Reich deriving from its Carolingian roots.²⁷ The relationship between the imperial court, and especially Adelaide as patron of the ideology of unity of the empire and the cult of Udalryk are therefore very clear. A direct expression of this is the founding by Adelaide of a costly tablet (scholars suggest that this was part of an altar) in the chapel dedicated to him. These bonds were maintained by Otto III, whose entrails were interred in the vicinity of the grave of St Udalryk.²⁸ Finally in the “Regensburg Sacramentary” donated to the Bamberg church by Henry II, the successor

²² *Papsturkunden 896–1046*, Harald Zimmermann ed., vol. 1: 896–996, Wien 1984 (=Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 174; Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission, vol. 3), nr 316, p. 612; and F.X. Bischof, *Die Kanonisation Bischof Ulrichs*, pp. 208–209.

²³ Mathilde Uhlirz, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Otto II. und Otto III.*, vol. 2: *Otto III.*, Berlin 1954, pp. 165, 482.

²⁴ *Regesta Imperii*, Johann Friedrich Böhmer ed., vol. II, cz. 3: *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Otto III. 980 (983)–1002*, newly edited by Mathilde Uhlirz, Graz/Köln 1956, nr 1074a, p. 550; *Die Regesten der Bischöfe und des Domkapitels von Augsburg*, vol. 1, nr 186, p. 105.

²⁵ Stanisław Trawkowski, *Wokół początków*, pp. 61–62, as a side issue in his discussion of the cult of St Wojciech, wrote of the development of the cult of St Udalryk and the role of the decision of the Pope in its establishment.

²⁶ F.X. Bischof, *Die Kanonisation Bischof Ulrichs*, pp. 212–216.

²⁷ Harald Zimmermann, *Das dunkle Jahrhundert: ein historisches Porträt*, Graz 1971, p. 247; F.X. Bischof, *Die Kanonisation Bischof Ulrichs*, p. 216.

²⁸ *Die Regesten der Bischöfe und des Domkapitels von Augsburg*, vol. 1, nr 188, p. 107. On the burial of the emperor's entrails, see Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, IV,51.

of Otto III is represented as a ruler under the special protection of the sacral sphere—and his hands are shown as being held by St Emmeram and St Udalryk.²⁹

In the light of these indications it is very likely that the gesture of Mieszko I, the sending of votive gifts (and very probably also presents for the clergy caring for the grave of the saint) was in reality related to the influence of Empress Adelaide and not the Bavarian Duke Henry. We should see this more as having a political colouring rather than being a symptom of the creation of more permanent bonds between the Piasts and Augsburg. Despite the fact that the act of Mieszko was recorded in the list of miracles of Udalryk, this does not seem to have led to the rise of any specific tradition neither at the grave of the saint nor in Poland. Mieszko's act had therefore primarily a political character and was addressed to its contemporary significance.

Seen in this context, the other case discussed here has a completely different character. We have above presented two different interpretations of the circumstances surrounding the events recounted by Galus Anonymous in his "Chronicle" when Władysław Herman sent an effigy symbolizing a child to the monks of Saint-Gilles in the cult-place of St Gilles in Provence. Let us recall that in both versions the basic facts were the same, though certain other elements were emphasized. Władysław and Judith of Bohemia were unable to conceive a child and on the advice of a certain bishop they sent gifts and the effigy to Saint-Gilles to obtain the intercession of St Gilles and receive the desired child. In the chronicler's narrative, everything went according to plan and the child was born and remained under the special care of the saint for the rest of its life. There is no reason to link this with any broader political context. However the idea, later propagated (already from the moment when Bolesław started his reign over the country), of the especial protection of the ruler by the saint had its political foundations. Bolesław had after all become the sole ruler of Poland due to a series of civil wars, first with his father and then against his brother. The emphasis of the supernatural protection of the ruler was a further argument which would allow the rejection of the arguments

²⁹ See Ulrich Kuder, *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg in der mittelalterlichen Buchmalerei*, [in:] *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg*, pp. 414–424, fig. 1 (after p. 32); Gude Suckale-Redlefsen, *Regensburger Sakramentar*, [in:] *Kaiser Heinrich II. 1002–1024*, Josef Kirmeier, Bern Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter, Evamaria Brockhoff eds, Augsburg 2002, pp. 269–270.

that he had gained power by unjust means. Despite the fact that the initially particularly private gesture was turned within a short time to political advantage, in Poland the cult of St Gilles remained restricted to the circle of the family of Władysław Herman and Bolesław Wrymouth. In effect it died out on the death of the latter.³⁰

This short review of the gestures made by the Piasts clearly indicates the deep differentiation of the attitudes of the participants in the events. The first three Piasts were convinced that firstly the special protection of a specific saint was something that was worth trying to achieve, and secondly the gestures connected with this had not only a sacral and personal character, but also a political one. The relationship between Władysław and Bolesław III and Saint-Gilles suggests that the idea of sending votive gifts to a saint as a means of attaining a special bond with the sacral sphere was not by that time particularly a common one in the court, it had to be suggested by a visiting bishop. The gesture was also above all of a private nature, only with the passage of time did it obtain an important political significance. Although the situations are far from unequivocal, it seems that once again the dynastic tradition of the times of the first Piasts considerably differed from that created at the end of the period under examination in the reigns of Władysław Herman and especially Bolesław Wrymouth. This is despite the fact that they had certain values in common. It seems that the situation did not look very different in the case of the relationship between the Piasts under consideration here with the only surviving piece of the insignia of their power which has been preserved to today—the copy of the imperial Holy Spear.

2. TAKING POWER—INHERITING THE COPY OF THE SPEAR OF ST MAURICE

The coherence of the dynasty of the Piasts was based on the inheritance of power over a single territory. In the act therefore of taking power as a ruler, should have come into play the family tradition which strengthens the bonds between members of the ruling dynasty, but also between the country and the Piast clan. Scholars have for many years stressed the possibility of the incorporation into the rituals connected

³⁰ See above, pp. 384–385.

with achieving rule over the country a continuity of customs rooted in traditional views of the ruler—visions belonging however to tribal, not to dynastic tradition, extending back to times preceding the formation of the state of the Piasts. It is not surprising therefore that the rituals and gestures associated with the accession to power by the Piast rulers have for many years been the subject of careful analysis. Scholars have sought analogies from the enthronement of rulers of other dynasties over a broad area, situations which are more fully described in the written sources, in order to attempt a fuller reconstruction of events in Poland.³¹ Our aim however is more modest. We would like to focus on the objects connected with the act of taking power which could have been used by several generations of rulers. Only then can we talk of some kind of tradition of gesture—a sign of power.

This function cannot be fulfilled by the normal type of regalia, “crown jewels”. The regalia of Bolesław I and Mieszko II ended up in the Reich in 1031,³² and we know nothing of their later fate. Neither do we know whether the regalia (now lost) which according to thirteenth century tradition were deposited in the treasury of Wawel Cathedral and associated with the name of Bolesław II was actually used in his coronation. The reliability of this information may be doubted, since the surviving coronation sword (called “Szczerbiec”) which tradition also associates with Bolesław II is dated to the thirteenth century.³³ It is possible that the regalia were indeed associated with the ruler and the sword was added later, displacing the spear.³⁴ Therefore the only item of regalia connected with the taking of power by Piast rulers before 1138 which is still extant today and which linked all the generations of the Piasts is that spear, regarded as a copy of the Holy Spear (Spear of St Maurice) which Bolesław the Brave received from Otto III in the year 1000.³⁵

³¹ Cf. Zbigniew Dalewski, *Władza—przestrzeń—ceremoniał. Miejsce i uroczystość inauguracji władcy w Polsce średniowiecznej do końca XIV w.*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 104–107.

³² See G. Labuda, *Mieszko II*, pp. 86–88.

³³ Cf. Andrzej Nadolski, *Szczerbiec (próba analizy bronioznawczej)*, “Acta Archaeologica Lodiensia”, 17 (1968), pp. 105–124.

³⁴ Mieczysław Rokosz, *Polskie insygnia koronacyjne w średniowiecznych fabułach*, [in:] *Imagines potestatis*, p. 211.

³⁵ A review of the state of research a few years ago was presented by M. Rokosz, *Wawelska włócznia*, pp. 17, 19, 28–29, 33–35.

The first mention of a “gilded spear” as the insignia of power of the Polish ruler Mieszko II is contained in the “Magdeburg Chronicles”. The story was however written down many years after the coronation of 1025 together with an account of the departure of Rycheza and Kazimierz from Poland, Bretyslav’s attack and the carrying off of Wojciech’s relics to Prague. It is not clear therefore where the chronicler was able to learn the details of what the insignia of Mieszko II looked like. It is more probable that the rhetoric and offensive remark addressed to the Polish ruler: “Quid tibi, cruenta belua, regale ornamentum in corona et lancea deaurata”³⁶ actually refers to his own imagination of royal accoutrements. Indeed Henry II and probably also Conrad II in order to confirm among the Saxons their royal status after their coronation appeared in Merseburg with the Holy Spear as a sign of their position.³⁷ This does not mean that Mieszko did not have a spear as his insignia, but only that the chronicler’s account cannot be used to confirm this.³⁸ For a long time the spear is absent from iconographic sources connected with the Piasts. It is absent from the “royal” denars of Bolesław the Brave, images of Mieszko II in the “Codex of Matylda” and does not appear on the seal of Władysław Herman. It was only Gallus Anonymus in his “Chronicle” who described Otto III giving it to Bolesław I in Gniezno, and who named it the “standard of triumph—vexillum triumphalis” of the Polish ruler.³⁹ This suggests that this was the function it fulfilled in the court of Bolesław III.

The use of these words by the chronicler is a reference to the significance of the particle of the True Cross (the “tree of victory”) connected with the spear. The exchange of gifts in the “Chronicle” took place in the sacral sphere and it is difficult to prove that for Gallus this spear was intended to be the traditional insignia of the power of the Piast rulers. This is especially the case when for a long time the object was not referred to as a sign or princely or royal power. In the inventory of the state treasury in Wawel Cathedral about 1110, there was an

³⁶ *Annales Magdeburgenses*, p. 170.

³⁷ See the concise introduction, photographs and review of the literature in: Ernst-Dieter Hehl, *Nachbildung der Heiligen Lanze*, [in:] *Kaiser Heinrich II. 1002–1024*, pp. 177–178, fig. 51.

³⁸ See M. Rokosz, *Wawelska włócznia*, p. 36 (stressing the significance of the accounts of the chroniclers); Z. Dalewski, *Władza, przestrzeń, ceremoniał*, p. 107 (indicating its function as insignia).

³⁹ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I,6, p. 19, lines 15–17.

object stored there referred to as a “vexillum auro paratum”.⁴⁰ Some scholars treat this record as a trace of the storage in the treasury of the object under discussion here.⁴¹ Such a notion however has a weak point, the object which Otto III gave the Polish ruler was a “lancea”, and not a “vexillum”. In reality it was this spear (“lancea”) as a piece of the insignia of the Piasts deposited in the cathedral treasury in Cracow that the thirteenth century “Life of St Stanisław” speaks.⁴² Most probably therefore this “vexillum” in Wawel was some kind of ecclesiastical banner on a cross, or the crucifix itself was called “vexillum crucis”⁴³ or “vexillum regis”.⁴⁴ One cannot exclude the possibility that the “vexillum triumphalis” of Bolesław III and maybe also the copy of the Spear of St Maurice during the reign of Bolesław I were both under the care of the clergy, though rather in Gniezno.⁴⁵

This is especially the case that a spear, perhaps the same one, could have played a significant role in the world of symbolism of Piast power long before the writing of the “Chronicle”. The evidence for this comes from the comparison of the coins of Bolesław II the Bold and Bolesław III Wrymouth. On coins of the former, the ruler was often represented with a weapon, in two cases it is a sword,⁴⁶ while once there is an equestrian representation which has a clearly indicated standard—*vexillum*, consisting of a banner attached to a spear.⁴⁷ On a further coin we see a warrior (perhaps identified with the ruler) stabbing a dragon

⁴⁰ *Spisy dawne skarbca*, p. 377.

⁴¹ Thus Oswald Balzer, *Skarbiec i archiwum koronne w dobie przedjagiellońskiej*, Lwów 1917 (=Prace naukowe wydawnictwa Towarzystwa dla popierania nauki polskiej, dział 1, vol. 4), pp. 13–14, and more recently Jerzy Wyrozumski, *Polen und Ungarn um das Jahr 1000*, [in:] *Die ungarische Staatsbildung und Ostmitteleuropa*, p. 174.

⁴² *Vita sancti Stanislai cracoviensis episcopi (Vita maior)*, Wojciech Kętrzyński ed., [in:] MPH, vol. 4, Lwów 1884, p. 365.

⁴³ Lech Kalinowski, *Najstarsze inwentarze skarbca katedry krakowskiej jako źródło do dziejów sztuki w Polsce*, [in:] *Cultus et cognitio*, pp. 228–229 here also the earlier literature.

⁴⁴ M. Rokosz, *Polskie insygnia*, p. 222, footnote 12.

⁴⁵ According to Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, p. 45, in the tenth to twelfth centuries the “Holy Standards” were under the care of the clergy of the most important churches of a ruler’s realm. Piotr Skubiszewski, *Katedra w Polsce około roku 1000*, [in:] *Polska na przełomie*, pp. 150–151 states that the copy of the Spear was kept in Gniezno after 1000 AD.

⁴⁶ Stanisław Suchodolski, *Mennictwo polskie w XI i XII wieku*, Wrocław 1973, plate IX, nr 2, plate X, nr 1 obverse.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, plate IX, nr 1.

with a spear.⁴⁸ In another three patterns of coins of Bolesław III we see the ruler standing alone⁴⁹ or next to St Wojciech and holding a spear.⁵⁰ We may regard coins where he is shown spearing a dragon as copies of coins of his uncle.⁵¹ Therefore already by the time of Bolesław II, a banner and spear already played an important role among the signs of princely power among the Piasts and this was continued under Bolesław III. It was only in his rule however that the frequency of the appearance of a spear alone dominates over the standard in representational scenes.

Since we know that in about 1110 a “gold banner” was kept in the Wawel treasury, we may ask whether Polish rulers made use of it in the course of the liturgical inauguration of their rule. This seems probable in the light of a manuscript (MS 2057) dating to the second half of the eleventh century and written for the bishops of Cracow currently kept in the Jagiellonian Library. This manuscript contains the prayers “*benedictio super principis*”, and among them is the rare “*benedictio super vexillum*”.⁵² This “*vexillum*” could well have been the golden banner from the treasury. The frequency of the appearance of a standard in images associated with Bolesław the Bold tempts us to propose the thesis that it could have been him who introduced the custom of blessing with a banner as an element of the solemn inauguration of a ruler. It is doubtful however whether this was identical with the Piasts’ copy of the Spear of St Maurice. How then can we explain the lack of a mention of its special character as a reliquary and relic at the same time? It seems far more probable that this was another banner, the golden banner from the Wawel treasury which could have served during the benediction. Its presence however would have reminded viewers of the existence in the possession of the Piasts the “standard of triumph”, the Spear of St Maurice.

Until the times of Bolesław the Bold there is a lack of representations which could (as does a Hungarian coin from about the year

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, plate X, nr 1, reverse. M. Rokosz, *Wawelska włócznia*, p. 36, footnote 55 draws attention to the fact that this coin could have represented the Spear of St Maurice.

⁴⁹ B. Suchodolski, *Mennictwo*, plate XII, nr 1.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, plate XIII, nr 1–2.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, plate XIV, nr 4.

⁵² See the presentation of the issues together with the literature by Zbigniew Dalewski, *Ceremonia inauguracji władcy w Polsce*, [in:] *Imagines potestatis*, pp. 9–15, 18–23.

1000 in the case of the Arpads together with the legend of the “Lancea regis”)⁵³ prove the introduction of the Spear to the range of symbols of the Piasts’ power.⁵⁴ If we accept that from the year 1000, a copy of the Spear of St Maurice fulfilled the function of part of the insignia of the rulers of Poland and its possession by successive generations of the dynasty would act as a confirmation of the continuity of rule by the dynasty, we would have to address the question why it was not sent back together with the other regalia of Mieszko II to the court of emperor Conrad II? After all Peter, the Hungarian king when submitting his country to the rule of Henry III in 1045, sent to him the famous spear of the Arpads, which the emperor later sent to Rome.⁵⁵ If Conrad II had obtained the spear together with the remaining Polish insignia, why was it sent back to Kazimierz the Restorer?⁵⁶ Would that not have established his position as the future king of Poland? At the same time the reliability of the information of Gallus Anonymus that the Spear of the Piasts was a copy of the Spear of St Maurice is not in doubt, given the similarity of the two objects.⁵⁷ Maybe we should pose the question, when this copy arrived in Poland? Bruno of Querfurt in his letter to Henry II which was written during the conflict between him and Bolesław wrote of the devotion to St Maurice, but only with reference to himself and the ruler of the Reich, likewise he mentions only one spear connected with the sacral sphere and at the same time related to the exercise of power, and that was the imperial Holy Spear.⁵⁸ Another point is that mentioning the Saints under whose

⁵³ A review of the issues connected with the lost Hungarian copy of the Spear of St Maurice see Stanisław Suchodolski, *Włócznia świętego Stefana*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 112 (2005), nr 3, pp. 91–110, and briefly László Kovács, *Die hielige Lanze Ungarns*, [in:] *Europas Mitte um Jahr 1000*, vol. 2, pp. 902–903.

⁵⁴ The literature and issues connected with the function of the spear as insignia is discussed by Z. Dalewski, *Władza, przestrzeń, ceremonial*, pp. 107–109. Wilhelm Wegener, *Die Lanze*, p. 65 without reference to any specific source wrote of the existence of Polish coins representing the ruler with the spear from 1032.

⁵⁵ J. Fried, *Otton III i Bolesław Chrobry*, p. 144.

⁵⁶ Thus O. Balzer, *Skarbiec i archiwum*, pp. 42–43.

⁵⁷ See M. Rokosz, *Wawelska włócznia*, p. 29, who presents a careful comparison of the physical characteristics of both objects. Ogólnie Zbigniew Dalewski, *Die Heilige Lanze und die polnischen Insignien*, [in:] *Europas Mitte um Jahr 1000*, vol. 2, pp. 908–909, fig. 548.

⁵⁸ “(...) quo modo conueniunt Zuarasiz diabolus et dux sanctorum, uester et noster Mauritius? qua fronte coeunt sacra lancea et qui pascuntur humano sanguine diabolica uexilla”, *Epistola Brunonis ad Henricum*, p. 101, line 21–p. 102, line 1. The phrase “our and your St Maurice” cannot be understood as an expression of the devotion for the saint shared by Bolesław and Henry (as does M. Rokosz, *Wawelska włócznia*,

protection Bolesław was, he writes only St Peter and St Wojciech,⁵⁹ but makes no reference whatsoever in this context to St Maurice, let alone a copy of his spear. Even though mentioning it here in the context of the conflict between the Polish ruler and the emperor and his pagan allies, this would have been entirely appropriate. To sum up, either in the period just after the year 1000, the copy of the Holy Spear did not fulfil any important role in the court of Bolesław the Brave as a symbol of royal power and its connection with the sacral sphere, or the Spear was not kept there.⁶⁰

By the times of Bolesław III this object already had attained a traditional and at the same time symbolic character,⁶¹ its inheritance linked him with the circle of heirs of Bolesław the Brave, and thus inheritors of the most magnificent traditions of the country's past. The complex of meanings with which Gallus endows the object, the Spear as the "vexillum triumphalis" of the ruler seem to have been functioning already in the times of Bolesław II, and during the period of the wars of Bolesław III and the Pomeranians were especially significant. If however we ignore the literal meaning of the description by Gallus of the events in Gniezno in the year 1000, there remains the question of the basis on which the chronicler identified this symbol with the spear of St Maurice.⁶² If, according to historiographic tradition, we accept that Otto III really did give Bolesław I a copy of the Holy Spear in return for the arm of St Wojciech, why do western sources

pp. 30–31). The latter is consistently referred to in the letter using the third person singular, while the author writes of himself alternately in the first person singular, and the third person plural, and similarly of the emperor in the second person singular and plural.

⁵⁹ *Epistola Brunonis ad Henricum*, p. 103, lines 3–4.

⁶⁰ See Gerard Labuda, *Uwieszenie polskich insygniów koronacyjnych do Niemiec w 1031 r.*, [in:] *Kultura średniowieczna i staropolska*, pp. 217–229.

⁶¹ It is difficult to determine the time of origin of the story (known from the Chronicle of Master Wincenty written at the beginning of the thirteenth century) that Bolesław began the fight for Nakło by throwing a spear. Jacek Banaszkiewicz, *Włócznia i chorągiew. O rycie otwierania bitwy w związku z cudem kampanii nakielskiej Bolesława Krzywoustego (Kadłubek, III, 14)*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 94 (1987), nr 4, pp. 3–24, sees in the gesture itself traces of pagan custom. He also regards it as possible that the gesture itself was practiced by the Piasts. This cannot however be confirmed on the basis of the sources. For our purposes however of more importance is the emphasis by Wincenty of the connection between the power of the ruler and his spear. We should remember though that we are dealing with an account which is almost a century later than the event, nobody contemporary with Bolesław makes any mention of this.

⁶² *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, I, 6, p. 19, line 17.

contemporary with the event recall the granting of the relic of the martyr to the emperor, but are silent about the gift for Bolesław? This lack of knowledge about this extends as far as, when recording one local tradition Ademar of Chabanne (988/989–1028/1034) wrote of Bolesław receiving in return the “throne of Charlemagne”,⁶³ nevertheless he indicated that Stephen the Hungarian ruler had received from the emperor the spear of St Maurice as well as a relic of one of the nails from the Holy Cross.⁶⁴ It has been suggested that Ademar’s story was connected with the “Liber de passione martyris”, mentioned by Gallus, but recently this hypothesis has been rejected in favour of the version of events recorded by Gallus.⁶⁵ This does not resolve the problem of the absence of the Spear from any source other than the “Chronicle” and nearer the times of Bolesław I.

There are many hypotheses which allow us to suggest that it was only in the twelfth century that the copy of the Holy Spear was linked with the royal status of Bolesław the Brave and therefore its treatment as part of the insignia of the authority of the Piasts.⁶⁶ This does not, however, resolve the question where the spear actually came from, at the latest by the second half of the eleventh century. It cannot be excluded that it really was given to Bolesław I by Otto III in the year 1000 as sign that he represented the emperor’s authority. After the breakdown of the political plans connected with the young emperor, the symbol of his authority which he had granted lost its significance. The letter of St Bruno suggests that it was not highly regarded in the Polish court, which does not mean of course that it did not survive in the collection of relics connected with the family.⁶⁷ In the Reich the spear of St Maurice was treated as a holy relic by both the Ottonians as well as Henry II. Even when after the death of the latter the Holy Spear was replaced in the court ceremonies by new insignia, it still fulfilled the function of a revered relic in the royal treasury.⁶⁸ It was because of

⁶³ *Ademari Cabannensis Cronicon*, p. 153, line 97–p. 154, line 103.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 153, lines 57–58.

⁶⁵ Helmut Beumann, *Grab und Thron Karls des Großen zu Aachen*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Wissenschaft vom Mittelalter*, pp. 358–359.

⁶⁶ See P. Wiszewski, *Domus Boleslai*, pp. 406–407, 409, 411.

⁶⁷ The function which the spear fulfilled in the year 1000 is discussed by Stefan K. Kuczyński, *O polskim mieczu koronacyjnym. Na marginesie artykułu Mariana Gumowskiego, Szczerbiec, polski miecz koronacyjny*, “*Małopolskie studia historyczne*”, 2 (1959), nr 2–3, s. 5–18, “*Przegląd Historyczny*”, 52 (1961), p. 576.

⁶⁸ See J. Fried, *Ottón III i Bolesław Chrobry*, p. 136 and H.-D. Hehl, *Nachbildung*, p. 178.

this, because of treating the Polish spear as a relic of the spear rather than as royal insignia, that after the collapse of the monarchy, Mieszko II did not have to give the spear to Conrad II as part of the Polish royal insignia. It could have been saved from being carried off by Bretyslav by being taken out of the country (to the Reich) by Kazimierz the Restorer or his mother Rycheza. Here it could have been recognized in the imperial court as a copy of the real spear of St Maurice and as such became recognized as the most important symbol of authority and its connection with the sacral sphere of the young ruler returning to Poland. It was he who then passed it on to his successors as the “standard of victory” under which he had gained victory against the rebels. It was to this idea that Bolesław the Bold could have been referring in introducing the custom of blessing the ruler taking the throne with the use of the “golden standard” from the Wawel treasury.

The acceptance of this hypothesis would allow us to understand why in written sources of the times of Bolesław I and Mieszko II there is no reference to the Spear as a symbol of royal power. This does not mean that we ascribe it a lesser meaning than has been the case before. In the light of our knowledge of the insignia of Piast power, the spear was the only material connection between the court of the times of Bolesław I and the descendants of Mieszko II. Due to this, it could also have fulfilled the function of a catalyst of memory, recalling for those who received it and possessed it memories and stories of the ancient rulers, Bolesław I, his father and son, and later also successive rulers of Poland. Without that it would not have been able to fulfil its function, as a sign of power and the sacral dimension of authority passed on within the ruling dynasty. An analogy is with an item of insignia which in the neighbouring Reich already in the second half of the eleventh century intentionally referred to ancestors on a throne, the scabbard of the coronation sword of the German emperors on which are representations of 14 rulers, from Charlemagne to Henry III (the predecessor of Henry IV 1056–1106 for whom the sword was made).⁶⁹ Our spear fulfilled a similar role in Poland in the thirteenth century together with the sceptre and crown. It was then that Wincenty of Kielcza wrote

⁶⁹ Mechthild Schulze-Dörrlamm, *Das Reichsschwert. Ein Herrschaftszeichen des Saliers Heinrich IV. und des Welfen Otto IV mit dem Exkus: Der verschollene Gürtel Kaiser Ottos IV.*, Sigmaringen 1995 (=Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Monographien, vol. 32), pp. 38–41, 82–83, decorative plates on scabbard with representations of rulers *ibidem*, p. 40, fig. 5.

that “hec autem regalia insignia [...] in armaria Cracoviensis ecclesie ad memoriam posterorum iacent recondita”⁷⁰ (emphasis P.W.).

Even if therefore the Spear did not always function as part of the insignia of power, and its inheritance was not an official part of the ceremony of accession to the ducal dignity or royal power, there is a high possibility that its passing from generation at the least served to commemorate a great ancestor, Bolesław I, who was once visited by the emperor himself on a pilgrimage to St Wojciech. Let us note that with the passing of time, the most important event vanished from the memory of the Poles concerning this pilgrimage in the year 1000 the founding of the Gniezno archdiocese. Nevertheless the image of the coronation of Bolesław was created, completely forgetting the date of his real coronation. If two such important events disappeared entirely from human memory, why did the story of the granting of the Spear by the emperor persist? The simplest answer seems the most probable, that it was the sight of the spear (or rather its point) that continually reminded people of that fact. With the course of time, around it could have been focussed stories of the most important events in the history of the Piast family: the recollection of St Wojciech as the founder of the Church in Poland, who died, was buried in Gniezno and to whose grave the emperor came. It was then that he handed the spear-relic to Bolesław. Gallus could have enriched the story with information known to him about the circumstances surrounding the coronation of the Hungarian ruler St Stephen⁷¹ and add that the coronation of Bolesław also took place at this time. This version was the one that persisted, separating the history of the Piasts from a close connection with the spear but leaving—like an insect trapped in amber—its special significance during the meeting of Bolesław and Otto III.

The picture presented above of the special function of the copy of the Holy Spear in the Piast family reveals the importance of the family tradition for the building of the ideology of Piast rule. It also indicates the significant communicative role of stories which result from this tradition which are automatically recalled by the exhibition of objects

⁷⁰ *Vita sancti Stanislai*, pp. 365–366.

⁷¹ See for example Pál Engel, *Die Gründung des christlichen Königreichs*, [in:] *Die ungarische Staatsbildung und Ostmitteleuropa*, p. 52; J. Fried, *Otton III i Bolesław Chrobry*, pp. 141–143; György Györffy, *Święty Stefan I król Węgier i jego dzieło*, translated by Tomasz Kapturkiewicz, Warszawa 2003, pp. 174–175, 179–181; J. Wyrozumski, *Polen und Ungarn*, pp. 171–172.

which are signs of power at significant times, such as the moment of accession to power, but also perhaps in struggles with the enemy of the community. Due to this, gestures and the signs used in them could achieve a transmission of images from the past of the dynasty and the values associated with them which the Piasts wanted to establish in the minds of their subjects. In social space this type of gesture gains significance not so much through reference to the ambiguous and esoteric world of symbols, but due to the stories that accompany them and the significances which they embody. The persistence of the narrative would have meant the persistence of the traditions of the Piast dynasty which in turn guaranteed the feeling of the continuity of power, just as the possession of a relic the legitimacy of the rule over Poland. It is only from the iconographic sources that we may learn more precisely of the picture of the ruler consciously created for public consumption.

3. POWER DEFINED BY GESTURE AND COMMENTARY

Since we wish to follow the utilisation of elements of the dynastic tradition for communication between the Piasts and society, we must pay attention to the means available to the rulers of the period covered by this book for mass communication (in the terms of those times) of elements of the “memory” of the past of the clan. They allowed the imposition on their recipients a certain image of the present and past which is replicated down through the decades together with the senses and values they embody. From the beginning of the period under discussion in this work pictures were to serve as the medium of recording very precise information connected with power and its representation for consumption by an audience.⁷² This function, the deliberate transmission of significance through time, makes the iconographic sources concerning the rule of the Piasts an exceptionally important source of information. In accordance with the principles introduced at the beginning of this work, we will however examine only those representations which could have arisen only under the influence of ideas functioning in the milieu of the Piast rulers themselves.⁷³ This allows

⁷² See M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, pp. 221–223.

⁷³ In our discussions of this topic, it is not possible to make use of the miniatures in the “Evangeliary of Otto III” and the “Liuthar Evangeliary” since they were created outside Poland and without any connection with the Piast court. The literature about

us to precisely, insofar as that is possible, define the issuer of the communication contained in the source. Due to this, it will also be possible through reference to the contents of the Piast tradition known through the written sources to identify its elements contained in the iconographic source. By these means it should be a real possibility to be able to gain an answer to the most important question in this section concerning which of the contents and values creating the dynastic traditions of the Piasts they wished to indicate to their subjects as the most important for the understanding of the position of the ruler and his family in the state.

We should begin our brief review of the evidence with the miniatures of the “Codex of Matylda”. This was created far from the Polish court, but depicted Mieszko II in a manner which the Polish ruler would have found acceptable.⁷⁴ The general content of the image must have been in accord with that promoted by his milieu. If this were not the case, the preparation of the miniatures in the manuscript which was intended to win Mieszko II’s support for the political aims of Matylda would have been pointless.⁷⁵ More directly associated with the Polish court was the seal of Władysław Herman which carries a representation of the ruler sitting in majesty. Attached to a document issued by the ruler it must have transmitted a content important for those around the ruler, and probably for the ruler himself. Similarly the lead bullae of Polish rulers which have been identified recently bear the representation of the ruler and his sacral guardian. These show the manner in which their owner saw their place in the world and wished it to be perceived. It is only however with the coins that we can gauge the basic corpus of communicators with the aid of which the Piast rulers represented themselves on a wider scale to their subjects and the inhabitants of neighbouring areas. The number of examples which were in circulation meant that they should be treated as an extremely important means of creating an image of the ruler in the society of his subjects.⁷⁶ There were however in the early history of Polish mintage

these manuscripts was discussed by Johannes Fried, *Otton III i Bolesław Chrobry*, pp. 23–68.

⁷⁴ The most important conclusions concerning this representation of the ruler have been collected by Paweł Stróżyk, *Miniatura*, [in:] *Kodeks Matyldy*, pp. 84–89.

⁷⁵ See B. Kürbis, *Sacrum i profanum*, p. 186.

⁷⁶ The royal denars of Bolesław the Bold were struck using more than 200 types of dies, which according to Stanisław Suchodolski allows us to estimate that the overall

very few coins struck to commemorate single events.⁷⁷ The striking of coins was connected with the manifestation of power by the member of the dynasty and it is precisely this aspect of the exhibition to their subjects how they should understand the position and role of their ruler which interests us the most.

The iconography of seals and coins could create the desired image of the ruler among their subjects and illustrate several aspects of the ruler's attributes. Through the representation of the image of the ruler as a judge, warrior, a patron of the Church under the guardianship of a saint it was not only possible to indicate what characteristics of the ruler were to be regarded as the most important, it was also possible to refer to the patterns of imagery applied by the ruler's predecessors to construct a feeling of the continuity of rule or by the introduction of a completely new one negate that notion. In the same manner, one could by the choice of models from local patterns (assuming there were any) or the adoption of foreign ones, express the nature of the bonds not only with the culture but also the external political community outside Poland. Theoretically therefore the graphic representations offer huge possibilities for use in our research into the transmission of the dynastic tradition—a selection of the values of the Piasts and their ways of dealing with the world around them, and into the creation or negation of that tradition. But how does it look in practice?

Bolesław the Brave and Mieszko II

In searching through the iconographic sources which arose during the times of the first Piasts we come into contact with the problem of the use of stereotypical images derived from external patterns on which the images arising in the circle of the Piasts may have been based. The people creating these images generously borrowed from representations which arose in neighbouring states. This hinders our ability to define whether we are dealing with objects intended to deliver in a new manner (new for Poland) values which were already well embedded in local cultural traditions in the circles of the ruler, or on the contrary whether the image was intended to introduce new values into the circle of the ruler and for the use of his subjects. This remark

number of coins put into circulation was more than two million, *Ibid.*, *Mennictwo*, pp. 98–99.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 122.

applies especially to coins produced in Piast mints. They have images which are copies of those appearing on other types of Saxon, Bavarian, Bohemian, Italian, Ruthenian, Byzantine and even Danish and Anglo-Saxons objects.⁷⁸ At the same time, the scattered sites of the mints and their general short span of operation may suggest a certain degree of randomness involved in the minting activity.⁷⁹ Nevertheless the observation of both the symbolism of the image as well as the content of the legends allows us to indicate basic trends in the information transmitted by the coins and study the stability or mutability of the patterns of the use of motifs to this end.⁸⁰ It is this which gives hope for the possibility of referring the information obtained from the study of the iconography of these objects to our knowledge of the dynastic tradition which in this period functioned in the milieu of the rulers.

The first coins of the Piasts were struck in the times of Bolesław the Brave.⁸¹ It was Bolesław who created the basic iconographic types of these coins based on the pattern of the coins of the Empire.⁸² In these designs the dominating image is a cross and the head or bust of the ruler, sometimes we see a cross and a schematically portrayed “chapel”. There are a few exceptional coins on which there are representations of specific sacral symbols, a peacock, the Tree of Life with an arrow.⁸³ The latter coin could, indeed, well be the earliest coin among those

⁷⁸ See Stanisław Suchodolski, *Die Anfänge der polnischen Münzprägung*, [in:] *Europa Mitte um Jahr 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*, Alfred Wiczorek, Hans-Martin Hinz eds, Stuttgart 2000, vol. 1, p. 196.

⁷⁹ This fact was clearly underlined by Stanisław Suchodolski, *Początki rodzimego mennictwa*, [in:] *Ziemia polskie w X wieku*, pp. 359–360.

⁸⁰ Paweł Stróżyk, *Wizerunek Bolesława Chrobrego na denarze DVX INCLITVS. Ze studiów nad ceremonialnymi nakryciami głowy pierwszych Piastów*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 68 (2002), pp. 66–67.

⁸¹ See Stanisław Suchodolski, *Noch einmal über die Anfänge der Münzprägung in Polen*, [in:] *Akten XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress Berlin 1997/Proceedings of the XIIth International Numismatic Congress*, Bernd Kluge, Bernhard Weisser eds, Berlin 2000, vol. 2, pp. 978–982.

⁸² For the influence of the so-called “Otto and Adelaid denars” on the minting of coins by Bolesław, see Peter Illisch, *Polnische Otto-Adelheid-Pfennige*, “Wiadomości Numizmatyczne”, 34 (1990), fasc. 3–4 / “Polish Numismatic News” 5, pp. 160–163; *Ibid.*, *Regensburg- und Otto-Adelheid-Imitationen aus Polen?*, “Wiadomości Numizmatyczne”, 38 (1994), fasc. 1–2, pp. 65–70, Peter Illisch, Stanisław Suchodolski, *Eine Erweiterung der Münzserien Bolesław Chrobry*, “Wiadomości Numizmatyczne”, 47 (2003), fasc. 1/“Polish Numismatic News” 7, pp. 97–103.

⁸³ Stanisław Suchodolski, *Najdawniejsze monety polskie jako źródła dające poznać dzieje pierwszej monarchii*, [in:] *Aetas media, aetas moderna*, pp. 305–306.

that can be ascribed to Bolesław the Brave.⁸⁴ The linking of religious symbolism and the personal definition of the ruler with the aid of an inscription around the rim of the coin was one of those stereotypical resolutions which was general in the whole of Early Medieval Europe. Although this tendency was to accompany the production of coins by the Piasts throughout the whole period under consideration here, it is difficult to regard this as some special kind of family tradition. It was rather an element which was common to all rulers of the west in these times. More important for our discussions is the fact, only recently discovered by numismatists, that Mieszko II was striking coins as the heir to the throne already in the reign of Bolesław I.⁸⁵ If we treat the striking of coins in the name of a ruler as a gesture suitable for a ruler, then in this case we may speak of the adoption by Mieszko of the manner of expressing his majesty from his father. There are however difficulties with regard to the iconography used and the community of the workshops⁸⁶ connected with it. If we accept that the image on the coin of Mieszko should be identified as a crown (or ducal kalpak),⁸⁷ it is possible link this motif with the image of the “temple” on certain of the (MOGILN CIVITAS) denars of Bolesław I. The use by Mieszko II of imagery of symbols of royal power at the time when he ruled alongside his father had its own significance, he participated in the majesty of his father on almost equal terms as a ruler with the additional honour of the ability to use this symbol of independent rule over the subject territory and people. This emphasis of the co-participation in the idealised picture of the ruler created by his father would correspond to the building by Mieszko II of a dynastic tradition in which Bolesław I was the real founder of the glory of the dynasty, model and point of reference for the son which we have discussed above.⁸⁸ It remains a

⁸⁴ See Stanisław Suchodolski, *Tadeusza Wolańskiego zwycięstwo z za grobu, czyli nowy typ denara Bolesława Chrobrego*, [in:] *Archeolodzy i starożytnicy. Studia dedykowane profesorowi Andrzejowi Abramowiczowi w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, Łódź 1997, pp. 265–273.

⁸⁵ S. Suchodolski, *Najdawniejsze monety*, pp. 308–309; *Ibid.*, *Die Anfänge*, p. 193.

⁸⁶ The existence of such a community in general is denied by Stanisław Suchodolski, *Początki rodzimego mennictwa*, p. 356.

⁸⁷ Discussions on this topic have already been going on for decades, see S. Trawkowski, *Najstarsze monety polskie*, pp. 35–36.

⁸⁸ See above, pp. 65–66, 73–76, the sections devoted to the dedicatory letter in the “Codex of Matylda” and the “Epitaph of Bolesław the Brave”.

puzzle however why Mieszko during his sole rule did not renew the production of coins that had been suspended under his father.⁸⁹

The representation of Mieszko II in the “Codex of Matylda” (known today only in the form of a nineteenth century trading) does not differ from the stereotypical form of exposition if the majesty of a ruler known from western European iconography. It shows the Polish king in a manner recalling both Ottonian and Byzantine representations of the world of power.⁹⁰ It is possible that these patterns were utilised not only from the point of view of purely formal reasons of aesthetic fashions. Such a representation connected Mieszko II with the idea of a monarchic ruler over many peoples, not just of a single country. This was not an idea which was foreign to the court of his father, Bolesław the Brave. He manifested his own majesty by the sending of triumphal letters to the emperors of the East and West after taking Kiev. Maybe also it was in the reign of Bolesław I that his grandson (the son of Mieszko II) was named Kazimierz, reading that name as “Karol” and thus linked with Charlemagne.⁹¹ The famous Ottonian miniature from the Evangelarium of Otto III in which the various peoples are symbolized paying homage to the emperor among whom is a personification of “Sclavinia” would fit well in such a context. This is generally seen as a reference to the state of Bolesław I. Scholars see in this representation a symbolic image of the universal empire of Otto III, dominating over the four spheres of power. Among them is a single coherent political entity, the Slavic countries. In the realities of the time with regard to the Empire’s relationships with neighbouring territories, at its head must have stood Bolesław. The imposing of his rule by Bolesław in Prague, and later Kiev could have been echoes of this programme.⁹²

In the context of our discussion, this is important with reference to the suggested possibility of Mieszko II having utilized the iconographic patterns of the coins of his father. Did this result from an attempt to propagate a specific model of the social position of the Polish ruler which was strengthened by reference to a dynastic tradition shared between father and son? Attention is especially drawn to the title of

⁸⁹ S. Suchodolski, *Najdawniejsze monety*, p. 307 indicates a possible combination of several factors, mostly in the context of economic problems.

⁹⁰ P. Stróżyk, *Miniatura*, pp. 87, 89.

⁹¹ Which is not however completely certain, see above pp. 371–373, the section devoted to the anthroponymy of the Piasts.

⁹² See S. Suchodolski, *Die Anfänge*, p. 195, nr 142,11.

king which Bolesław used after the meeting with Otto III in Gniezno in the year 1000. We do not think that this was associated with the official coronation of the ruler, there is no confirmation of this having happened. It is a fact however that between 1005–1015 Bolesław had coins struck with the legend “+REX BOLIZLAVUS”, which functioned alongside coins with the legends “PRINCEPS POLONIE” or “DUX INCLITUS”.⁹³ Here it is difficult to speak of the “usurpation” of the title of king, or rather of its use in the context of the terminological uncertainties and change of status of Bolesław after the Gniezno meeting.⁹⁴ Bolesław the Brave returned to the title that Mieszko I had held in the eyes of his Saxon neighbours (Widukind of Corvei described him as “king”). This title however was used only until the time of the final homage to Otto III, because at the moment of his death Mieszko was entitled either *comes* or margrave.⁹⁵ Bolesław could have inherited these titles granting a place among the aristocracy of the Reich. For him the return to the title “princeps” and king would have meant the confirmation of the granting by Otto III of a higher status than those held by the aristocracy of the Reich, as was indicated by Theitmar.

Mieszko II also adopted from his father this political programme and at the same time the manner of perception of the position of the Piasts in the social hierarchy of the highest elites of power both in terms of political intentions as well as iconography. The representation in the “Codex of Matylda” could be an indication that its author knew that Mieszko treated his father’s political aspirations as his own and their emphasis in the representation of the monarch met with his approval. This would mean that the first Piasts used images as a means of expression of the messages that were of importance to them which co-created the dynastic tradition which they promoted. They did so however, as far as we are able to see today, to only a limited degree. Above all they emphasized the community of the ideas which linked them. In that which was common to them, they indicated that the ideological roots of their authority reached to the world of the West,

⁹³ See the monographic presentation of Stanisław Suchodolski, “*Rex Bolizlavus*”—*tzw. królewskie monety Bolesława Chrobrego*, [in:] *Heraldyka i okolice [Profesorowi Stefanowi Krzysztofowi Kuczyńskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin]*, Andrzej Rachuba, Sławomir Górzyński, Halina Manikowska eds, Warszawa 2002, pp. 290–293.

⁹⁴ S. Suchodolski, “*Rex Bolizlavus*”, pp. 293–294, earlier a more generalised presentation *Ibid.*, *Najdawniejsze monety*, pp. 306–307.

⁹⁵ See below, pp. 478–479, the section on “Fulda”.

related to the circles of the hierarchy of the Reich. They also stressed their own exceptional status with regard to their subjects, raised up above the elites surrounding them in an exceptional manner. These same elements can be found in the written sources. We may add to them also the idea of the protection of the ruler by the sacral sphere which is visible to an equal degree in “Dagome Iudex” and the “Epitaph of Bolesław the Brave” as well as the coins of Bolesław I. It seems therefore very probable that the first Piasts made an effort to convey to their elites a vision of the ruler based on the dynastic tradition with the aid of iconographic representations.

Bolesław the Bold—Władysław Herman—Bolesław Wrymouth

If however we agree with the above conclusions, we may wonder whether there is any significance in the fact that though the political programme of Bolesław I and Mieszko II collapsed in the 1030s, the general iconographic scheme of their coins was replicated by their successors. The representation of a bust of the ruler and a chapel appeared on coins of Bolesław the Bold and Władysław Herman.⁹⁶ Can we therefore regard these similarities as an attempt to make reference to the symbols used by the first Piasts? By the same token perhaps it is an emphasis of the ideological continuity of rule passed down within the dynasty, and that as in the times of Mieszko I and II and the first Bolesław, power was exclusively in the hands of the ruler, while he himself was in a close relationship with the sacral dimension? Such an interpretation however seems to be going too far. Forty years had passed between the end of the minting activity of the first Piasts on the death of Bolesław the Brave in 1025 and the emissions of Bolesław the Bold. We have no evidence that coins of Bolesław I were still in circulation in the times of Bolesław II, and even if they were whether they would have been recognised as coins of the first Piast king. It seems doubtful therefore whether either Bolesław II or Władysław Herman were aware of the fact that the iconography of their coins referred to the patterns of the coins of their great predecessors. It is however more probable that by striking coins of different quality but identical in imagery with the coins of his brother, Bolesław the Bold, Władysław

⁹⁶ S. Suchodolski, *Mennictwo*, plate IX, nr 2; plate XI, nr 1.

Herman was acting deliberately in order to emphasise the continuance of lawful rule after the expelling of Bolesław II from Poland in 1079.

Beginning from the reign of Bolesław the Bold, an entirely new element in the iconography of Piast coins was the use of military symbolism. The ruler was shown either as a warrior (horseman) on his ducal coins, or in a crown with upraised sword in his royal ones.⁹⁷ The monarchic majesty of Bolesław II was shown by depicting him as seated on his throne with a sword on his knees, but on the obverse this was accompanied by an image of the ruler fighting with a dragon.⁹⁸ Although Władysław Herman resigned from the use of military symbolism on his coins, this did not mean that he completely broke with the new group of symbols introduced by Bolesław II. A fragment of his seal which has been preserved to our times suggests that he was represented on it as Bolesław on his coins, as a ruler seated on his throne, with his sword on his knees.⁹⁹

Bolesław III Wrymouth referred in his coinage to the full range of the imagery proposed by Bolesław II. In his case too the military aspects of the power he exercised were stressed,¹⁰⁰ as well as the majesty of an enthroned ruler. In the latter however there was introduced a new motif, the ruler raises his left hand in a manner of attracting attention, while the sword he holds in the other hand rests on his right shoulder,¹⁰¹ a symbol of royal justice but also readiness to defend his subjects. A probable reference to the iconographic patterns introduced by Bolesław II was the emission of coins with representations of the ruler killing a dragon, and on the reverse of which is a representation of a cross.¹⁰² Bolesław attempted here to unite two manners of definition of the ruler, the Piast as a warrior and as a monarch and judge. This refers in full to the significance of the coins of his uncle in the same way as the vision of an ideal warrior ruler which he represents

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, plate IX, nr 1 i 2.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 42, plate X, nr 1, obverse. The author does not suggest whether the coin was struck by its emitter as a duke or monarch, due to the unclear details of the iconography and the small number of surviving examples.

⁹⁹ Zenon Piech, *Ikonomia pieczęci Piastów*, Cracow 1993, p. 201, nr 1, fot. 1; see P. Mrozowski, *Gest władcy*, p. 63.

¹⁰⁰ S. Suchodolski, *Mennictwo*, plate XII, nr 1.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, plate XII, nr 2.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, plate XIV. It might be the case however that the image of a warrior killing a dragon might be connected to the person of St Wojciech as a knightly defender—the victor over the Pomeranians, S. Suchodolski, *Kult św. Wacława*, p. 96; *Ibid.*, *Kult svatého Václava*, p. 37.

on the pages of the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymus was really a distorted version of the tendency begun by Bolesław II. In the iconography of the coins of Bolesław Wrymouth we also find a new symbolic element of the manifestation of the power of the Piasts, the emphasis placed on the direct guardianship that St Wojciech exercised over his rule.¹⁰³ On his coins the duke is shown as a warrior with a standard standing next to an enthroned bishop,¹⁰⁴ or as a kneeling orant submitting to the care of the Saint who rests his hands on his head.¹⁰⁵ Once again Bolesław Wrymouth proves to be an innovator. Starting from the vision of the Piast ruler which was well-established in the iconography of the tradition of the dynasty, he shifted the emphasis from the ruler’s own merits to the aspect of being under the care of the sacral element which would ensure the success of his reign. We find this same element, though somewhat less strongly emphasised and referred directly to the protection of God over the ruler, in the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymus. Using the iconography of coins the entourage of Bolesław III, or maybe he himself, referred to dynastic tradition, but at the same time creatively adapted it.

It should also be noted that Bolesław Wrymouth referred in the iconography of his denars to the images known from those of Władysław Herman.¹⁰⁶ The cross-denars without a circumferential inscription which are ascribed to Zbigniew and struck in the years before the conflict in 1106 (CNP 813, CNP 867–868) are clearly differentiated from this phenomenon. On their obverse is only a pastoral staff, sometimes a hand with a pastoral staff, and a schematically portrayed head.¹⁰⁷ If in further discussions of the attribution of this coin, scholars support the identification of its emitter as Zbigniew, we then gain one more example of a strategy in opposition to the family heritage accepted by the members of the dynasty. Coins of Bolesław would be therefore another example of his reference to family tradition in its various forms, while Zbigniew could refer to universal values, not specific to the Polish ruling dynasty.

¹⁰³ See R. Kiersnowski, *O brakteatach*, pp. 322–326; S. Suchodolski, *Kult św. Wacława*, pp. 93–95; *Ibid.*, *Kult svatého Václava*, pp. 34–36.

¹⁰⁴ S. Suchodolski, *Mennictwo*, plate XIII, nr 1.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, plate XV, nr 1; P. Mrozowski, *Gest władcy*, pp. 61–62.

¹⁰⁶ The first type of denar with a “three-towered” church on the obverse.

¹⁰⁷ Adam Kędziński, *Czy istnieją monety Zbigniewa, syna Władysława Hermana*, “Wiadomości Numizmatyczne”, 49 (2005), fasc. 1, pp. 34–37.

The iconographic communications addressed to society itself stressed the similarity of perception of the role of a ruler in the case of Bolesław the Brave and Mieszko II. In their case we may speak of the deliberate construction of a vision of co-participation in the same dynastic tradition, the ideological roots of which lay in the decision of Mieszko I to build bonds with the political and cultural world of the Reich. This explains the visible efforts to make their own visual representations—and thus communications—similar to those from the West, especially the Reich, but also occasionally other regions too, which can be seen as connected with efforts to stress their membership of the Christian world. It is possible however that in the case of both rulers there was also a political aspect to this, emphasising their belonging to the world of the elite of the Reich. After the period of the collaboration between Bolesław the Brave and Otto III, this was accompanied by an emphasis of the exceptional status of the Piasts in the hierarchy of power in the region.

The reconstruction of the Piast state after its collapse in the 1030s brought about the use by the rulers of new forms of expression and new values stressed by them. It is true that Bolesław II and even more Władysław Herman made reference to stereotypical forms known from the coins of Bolesław I and Mieszko II. This was not, however, in order to continue the vision of the ideal Piast ruler propagated by them, but to include the iconography of their coins in the trends of the imagery generally utilized in western Europe. At the same time, Bolesław the Bold introduced compositions not seen before on Piast coinage, emphasizing above all the military, knightly dimension of his rule, in addition to that we see the stressing, after his coronation, of the majesty of the ruler. The iconography of the coins of Władysław Herman also referred to the ideas propagated by his brother, above all emphasising the majesty of the ruler as a monarch and judge. It was to the whole complex of values, both martial and those connected with the majesty of a monarch which had been propagated by Bolesław II that the coinage of his nephew Bolesław Wrymouth referred. The latter however did not stop at the establishment of dynastic tradition initiated in this aspect—the creation of a vision of the ruler among his subjects—by Bolesław the Bold, but enriched this pattern by the addition of a clear sacral element connected with St Wojciech.

We have attempted to show above that those elements of the iconography that after analysis seem to be fragments of dynastic tradition of the Piasts can be matched by fragments of the tradition that can

be extracted from the written sources. We are totally unable however to claim that there was a straightforward continuation of the transmission by the Piast courts of the dynastic tradition to their subjects in unchanged form through the centuries. We can clearly see however the joint creation of an opinion among their subjects of the basic values embodied by several generations of the rulers, father and son, brothers and nephew. In the iconography we find therefore a confirmation of our earlier observations. The dynastic tradition underwent a change and the two periods when this process accelerated was the collapse of the state of the first Piasts and the accession of Bolesław Wrymouth. It is with this latter process that a puzzle that we much now tackle is related, the problem of the mysterious lead bullae of the Polish dukes which have been discovered only recently. They might be a magnificent source of information about the persistence of the dynastic and iconographic traditions at the same time in the family of the Piasts. They may equally however be evidence of the creativity of Bolesław Wrymouth himself, once again confirming his role as the creator of a new currents in the dynastic tradition and the whole culture of Poland.

Problematic Bullae—from Bolesław the Bold to Bolesław the Curly?

For many years it was accepted that there was unlikely to be any addition to the group of sources about the story of the Piasts living before 1138. Nevertheless a number of two-sided lead seal impressions were discovered between 2002 and 2006 with a representation of Duke Bolesław on obverse and Saint Wojciech on the other. The first such find was made in Głębokie (Wielkopolskie voivodship), where there was a small settlement in the twelfth century.¹⁰⁸ In 2005 an almost identical example was found in the remains of the ducal palatium in Poznań; it differs only in details of execution.¹⁰⁹ In the same period a bulla was found on Lech Hill (Wzgórza Lecha) in Gniezno, in a layer that dates to the middle of the twelfth century. The details of the representation differ from those of the examples from Głębokie and Poznań. Some scholars are of the opinion that the manner of represen-

¹⁰⁸ Małgorzata Andrałojć, Mirosław Andrałojć, *Bulla Bolesława księcia Polski/Eine Bulle von Fürst Bolesław von Polen*, Poznań 2006 (=PTPN, Wydział Historii i Nauk Społecznych, Prace Komisji Archeologicznej, vol. 24), pp. 8, 10.

¹⁰⁹ See Hanna Kóčka-Krenz, *Poznań-Ostrów Tumski: najnowsze rezultaty i kierunki badań archeologicznych*, "Wielkopolski Biuletyn Konserwatorski", 3 (2006), p. 128, fig. 4.

tation of the figures on this object are stylistically closer to the times of Władysław II the Exile, the son of Bolesław Wrymouth. Others link its creation with the time of Bolesław Wrymouth.¹¹⁰ A fourth example of a lead bulla was discovered most probably at the end of 2006 near Płock. Here however opinions of scholars are divided. In the opinion of certain historians it represents a new type of representation from the time of Bolesław IV and related to the find from Gniezno. In the opinion of others this object, like all the others, comes from the time of Bolesław Wrymouth.¹¹¹

Let us sum up the different opinions of historians: the bulla found in Poznań could come from the times of Bolesław II; all examples of these bullae should be assigned to the period of Bolesław III; the Gniezno and Płock bullae could have been used in the period of the reign of Władysław II and Bolesław IV, sons of Bolesław III. If we accepted the first and third hypotheses, and assign only the example from Głębokie to the time of Bolesław III, these objects would be evidence of the existence of a continuum of tradition of a specific form of representation of royal power throughout three generations of Piasts. A tradition according to which their authority as a ruler was closely related to the person of St Wojciech. The latter is represented on the reverses in the robes of a bishop. Problems with reading the legend mean that we cannot say if he is shown here as the first (arch)bishop of Gniezno or as a bishop-patron of Poland. Whichever way we wish to interpret the details of this representation, one thing is certain, his presence on the bulla alongside the ruler is intended to show that he supported the Piast with his authority. In the representation of the ruler our attention is drawn to the emphasis placed on the insignia in his costume. Especially interesting is the ducal kalpak with pendants at the side (Poznań bulla), which on the other objects is replaced by a ducal mitre (clearly visible of the Gniezno and Płock bullae). Also noteworthy is above all the spear, only on the Poznań bulla is it

¹¹⁰ For the object itself, see A. Dębski, *Bulla ołowiana księcia Bolesława III Krzywoustego* [in:] *Kraków w chrześcijańskiej Europie X–XIII w.*, exhibition catalogue edited by Elżbieta Firlet, Cracow 2006, p. 468, item 45; Tomasz Sawicki, *Bulla książęca z XII wieku z grodu na Górze Lecha w Gnieźnie*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne", 51 (2007), fasc. 1, pp. 109–117.

¹¹¹ Małgorzata Andrałojć, Mirosław Andrałojć, *O polskich bullach książęcych*, "Inne Oblicze Historii", 1 (12) (2007), pp. 29–34; Marcin Hlebionek, *Czwarta pieczęć*, "Inne Oblicze Historii", 11 (2006), pp. 41–52; *Ibid.*, *Jeszcze o metalowych pieczęciach książąt polskich*, "Inne Oblicze Historii", 1 (12) (2007), pp. 22–28.

replaced by a standard—*vexillum*, a spear with a banner. In the light of our discussions on the significance of the copy of the Holy Spear for the dynastic tradition of the Piasts, the presence of this element on the bullae connected with Bolesław III or his sons would underline its introduction in the first half of the twelfth century as a permanent part of the group of the most important of the Piast insignia.

There are problems however establishing both the chronology and function of these objects. While in the case of the later items (the Gniezno and Płock bullae), the traces of the abbreviation for “Sigillum” leaves little doubt about their theoretical function, there is more hesitation over the generalized inscription on the examples from Głębokie and Poznań. We do not in fact know of any Piast document with an attached bulla, not only from the twelfth century, but from the whole of the Middle Ages. This is despite the fact that we now know from these recent finds that there were at least four types. Is it possible therefore that these objects once were attached to documents? In the only example of these items to have been fully published, the object from Głębokie, the authors are very persuasive in showing that this item was used as a metal seal on a document.¹¹² In favour of such an interpretation is the fact that in three cases (Głębokie, Gniezno, Płock) one can clearly see traces of damage done when the bullae were pulled off the string from which they had been suspended. But still we cannot exclude the possibility that these bullae were used as some kind of official seal which closed something like a casket or case containing items of special value and importance for the duke’s circle (such as relics, jewels or documents).

The discussion on the function of these bullae is still ongoing. There is no doubt that they were addressed to a narrow group of recipients. There are too few surviving examples to allow us to think that there was a significant number being seen by larger groups of recipients. This makes the bullae all the more valuable therefore as a source of evidence. Coins allow us to see the image of the ruler created for consumption by a wider public, while until now we had only been able to see the information made available to the elite through the miniature with the image of Mieszko II and the seal of Władysław Herman. Thanks to the bullae, the amount of information available has increased. What is more important, we can see that although the

¹¹² M. Andrałojć, M. Andrałojć, *Bulla Bolesława*, p. 22.

significance of the communicators addressed to the elite did not differ very much from those which we could read from the coins, the stress is slightly different. Bearing in mind the small number of examples we have, there is more emphasis on the guardianship over the ruler of a holy patron. Maybe also the emphasis on the bullae given to representations of the insignia of the ruler had a special meaning. Was this however to draw attention to the continuity of rule by Bolesław as the successor to the previous owners of the insignia, and by this means emphasizing the legitimacy and high status of the current owner? We need to exercise caution in assessing this detail, because the clarity of the details on the bullae compared to the representation on the coins also is a result of the difference in size of the objects. One thing however is not in doubt. The Piasts operating within what were in effect a similar group of senses and values which created their dynastic tradition knew how to differentiate the ideological communication defining the character of their authority for different audiences. Once again the dynastic tradition reveals its pragmatic side and elastic nature.

The Piast Tradition of the Iconography of Power

Pictures and words. At the beginning of this chapter we considered whether the Piasts made use of the dynastic tradition in the manner in which they portrayed themselves as rulers to their subjects. We sought in the iconography a means of gaining access to this “propaganda of power” of the Early Medieval “public relations” of the Piasts addressed to their—mostly—illiterate subjects. The results of this search were somewhat surprising; where we expected new contents—or at least contents which differed from the version of the dynastic tradition which we learnt of because it was written down in Latin for the benefit of the elite—we found what were, in effect, the same elements, the same values, the same chronological caesurae which marked stages in the development of the phenomenon. Such a state of affairs, in which pictures and words mutually complement each other, communicating a group of contents and values describing the Piasts which is basically similar, shows that the dynastic tradition was an entity that was independent of the carriers of information, extending beyond the words describing it and the pictures reflecting it. It lived due to the people that wanted to communicate certain values, and that aim shaped both the verbal as well as visual communications.

These values however were different in different periods of the Piast rule, and even (as the case of the bullae suggests) were different depending on the status of the intended audience. Bolesław I and Mieszko II made efforts on the one hand to become part of the world of the elite of the Reich and on the other to emphasize not only their equality within such a relationship, but aspirations to the highest sphere of power in the western world.¹¹³ Their descendents resigned from the latter programme, extending beyond the local framework. Their iconography referred to the behaviour of their immediate predecessors accenting the classic virtues of a ruler, one who was protected and defended by the sacral sphere. The coinage of Bolesław the Bold already left behind these traditional contents in the iconography of Polish rulers, and began more boldly to emphasize the martial attributes of the Piast ruler, and then to stress his majesty as a monarch. These tendencies became more prominent still under Bolesław III, whose coins broke away totally from the former manner of defining the ruler in iconography. In his case, it seems a significant role was played by the revival of the dynastic tradition connected with the history of Poland, especially the emphasis of the connections between St Wojciech with his great predecessor, Bolesław the Brave. Equally, the worth placed on the chivalric values of the rulers such as Bolesław the Brave and Bolesław Wrymouth especially visible in the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymus is reflected in the imagery on the coins. In the case of Bolesław the Bold it is difficult to find an answer to the question concerning the relationship between the tradition created in the royal court and the iconography of the coins. This is a possibility if we agree that there was a living tradition around the relic of the spear of St Maurice. The representation of a horse-borne warrior and one on foot holding a spear or a standard, if they were not a simple transfer of patterns derived from coins circulating in the Reich, would correspond to the tradition of the “*vexillum triumphalis*”, which according to the “Chronicle” of Gallus was regarded as the spear of St Maurice. If it turns out to be possible to maintain the very early date attributed

¹¹³ Bernd Kluge, *Münze und Geld um 1000*, [in:] *Europas Mitte um Jahr 1000*, vol. 1, p. 192, writes of the connection between the creation of metropolitan dioceses in Bohemia, Poland and Hungary with the development of mintage. He indicates that the introduction of a local currency could be an element which functioned to document the achievement of an equal status (“*Ebenbürtigkeit*”) of those countries with the older states of Europe.

to the Poznan bulla and the chronology of the other objects of the type, the role of Bolesław the Bold in the creation of a tradition of rule which referred at the same time to religious symbolism and values and “national” ones would become even more clear. At the same time, in the light of the similarities of the ceremonial headwear on coins of Mieszko II and the Poznan bulla,¹¹⁴ further investigations are needed to answer questions on the possible continuity of selected elements of that tradition reaching back to the times of Mieszko I and Bolesław I, and in addition referring more to the culture of the east rather than the west.

Pictures and words were media on which the dynastic tradition promoted by the rulers left their mark. The communication of the rulers with their subjects took place in one more sphere—space.

4. PLACES OF POWER—PLACES OF TRADITION?

There is no doubt of the high symbolic significance of certain points in the space of the territory of the Piasts which were either created as such by the rulers or accepted due to political divisions and importance in the exercise of their rule.¹¹⁵ To some extent the formation of this “symbolic landscape” of Piast rule was the result of the adaptation of the spatial patterns which were created in the pre-state ‘tribal’ period. Later a significant role would have been played by the dynastic tradition of the Piasts interacting with the situation before the conquest of the territories forming Poland.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ The kalpak with pendants visible on the bulla from Poznan is very similar to the ceremonial headgear worn by the rulers which Paweł Stróżyk identified on the coins of Mieszko II and perhaps also Bolesław the Brave, *Ibid.*, *Ikonomia denarów z imieniem Mieszka. Ze studiów nad ceremonialnym nakryciem głowy pierwszych Piastów*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 66 (2000), pp. 130–132.

¹¹⁵ For a review of the state of research, unfortunately mostly with reference to archaeology and selected research centres see the study of Marek Dulinicz, *Forschungen zu den Herrschaftszentren des 10. bis 11. Jahrhunderts in Polen*, [in:] *Europa im 10. Jahrhundert. Archäologie einer Aufbruchzeit. Internationale Tagung in Vorbereitung der Ausstellung “Otto der Große, Magdeburg und Europa”*, Joachim Henning ed., Mainz am Rhein 2002, pp. 147–160.

¹¹⁶ Jacek Banaszkiewicz, *Les lieux du pouvoir dans le haut Moyen Âge*, [in:] *Les lieux du pouvoir au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne*, Michał Tymowski ed., Warszawa 1995, pp. 25–27 presented a hypothesis concerning Cracow and Poznan functioning as “places creating a ruler/power” and connecting this function with tribal traditions.

In the most popular vision of the relationship between the “political topography” of Poland in the tenth to thirteenth centuries and the dynastic tradition of the Piasts,¹¹⁷ the greatest significance is attached to two centres of Piast power in Great Poland, Gniezno and Poznan, as places around which the symbolic centre of the monarchy arose.¹¹⁸ At the same time scholars stress the exceptional significance of Cracow, which was to have an almost autonomous rank with regard Gniezno and Poznan. It is regarded as the centre of the “Cracow state”, a structure created in Little Poland before the Piasts.¹¹⁹ The involvement of the Piasts in the foundation of churches in Cracow has been used to suggest the existence of separate traditions of rule in the main centre of Little Poland (it has been hypothetically suggested that there was an attempt in the creation of the sacral geography here by Bolesław the Brave to imitate the imperial centre of Aachen).¹²⁰ This “Cracow state” would have been linked with the “Gniezno state” by means of a type of personal union after Bolesław the Brave became ruler of all of Poland. An analogy would be the status of Bolesław the Brave as a ruler in Prague and Kiev.¹²¹ After the collapse of the monarchy of the first Piasts, there took place a fundamental change in the topographic structure of power, from a centralised system with peripheries, to the creation of a group of provinces. This was accompanied by a change in the rank of individual centres. Cracow now began to fulfil the most important role. With regard to the dynastic tradition, the creator of the new system Kazimierz the Restorer and his successors were to maintain close links with Poznan, and especially Gniezno.¹²² In the reign of Władysław Herman there were several centres of almost equal status functioning alongside each other, among them though both Cracow

¹¹⁷ Zbigniew Dalewski, *Władza—przestrzeń—ceremoniał*, pp. 11–14, 23–79.

¹¹⁸ Zbigniew Dalewski, *Między Gnieznem a Poznaniem. O miejscach władzy w państwie pierwszych Piastów*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 98 (1991), nr 2, pp. 29–40.

¹¹⁹ Z. Dalewski, *Władza—przestrzeń—ceremoniał*, pp. 46–53.

¹²⁰ In the course of his research on the foundations of the Piasts in the tenth to thirteenth centuries, Roman Michałowski has presented the hypothesis that the group of sacral foundations in Cracow which in effect can be associated with Bolesław the Brave both in terms of their spatial positioning as well as ideological meaning (dedications to the Blessed Virgin Mary, St Nicholas, Christ the Saviour and St Wojciech) copied the complex planned by Otto III around the imperial chapel of the BVM in Aachen (R. Michałowski, *Princeps fundator*, pp. 122–125). We regard this hypothesis as weakly-supported in the sources and discuss it elsewhere (P. Wiszewski, *Domus Bolesłai*, pp. 604–607).

¹²¹ Z. Dalewski, *Władza—przestrzeń—ceremoniał*, pp. 50–51.

¹²² *Ibidem*, pp. 56–57.

and Gniezno maintained primacy. This situation did not change until after the end of the period under discussion.

In this manner of seeing the situation, many elements concerning the relationship between the Piasts and Gniezno and Cracow require further discussion.¹²³ The concept that possession of these centres was a necessary requirement of exercising power is based on later documents (of which the earliest is the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymus of the first quarter of the twelfth century). Somewhat different conclusions may be drawn however from the observation of the pragmatics of rule by the Piasts, especially in the division of the provinces for the dukes, none of which contained the central places mentioned above (such as in the division of the country into three parts for three dukes after the fall of Mieszko II, or in the case of Bolesław Wrymouth ruling Silesia from Wrocław). Maybe therefore the value of the role played by particular centres was determined by the view of the rulers, more elastic than we have assumed, and dependent of current political circumstances?

Here we should mention the problem of the “sacro-political” geography of the Piast state, especially with regard the internal divisions which arose within the archdiocese of Gniezno created in the year 1000. Kołobrzeg, Wrocław and Cracow, the new bishopric seats made then were centres which date back beyond the time when they were taken over by the Piasts.¹²⁴ Both before as well as after their incorporation into the Piast system, they were undoubtedly the centres of the territories around them, sometimes becoming the centres of provinces such as Pomerania, Silesia and Little Poland. Poznan, also elevated to the rank of the bishopric capital, seems to have fulfilled a similar role with respect to Great Poland in this time, though archaeologists have identified other strongholds which seem to have been of an equal or similar rank to Poznan or Gniezno (such as Giecz, Grzybowo, Kalisz, Ostrów Lednicki).¹²⁵ Gniezno, the beginnings of which as a centre of power go back at least to the middle of the tenth century seems to have had roots as a pre-Christian cult centre.¹²⁶ The deposition here of the

¹²³ More on this topic in the monograph P. Wiszewski, *Domus Boleslai*, pp. 436–440.

¹²⁴ See the review of the state of research by Andrzej Buko, *Archeologia Polski wczesnośredniowiecznej. Odkrycia—hipotezy—interpretacje*, Warszawa 2005, passim.

¹²⁵ See Zofia Kurnatowska, *Poznań w czasach Mieszka I*, [in:] *Civitas Schinesghe. Mieszko I i początki państwa*, pp. 75–76, 77 (here fig. 4), 80–81.

¹²⁶ Recent research has been presented by Tomasz Sawicki, *Gnieźnieński zespół grodowy w świetle najnowszych badań*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów cywilizacji. Studia ofiarowane*

relics of St Wojciech emphasized its role as a centre of the Christian cult in the Piast state, which seems to have been indicated by the choosing of Gniezno as the central point of the state of Mieszko I at the moment of his donation of his state to St Peter. It is therefore highly probable that it is to Mieszko I that we should ascribe the concept of dividing the territory of the state into a central territory (Great Poland, with a few main strongholds such as Giecz, Ostrów Lednicki and Poznań¹²⁷ as well as Gniezno which at least at the end of the century had a higher status) and an external periphery. The document “Dagome Iudex” also indicates such a spatial division of the state, describing as it does the donation of the “civitas Schinesghe”—the Gniezno state—“cum pertinentiis”—with the peripheral provinces.

The decision of Bolesław I however introduced big changes in this order. The decision of the Synod of Gniezno of the year 1000 determined that there would now be four basic centres of power (bishopric seats—Kołobrzeg, Poznań, Wrocław, Cracow) and one general for the whole country of sacral character, Gniezno. If we accept (even to a limited degree, due to the uncertainties of the chronology of the oldest churches) the hypothesis of the efforts of the Piasts to safeguard by sacral and symbolic means Gniezno and the bishops’ seats by a system of churches around and within these centres,¹²⁸ the dominant role of these centres in the topography of the country becomes even clearer. At the same time however a number of other centres were also still functioning, these were stations for the ruler as he moved about the country. We should recognize however that the place in this concept

profesorowi Jerzemu Gąssowskiemu w pięćdziesiątą rocznicę pracy naukowej, Andrzej Buko ed., Warszawa 1998, pp. 207–216 and *Ibid.*, *Z badań nad przemianami topografii i funkcji grodu książęcego na Wzgórzu Lecha w Gnieźnie*, “*Slavia Antiqua*”, 40 (1999), pp. 15–21.

¹²⁷ Hanna Kóčka-Krenz has drawn attention to the fact that the ducal *palatium* discovered in Poznań and dated to the second half of the tenth century is the smallest in dimension compared with the other Piast complexes of this type (Ostrów Lednicki, Giecz and Przemyśl) which are contemporary and slightly later (eadem, *Zespół pałacowo-sakralny na grodzie poznańskim*, [in:] *Polska na przełomie*, p. 293; eadem, *Najstarszy Poznań*, p. 31). A much earlier dating of the *palatium* at Giecz—though this is only represented by the foundations—has been proposed by Teresa Krzysztofak, *Palatium w Gieczu—archeologiczne podstawy datowania relikwów*, [in:] *Lapides viventes*, pp. 303, 309, suggesting the end of the tenth century or the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

¹²⁸ Krzysztof Skwierczyński, *Custodia civitatis. Sakralny system ochrony miasta w Polsce wczesniejszego średniowiecza na przykładzie siedzib biskupich*, “*Kwartalnik Historyczny*”, 103 (1996), nr 3, pp. 8–16, 18–25, 48–51.

of Mazovia and the so-called Czerwien Strongholds (and the centres of these provinces) lying on the eastern edge of this state is unclear.¹²⁹

Kazimierz the Restorer paid only slight regard to this tradition of looking at the internal “geopolitics” of rule. His relationship to Poznań and Gniezno are very debatable. In addition, recent archaeological investigations seem to confirm the opinion that the revival of the bishopric in Silesia was not centred on Wrocław, but on the stronghold at Ryczyn.¹³⁰ Putting aside assumptions about the political circumstances of this decision, it would suggest also the lack (and probably deliberately so) of reference to the traditional shape of the sacral-political geography of the state as it had been established under Bolesław I. This is in accord with the opinion of a significant number of contemporaries that the “archbishopric of St Wojciech” arose in Prague,¹³¹ or at least due to the fact that it was here that the Saint’s relics were resting after their translation to the Czech capital in 1038, that here this archbishopric should have its centre.¹³² Without the relics of Wojciech, the ideological basis of the organization of the Polish Church in the state of Bolesław I in 1000, Kazimierz could simply not have seen the possibility of reconstructing the old arrangement. This was especially the case due to the objection of Bishop Unger to the creation of the archdiocese which could have weakened the legal basis for the functioning of a metropolitan seat in Gniezno.¹³³

¹²⁹ See E. Kowalczyk, *Elementy geograficzne*, pp. 46–47.

¹³⁰ Tomasz Jurek, *Ryczyn biskupi. Studium z dziejów Kościoła polskiego w XI wieku*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 60 (1994), pp. 21–66.

¹³¹ According to a very probable hypothesis it was closely connected with a growth in significance of the cult of St Wojciech in Prague after the translation of his relics there in 1039 r., Knut Görich, *Ein Erzbistum in Prag oder in Gnesen?*, “Zeitschrift für Ostforschung. Länder und Völker im östlichen Mitteleuropa”, 40 (1991), pp. 17–24.

¹³² This notion, it would seem, was promoted by the Czech court immediately after the translation and was quite widely accepted within the Reich, Marzena Matla-Kozłowska, *Czy państwo Przemyślidów u schyłku X wieku “zasługiwało” na arcybiskupstwo? Na marginesie dyskusji o planach ufundowania arcybiskupstwa św. Wojciecha w Pradze*, [in:] *Cognitioni gestorum*, pp. 136–137. One trace of these efforts is thought to be found in the text of the “Chronicle” of Raul Glaber, Elżbieta Dąbrowska, *Cluny a św. Wojciech*, pp. 10–12.

¹³³ We reject however the view of Johannes Fried, *Der hl. Adalbert und Gnesen*, “Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte”, 50 (1998), pp. 53–54, that as a result of this protest the archbishopric in Gniezno might never have existed at all and in the year 1000 it was only the idea to create it which was expressed. Thietmar clearly writes that the emperor created (“fecit”) the archbishopric, but raised doubts about the legality of its existence.

It was only Bolesław II the Bold who fully referred to the conception of his great grandfather and at the end of his reign led to the renewal of the network of bishoprics in the whole of Poland, with their diocesan seats being the ones established in the year 1000 (Cracow, Poznan, Wrocław), or taking into account new political centres (the diocese of Płock arising perhaps under the influence of his brother Władysław Herman)¹³⁴ and the seat of the archbishop in Gniezno.¹³⁵ Although he did not do this in a mechanical manner, there is a striking similarity with the concept of Bolesław the Brave. The reference to the tradition of the Gniezno metropolitan seat did not have to be connected with the “king-making” properties of that place. It seems much more probable that there was a deliberate return by Bolesław II to the tradition of the cult of St Wojciech which had been introduced so energetically by Bolesław I.¹³⁶ This would be in agreement with the hypothesis suggested above about the impossibility of the exact recreation of the form of the sacral geography of Poland without the factor which held it together, the relics of St Wojciech. Bolesław Wrymouth, inheriting from his uncle and father a stronger cult of St Wojciech, received an additional stimulus to increase efforts to raise its status even higher by the discovery in Gniezno of relics of the Saint in 1127.¹³⁷ At the same time his persistent attempts to obtain the subordination of the newly-created Pomeranian diocese to the archdiocese in Gniezno may be interpreted as based on a perception similar to those of the two preceding Bolesławs concerning the relationship between the exercise of power over a given territory and the relationship of its bishop to the Gniezno archdiocese. This is however now only a general framework, there is no reason to see this as an imitation of any specific deeds of Bolesław I, since the new bishopric for Pomerania was located in Wolin and not Kołobrzeg. As it would seem, Bolesław III may not

¹³⁴ See Gerard Labuda, *Kto był założycielem biskupstwa płockiego?*, “Notatki Płockie”, 1989, nr 1, pp. 9–11.

¹³⁵ The connection of that decision with the tradition of the activities of Bolesław I has been stressed by Tomasz Jurek, *Losy arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego w XI wieku*, [in:] *1000 lat Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej*, Jerzy Strzelczyk, Janusz Górny eds, Gniezno 2000 (=Bibliotheca Millennium), pp. 61–63.

¹³⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 71–72.

¹³⁷ More precisely, the head of the saint, *Canonici Wissegradensis continuatio Cosmae*, Josef Emler ed., [in:] *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. II, part 1, Praha 1874: “1127, VII Kalend. Martii, caput sancti Adalberti martyris et pontificis in civitate Gnezden repertum est, eo quidem loco, ubi martyr idem martyrio fuit coronatus et tumulatus”.

even have known the precise places where the dioceses had been situated in the year 1000.¹³⁸ We may however speak with more certainty about the efforts to continue the tradition of raising the status of Płock as a seat of power which had been begun by his father Władysław Herman. It is to the period of Bolesław III that the construction of the masonry rotunda there is currently dated, and some scholars also date the construction of the *palatium* there also to the reign of Bolesław and not to Władysław Herman as is usually done.¹³⁹ In the continuation of the work of his father, Bolesław would only be following in the footsteps of Zbigniew, his enemy and his brother, if we agree that the foundation of the Benedictine prepository of St Wojciech should be ascribed to him.¹⁴⁰

Did therefore the Piasts see their territory as a “ruled space” which it was necessary to divide up according to the patterns inherited from their predecessors, especially those most distant, or did they introduce to the tradition of symbolic divisions of space new accents which created new traditions? The picture which emerges from the written sources does not give us a clear answer to that question. Archaeological evidence may help us to find an answer. Archaeologists have in effect accepted the classical topographic model of rule in the Piast state presented at the beginning of this section, supplemented with structuralist reflection¹⁴¹ on the division between secular and sacral centres of power among the Slavs. Gniezno and Poznań have been fitted into such a model as related centres. The analysis of the finds made during excavations seems, however, to contradict this. In the time of the formation of Piast rule in the middle of the tenth century, the oldest and most imposing of the strongholds in Great Poland connected with the “Piasts” were probably Grzybów near Września and maybe Ostrów Lednicki (920s to 930s), later Gniezno, Giecz, Łąd and (maybe) Poznań (940s). Mieszko I stabilised this hierarchy of local

¹³⁸ See above, p. 106.

¹³⁹ See H. Kóčka-Krenz, *Stan badań nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi palatiami*, p. 53.

¹⁴⁰ Thus Andrzej Gołębniak, *Początki Płocka w świetle ostatnich prac weryfikacyjnych i nowych odkryć archeologicznych*, [in:] *Osadnictwo i architektura ziem polskich w dobie Zjazdu Gnieźnieńskiego*, Andrzej Buko, Zbigniew Świechowski eds, Poznań 2000, p. 175.

¹⁴¹ See especially Jacek Banaszekiewicz, *Jedność porządku przestrzennego, społecznego i początków tradycji ludu (Uwagi o urządzeniu wspólnoty plemiennie-państwowej u Słowian)*, “Przegląd Historyczny”, 77 (1986), nr 4, pp. 459–462.

centres of power by an enlargement and strengthening of the main strongholds of Great Poland (Gniezno, Poznan, Giecz, Ostrow Lednicki) in the 970s and 980s.¹⁴² It is not possible to speak of only one or two stable “power-creating” centres in the Piast domain.¹⁴³ It is worth examining from this point of view the residential architectural complexes of the Piasts which lie outside those centres which were of the greatest importance in twelfth century Poland. The archaeological discoveries that have been made indicate not only their important role in the system of the expression of ducal or royal power. They also suggest the deliberate duplication of this form of expression in strongholds which today are regarded as “provincial”. Good examples are the architectural complexes in Ostrów Lednicki and Giecz (both now very marginal places in the modern settlement network).

Ostrów Lednicki, comprising a *palatium* and rotunda in a stronghold on an island in the middle of a lake, was for many years considered to be a ducal centre. In the 1990s the team of archaeologists conducting excavations here proposed the alternative theory that the whole complex was a bishop’s seat, most probably that of the missionary bishop Jordan.¹⁴⁴ This however seems very unlikely.¹⁴⁵ The siting of the complex outside the later stronghold-seats of the bishop (Poznan) and archbishop (Gniezno), the relatively small size of the church connected to the larger *palatium*, and even the traces of constant military activity around the bridges leading to the island (traces of battles with however rather broad dating)¹⁴⁶ would rather suggest that this was a

¹⁴² See Zofia Kurnatowska, *Wielkopolska w X wieku i formowanie się państwa polskiego*, [in:] *Ziemia polskie w X wieku*, pp. 104–109.

¹⁴³ Przemysław Urbańczyk, *Najdawniejsze stolice państwa piastowskiego*, [in:] *Polska na przełomie*, pp. 240–243, who stressed the multiplicity of points of central character in the monarchy of the first Piasts.

¹⁴⁴ *U progu chrześcijaństwa w Polsce. Ostrów Lednicki*, Klementyna Żurawska ed., vol. 1–2, Cracow 1993–1994, *passim*.

¹⁴⁵ See the critical remarks on the discussion about the function of the buildings at Ostrow Lednicki, Przemysław Urbańczyk, *Wczesnośredniowieczna architektura polska w kontekście archeologicznym*, [in:] *Początki architektury monumentalnej w Polsce. Materiały z sesji naukowej, Gniezno, 20–21 listopada 2003 roku*, Tomasz Janiak, Dariusz Stryniak eds, Gniezno 2004, pp. 29–30.

¹⁴⁶ The rich collection of militaria discovered near the bridge leading to Ostrów Lednicki and on the bottom of the lake here is datable almost entirely to the 80 years in which this site functioned as a ducal residence and gives a picture of the periodic fighting that went on here before the times of the invasion of Bretyslav, see Gerard Wilke, *Próba interpretacji podwodnych odkryć militariów przy rezydencji pierwszych Piastów na Ostrowie Lednickim*, [in:] *Świat Słowian wczesnego średniowiecza*, Marek Dworaczyk, Anna B. Kowalska, Sławomir Moździoch, Marian Rębkowski eds, Szczecin/Wrocław 2006, p. 449.

residential centre connected with ducal rule which arose in the times of Mieszko I or Bolesław the Brave.¹⁴⁷ The importance of Ostrów Lednicki for the dynasty is underlined by the burial of a boy with a gold ring on his finger in the small cemetery church which stood near the *palatium* and was built about the same time. Even if we are unable to agree with the suggestion that this was the remains of a son of Bolesław the Brave and the Ruthenian duchess Predslava (Pereslava),¹⁴⁸ the connection of this burial with the Piast dynasty seems very probable. An argument in favour of the high significance of this centre for its founders and patrons could be the finds of stained glass dated to the first quarter of the eleventh century. This discovery has especial significance in the context of the small number of analogous finds, coming above all from the most significant centres of Piast rule.¹⁴⁹

Another case is the complex Giecz (today a very small place) where at the end of the tenth or at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries the construction of a palatium very similar in plan to that at Ostrów Lednicki was begun—though it was never finished. At the beginning of the eleventh century in the north part of the stronghold a church of very substantial dimensions with an extended westwerk was built¹⁵⁰ which was analogous to the plan of Ottonian cathedrals.¹⁵¹ In addition in the church in the Giecz stronghold was a crypt, the construction of which suggests not only a mortuary function, but also that it was intended to house relics and facilitate their viewing. It arose in the first phase of the construction of the church, before the construction, most probably also in the first half of the eleventh century, the first phase of the western extension of the church.¹⁵² Some scholars believe that this crypt was intended to be the place of rest of the body of Saint Bruno of Querfurt which had

¹⁴⁷ Recently the function of the complex as a princely residence was argued by Janusz Górecki, *Gród na Ostrowie Lednickim na tle wybranych ośrodków grodowych pierwszej monarchii piastowskiej*, Poznań 2001, p. 67.

¹⁴⁸ Gerard Labuda, *Studia nad początkami*, vol. 2, p. 410.

¹⁴⁹ Jerzy Olczak, *Zagadnienie witraży w tzw. II kościele przedromańskim na Ostrowie Lednickim*, [in:] *Świat Słowian wczesnego średniowiecza*, Marek Dworaczyk, Anna B. Kowalska, Sławomir Moździoch, Marian Rębkowski eds, Szczecin/Wrocław 2006, p. 277, footnote 1, p. 279, fig. 1, pp. 280–281.

¹⁵⁰ T. Krysztofiak, *Palatium w Gieczu*, p. 309.

¹⁵¹ See Tomasz Węclawowicz, *Karolińsko-ottoński kościół grodowy w Gieczu p.w. św. Jana Chrzyciela*, [in:] *Ziemia polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy*, Henryk Samsonowicz ed., Cracow 2000, pp. 420–421.

¹⁵² The discoveries and the literature are discussed by Teresa Krysztofiak, *Nowoodkryte relikty architektury romańskiej w Gieczu*, [in:] *Osadnictwo i architektura ziem polskich*, pp. 75–84.

been brought from the Prussians.¹⁵³ The creation of these structures is dated to the period from the end of the tenth to the middle of the eleventh centuries. In the opinion of the investigating archaeologists, the *palatium* in Giecz arose either in the last phases of the rule of Mieszko I, or about the year 1000, while the church of St John was built in the reign of Bolesław I rather than in that of Mieszko II. Bearing in mind that the building of the *palatium* in Giecz did not continue beyond the stage of the laying of the foundations,¹⁵⁴ it is possible to suggest that it was a foundation of Mieszko I which Bolesław I decided not to continue. Instead he began the construction of a magnificent church with a westwerk and crypt which was connected to a new form of expression of the majesty of the ruler closer to the traditions of traditions of the Reich. The form of this church indicates an attempt to create a centre of greater significance than Ostrów Lednicki, maybe close in form to the main residences of the Piast rulers. This is also possible because recent dendrochronological results indicate that the stronghold in Giecz functioned in the period before the Piast constructions.¹⁵⁵ We may therefore cautiously consider this as evidence of the dynamic utilization of elements, architectural and symbolic at the same time, of the expression of power.

All this seems to point to a very pragmatic approach of the members of the ruling dynasty to the question of the tradition of their choice of “places of Power”. These could to an equal degree have been inherited as recreated in a new form and even created anew independently of any tradition. These suggestions about such a dynamic approach to the question of the traditions of exposition of ducal power are confirmed by the investigations carried out at the end of the twentieth century in Kałdus. Excavations here revealed the footings of a substantial aisled church ending in an apse, most probably never actually finished. Its foundation is dated to the second quarter of the eleventh century, the period of the rule of Mieszko II and the construction work is thought to have ended with the Czech invasion of Bretyslav.¹⁵⁶ Together with the whole stronghold, its construction is thought to be connected

¹⁵³ J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, pp. 68–69.

¹⁵⁴ T. Krysztofiak, *Palatium w Gieczu*, p. 309.

¹⁵⁵ Marek Krąpiec, Teresa Krysztofiak, *Potwierdzenie plemiennej genezy grodu w Gieczu*, “Wielkopolskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne”, 6 (2003), pp. 32–51.

¹⁵⁶ The results of the investigations are presented by Wojciech Chudziak, *Wczesnośredniowieczna przestrzeń sakralna in Culmine na Pomorzu Nadwiślańskim*, Toruń 2003, *passim*. Zofia Kurnatowska, *Tworzenie się państwa gnieźnieńskiego w kontekście*

with plans for the conversion of the Pomeranians and Prussians to Christianity.¹⁵⁷ If we accept the hypothesis of the cultic and political character of the St Lawrence's Hill,¹⁵⁸ at the foot of which the basilica was constructed, it would mean that the reason it was built by the Piast ruler could have been to emphasize clearly whose authority and whose religion was to dominate in this region. These propositions are not in conflict with each other. There is no doubt that an extensive complex with a monumental cult centre were created here, which can be regarded among the central strongholds of the Piast state.¹⁵⁹ That created by Mieszko II.

The *palatium* complex built in the reign of Bolesław the Brave in Przemyśl was of a similar character to the ones presented above.¹⁶⁰ It differs from them however in being of larger dimensions and also in the spatial arrangement inside the *palatium*. The most important role was played by a monumental undivided room which took up about two thirds of the internal space. This differentiates the building from the others and is analogous to imperial buildings.¹⁶¹ The *palatia* in Ostrów Lednicki and Giecz were divided into a series of smaller rooms, perhaps of residential or administrative function. In this situation too we might therefore speak of a certain elasticity of the Piasts towards the adaptation of architectural forms of symbolic character. On the one hand the building in Przemyśl is part of a certain tradition of Piast palaces, on the other hand it expresses a completely different

europiejskim, [in:] *Polska na przełomie*, p. 96 even suggested the possibility that it was intended to create a bishopric for Chełmno Land.

¹⁵⁷ It would have been a symbolic gesture to construct the church at the foot of a hill on which there had earlier been a pagan sacrificial sanctuary. See W. Chudziak, *Wczesnośredniowieczna przestrzeń sakralna*, pp. 57–67.

¹⁵⁸ See Wojciech Chudziak, *Geneza wczesnoromańskiej bazyliki z Kaldusa na Pomorzu Nadwiślańskim*, [in:] *Początki architektury monumentalnej w Polsce. Materiały z sesji naukowej, Gniezno, 20–21 listopada 2003 roku*, Tomasz Janiak, Dariusz Stryniak eds, Gniezno 2004, p. 252.

¹⁵⁹ Wojciech Chudziak, *Wyniki badań weryfikacyjnych i rozpoznawczych na ziemi chełmińskiej*, [in:] *Ziemie polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy*, Henryk Samsonowicz ed., Cracow 2000, p. 91.

¹⁶⁰ See the account of the state of research in Zbigniew Pianowski, Michał Proksa, *Przedromańskie palatium i rotunda na Wzgórzu Zamkowym w Przemyślu w świetle badań archeologiczno-architektonicznych do roku 2002*, Przemyśl 2003, *passim*.

¹⁶¹ See Teresa Rodzińska-Choraży, *Wczesnopiastowski zespół pałacowy na Wzgórzu Zamkowym oraz rotunda prosta pod katedrą w Przemyślu w świetle ostatnich badań*, [in:] *Początki sąsiedztwa. Pogranicze etniczne polsko-rusko-słowackie w średniowieczu. Materiały z konferencji Rzeszów 9–11 V 1995 r.*, Michał Parczewski ed., Rzeszów 1996, pp. 133–149.

aspect of the ruler. The situation of this complex at the very edge of the Piast state also has a certain significance. It differs from the pattern of the functioning of the main centres of power in the capitals of the later provinces, but is closer in concept to the situation of the complex of buildings at Kałdus on the frontier of the state.

Under Bolesław I and Mieszko II would have arisen a network of new complexes on the edges of the area of their rule not necessarily much lower in status from the contemporary residences expressing the power of the Piasts in the centre of their state of older date, going back to the times of Mieszko I. Certainly they were of higher status than ordinary strongholds, stopping places for the ruler in his peregrinations around the country. It is tempting to connect them with policies (for example perhaps the manifestation of Bolesław the Brave's status to both emperors of East and West in Przemyśl), or missionary intentions (Kałdus). We are however prevented from creating such far reaching hypotheses by the present lack of clarity over the chronological context of some of the complexes presented above. The collapse of the first monarchy of the Piasts brought with it also a change in the system of shaping the "space of rule". The palatial complex at Ostrów Lednicki was abandoned, the building work at Giecz and Kałdus was not finished. Przemyśl was lost to the Ruthenians. At the moment there is no evidence that this was recompensed by the beginning of comparable work at other sites.

This does not mean that the successors of Mieszko II completely broke with the vision of their predecessors of the spatial organization of the country. The activities of rulers from Kazimierz the Restorer onwards concentrated on the renewal of ducal seats primarily in a few of the central strongholds of their state. The great "chamber of 24 pillars" on Wawel Hill,¹⁶² is one of the investments which is ascribed to Kazimierz the Restorer. Although it is not an exact copy, is modelled on the earlier Piast palaces.¹⁶³ At the same time it did not differ in its splendour from the earlier Piast foundations. Similarly the

¹⁶² See Zbigniew Pianowski, "Sedes regni principales". *Wawel i inne rezydencje piastowskie do połowy XIII w. na tle europejskim*, Cracow 1994 (=Politechnia Krakowska im. Tadeusza Kościuszki, Seria Architektura, Monografia 178), pp. 22–24, here also the earlier literature.

¹⁶³ Cf. Hanna Kóčka-Krenz, *Stan badań nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi palatiami*, [in:] *Stan i potrzeby badań nad wczesnym średniowieczem w Polsce—15 lat później*, Wojciech Chudziak, Sławomir Moździoch eds, Toruń/Wrocław/Warszawa 2006, pp. 52–53.

foundation on the site of the older basilica church of St Gereon on Wawel which is also ascribed to Kazimierz I,¹⁶⁴ in the richness of its decoration if not in size,¹⁶⁵ certainly matched the earlier cathedral churches of Poznan or Gniezno. The ecclesiastical foundation activity which we can assign to Kazimierz's sons Bolesław II and Władysław Herman concentrated on the founding or renewing of ecclesiastical institutions in Gniezno, Poznan, Wrocław, Cracow and (maybe) Płock. Although we know that the latter was the favourite residence of Władysław Herman, archaeological investigations have not yet found any traces here of a monumental *palatium* of this date. Equally, the activities of Bolesław III did not differ from the pattern of those of his father (Władysław Herman) and uncle (Bolesław II) in the sphere of "spatial policy", though choosing St Wojciech as his special patron, he could have placed more emphasis on relations with Gniezno than his predecessors. We cannot exclude the possibility that this emphasis of the role of the archbishop's seat was connected with some form of broader family tradition, also to the creation of the territorial form of the state.¹⁶⁶ It could also have been connected with the revival of the Wojciech cult under the influence of the political needs of Bolesław III. It is possible that Bolesław however was involved in the creation of the complex of monumental buildings in Płock (rotunda and Romanesque *palatium*), which could indicate an attempt to continue the promotion of that centre following his father's example. Archaeologists and historians of architecture indicate the date of construction of these buildings was some time within a rather wide period (after 1126/7 to about the middle of the twelfth century) and connect them rather the later activity of Bishop Aleksander of Malonne. Only the beginning of the long period of the rebuilding of Płock cathedral is assigned to

¹⁶⁴ Until recently believed to be the palace church, but now it is believed to equal in function to the cathedral of St Wenceslas, Tomasz Węclawowicz, *Podwójna katedra na Wawelu?*, [in:] *Lapides viventes*, pp. 68–69, 74–78, 81–82, here also the earlier literature.

¹⁶⁵ *Sztuka polska przedromańska i romańska do schyłku XIII wieku*, red. Michał Walicki, cz. 2: *Katalog i bibliografia zabytków*, Maria Pietrusińska ed., Warszawa 1971 (=Dzieje sztuki polskiej, vol. 1), pp. 709–710, here also the earlier literature; Zbigniew Pianowski, *Sedes Regni Principales*, pp. 26–31.

¹⁶⁶ Zofia and Stanisław Kurnatowscy, *Piastowskie "urządzenie" kresów północno-zachodnich państwa*, [in:] *Świat Słowian wczesnego średniowiecza*, Marek Dworaczek, Anna B. Kowalska, Sławomir Moździoch, Marian Rębkowski eds, Szczecin/Wrocław 2006, p. 96.

the reign of Bolesław III.¹⁶⁷ The hypothesis that Zbigniew had created Łęczyca as one of his main seats of power as had his forebears still requires further investigation.¹⁶⁸

In the light of the above remarks it seems that we can accept the limiting of the model of the topography of Piast power with two (Gniezno and Cracow), sometimes three (Poznań) main strongholds to the times of Władysław Herman and Bolesław Wrymouth, with greater hesitation to the reigns of Kazimierz the Restorer and Bolesław II. In this period we may speak of a certain tradition of spatial perception of the governed state which a ruler inherited from his predecessors on the throne, especially in the case of the predominant importance of Cracow.¹⁶⁹ Such a model of perception of the political space of Poland has been imposed on us however by the written sources only of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁷⁰ Even in the times of Herman and Wrymouth, we still cannot speak of an inflexible maintenance of such a manner of perceiving space. It was then still possible to create new central strongholds (as was the case with Płock). Still the exercise of rule did not have to be connected with the possession of either of the two above-mentioned main strongholds. The young Bolesław Wrymouth could have his seat in Wrocław and feel a fully legitimate duke, though not ruling from Gniezno or Cracow. The “*sedes regni principales*” which are mentioned by Gallus in his “Chronicle” as centres over which after the division of the country between himself and his sons Władysław Herman tried to maintain control as the main ruler seem to have had a pragmatic significance. Despite the considerable stabilization of the spatial-political structure of the country in the times of the second Piast state (after 1039), and its embodiment in tradition (in the sense of a pattern of *hierarchised* spatial organization being inherited by a

¹⁶⁷ See Andrzej Gołembnik, *Aktualny stan wiedzy o genezie i rozwoju wczesnośredniowiecznego zespołu osadniczego w Płocku*, [in:] *Stan i potrzeby badań...—15 lat później*, pp. 405–410.

¹⁶⁸ Zbigniew Morawski, “*Sedes translata*”. *Łęczyca na początku XII wieku*, [in:] *Aetas media—Aetas moderna*, pp. 295–298.

¹⁶⁹ The significant role of this stronghold both before and after the invasion of Bretyslav is evidenced by the large number of monumental pre-Romanesque buildings here. There are the remains of eight preserved, and it has been suggested that there were at least four more, see Z. Pianowski, *Sedes regni principales*, p. 21.

¹⁷⁰ The “Polish Chronicle”, written in the thirteenth century, pictures a form of “*translatio imperii*” in its description according to which Bolesław the Brave “*sedem regni in Cracovia constituit in medio terminorum obtentorum, antea fuit in Gnezna, postea in Poznan*”, *Kronika Polska*, pp. 618–619.

ruler from his predecessors) it was still an elastic system which could be adapted to extemporaneous political needs of the rulers.

In this sense it was a continuation of the behaviour known from the previous period, from the first Piast state. At that time however, before the invasion of 1039, the shape of the topography of power under the first Piasts was much more complicated. The members of the dynasty expressed their perception of the space under their rule in a very elastic manner as an entity with many points of especial importance, in which it was always possible to create such places (or at least attempt to),¹⁷¹ sometimes with the aim of a change in the information which a given centre had to impart to those visiting, as a cult centre, a centre of power, a place propagating a specific vision of ducal power etc. It is in the context of this trend of the dynamic construction of “political space” that we may see the differentiation by Bolesław the Brave of places which are especially important as the seats of the hierarchy of the Polish Church. His decision to a great degree had an influence on the later practice (known from Gallus’ “Chronicle”) of the Piasts ruling from a few “sedes regni principales”. However Mieszko II undertook the task of creating new central strongholds and redefining the function of those already in existence. Bearing in mind the similar practices in the reign of Bolesław I with regard to the spatial structure erected by his father Mieszko I, we gain the impression that the ruler treated the creation of space through the definition of special places connected with their rule and promoted values as one of the important means of indicating the character of his power. They maintained the high status of certain points in the settlement network for generations, but that tradition did not prevent them from creating a vision of “their” Poland.

The collapse of the early Piast state caused a break in that tradition. Kazimierz the Restorer broke with it not only in making Cracow a clear central point for the whole of his area of rule, but also in resigning from the creation of new places for the exposition of ducal power in favour of embellishing those already in use. This model turned out ultimately to be more permanent within the Piast dynasty and can be regarded as a form of tradition of spatial perception by the rulers.

¹⁷¹ This would be connected with the broader question of the creation by the first Piasts of a system of new strongholds in the territories they occupied while destroying the old tribal centres, M. Dulinicz, *Forschungen*, pp. 149–150.

In their communication through gestures and symbols with society, the Piasts referred in many ways to the patterns inherited from their predecessors. Whether we are following the functioning of the copy of the Spear of St Maurice among the insignia of power, or the manner of representation of the rulers in the iconographic sources, or the definition of the significance of specific points in the space of the country for the exercise of power, we may indicate elements of continuity, of tradition. We also see everywhere equally a fundamental breakdown of this tradition at the time of the collapse of the state of the first Piasts, and the rise to power of Boleslaw III. This does not lead however to a complete break with the traditions created by their predecessors. We observe efforts to preserve certain characteristics already affirmed earlier: the character of the copy of the Holy Spear as a relic, especial authority sanctioned by a crown and connected with the sacral sphere, and finally the significance of the “chief strongholds of the kingdom”, the diocesan seats. This is accompanied however by a radical transformation in the significance connected with these phenomena, the emphasis on the function of the Spear as part of the insignia of power, the stressing of the martial, knightly aspects of ducal power sanctified by the traditional attributes of power, the stabilization of the pattern of the “space of rule” in the state of the Piasts.

Tradition and innovation. Closely connected, creating methods of communicating continually new values but also referring to traditional ones. Was this however only in the domain of the relationship between the dynasty and society? It was indeed strongly dependent on the changeable political situation, the increasing ambitions of the elite, the political crises associated with the succession to power. In the perspective of such processes, the modification of tradition would be totally understandable. In the next chapter we will examine how this relationship between permanence and mutability developed in the context of purely family relationships, through the perspective of the commemoration of the memory of oneself and deceased ancestors through permanent foundations in the Church.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TRADITION: FOUNDATIONS AND MEMORY

Since tradition is expressed through the continuity and repetition of certain behaviours and communication, ecclesiastical foundations which were intended to ensure the eternal intervention by clergymen with God on behalf of the living and dead members of the dynasty can be treated as the means of maintaining the traditions of the clan which is closest to the sacrum. A tradition which would be known only to the family (or to God), but which through the establishment of a foundation could become a communication addressed to society. Did the Piasts in the period under study here deliberately maintain and communicate to those around them their connections with their ancestors, or their vision of the continuity of the dynasty, and its history?

Researchers consider that we meet analogous phenomena in western Europe, here in particular in the tenth century there was an escalation of the donation of material goods and incomes to monks in return for continual prayers for the souls of the living and departed.¹ This intensification of the attention paid to commemoration is regarded as one of the most important symptoms of the creation of a self awareness of families around the year 1000. This was an awareness which was based on a feeling of community with the ancestors, in opposition to relationships only with living family members, friends and the wider “familia”. An indicator of the existence of a clan identity was the foundation of ecclesiastical institutions in order to provide a permanent place of burial and commemoration through prayer for deceased ancestors.² In the course of time, such commemoration was regarded as one of the means of expression of “nobility”, legitimising membership of the aristocracy and by this means the exercise of power.³ Theoretically therefore in the tenth to twelfth centuries in the ducal

¹ See the review of literature by Arnold Angenendt, *Die große Zeit der Schwarzen Mönche. Zur Bedeutung von Stiftung und Gebet*, [in:] *Der heilige Prokop, Böhmen und Mitteleuropa. Internationales Symposium Benešov—Sázava, 24.–26. September 2003*, Petr Sommer ed., Praha 2005, pp. 27–32.

² See K. Schmid, *Zur Problematik von Familie*, pp. 46–47.

³ O.G. Oexle, *Welfische Memoria*, pp. 62–64.

and royal families the memories of ancestors was cultivated in special places of contact with the sacral sphere and the reinforcement of this memory by public activity seems to have been unavoidable. Nonetheless the veracity of this theory in the case of the Piasts requires testing, since researchers increasingly frequently approach it critically.⁴

We have decided to present the information about the activities of the Piasts with regard the foundation for the Church in their state (which have already been rather well studied) in two groups, whether they reflect donations to the diocesan clergy and monastic foundations. Such a division may seem somewhat artificial for the Piast state since the clergy formed a single group dependent on the ruler. Over time, however, there do appear to be some differences in the approach of the rulers to the functions (including commemorative) of both groups which emerge more clearly between these two groups. In such a situation, treating all the clergy of the period of the first Piasts as a single group and then dividing them in discussions of later periods seems to be a mistake, since it threatens losing sight of the roots of the process. In turn not only the state of preservation of the surviving evidence, but also research concerning the activities of the Piasts in the sphere of the commemoration of the family beyond the frontiers of their state is fragmentary and diffused. In order to present the phenomenon of interest to us here, we have decided to separate the analysis of individual centres from which we have traces of Piast foundations and memoria connected with them. In this manner we wished to emphasise the connections of interest and especially determine whether we are dealing with long term relationships initiated by the Piasts. Only such relationships can suggest the existence of patterns of behaviour passed down through the family—and therefore the dynastic tradition.

Let us return however to our fundamental question: when creating ecclesiastic foundations, were the Piasts cultivating the memory of their nearest relatives, of the whole dynasty? Did they imitate by their actions the behaviour of their ancestors and nearer and more distant relations? Did the family tradition play any role in their activities on behalf of the Church and for God?

⁴ See for example Karl Leyser, *Herrschaft und Konflikt. König und Adel im ottonischen Sachsen*, translated by Karen Freifrau Schenck zu Schweinsberg, Göttingen 1984 (=Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, vol. 76) [English edition: 1979], pp. 84–85; Constance B. Bouchard, *Family Structure and Family Consciousness among the Aristocracy in the Ninth to Eleventh Centuries*, “Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte”, 14 (1986), pp. 639–658.

1. POLAND

Foundations for the Diocesan Clergy

We have already written above about the correlation between the building of a diocesan network and the creation of “places of power” by the Piasts. We have accepted the existence of certain traditions concerning the maintenance and redevelopment of “places of power” in the reigns of Bolesław the Brave and Mieszko II, and to a limited extent in the reign of Kazimierz the Restorer. The latter introduced important changes to the scope of that activity, concentrating his attention on Cracow. Bolesław the Bold, driven by the pragmatic needs of rule, returned to the concept of constructing a network of such points in a close relationship to the sacral geography of Poland. As a result of the efforts of Kazimierz and Bolesław II, a new manner of perceiving the “ideological space” of Piast rule was forged. The unquestioned dominance of Gniezno, Poznan and Cracow together with the bishops’ seats and the slightly less important seats of the monasteries lasted until the death of Bolesław III.⁵ The suggested two periods of the shaping of the geography of rule, with a watershed between them in the reign of Kazimierz the Restorer however only finds to a certain degree its reflection in the characteristics of the activities of the Piast rulers with regards to ecclesiastical foundations.

We are unable to say anything certain about the activities of Mieszko I in this field. The only monument which with any degree of probability can be linked with him or Dobrawa is the hypothetical rotunda underneath the present cathedral in Gniezno.⁶ Whether a similar building was constructed in this period in Poznan is highly debatable.⁷ It is suggested that in the times of Bolesław I, especially at the beginning of the second millennium, there was a change in the patterns of architecture in use in the Polish state. While earlier there had been strong Bohemian (and thus Great Moravian) influence (rotundas), later on there began a period dominated by influences from the lands of the

⁵ See above, pp. 445–449.

⁶ Tomasz Janiak, *Problematyka wczesnych faz kościoła katedralnego w Gnieźnie*, [in:] *Początki architektury*, pp. 86–90. See also above, pp. 20–21.

⁷ Cf. Gerard Labuda, *Budownictwo sakralne Gniezna i Poznania na przełomie X/XI wieku w świetle źródeł pisanych*, [in:] *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Poznań, listopad 2000*, Szczęsny Skibiński ed., Poznań 2001, pp. 270–271, 275, who suggests that larger sacral buildings only arose in Poznan in the year 1000.

Reich (cathedrals with massive westwerks).⁸ Buildings of the period of Mieszko II continued this trend, though now extended to include residential buildings.⁹ Bearing in mind the ideological contents connected with the change in form of these monumental structures, from those referring to the world of the Czech dukes to the imperial form of the basilicas with westwerk and *palatium*, we cannot relate this only to a change in aesthetic taste.

After the return of Kazimierz to Poland, the approach of the Piasts to the foundation of bishops' churches did not change. Kazimierz began the rebuilding of the Gniezno basilica, and his sons Bolesław II and Władysław Herman continued these efforts. The Piasts paid special attention to the support of the cathedral on Wawel Hill in Cracow. The rebuilding, in the form of a Romanesque basilica, was initiated by Bolesław II at the end of his rule, or perhaps Władysław Herman at the beginning of his.¹⁰ A series of foundations for the diocesan clergy may be linked with Władysław, and to a greater degree his second wife Judith of Swabia (the supposed collegiate church at Zawichost, the estate of Chropy donated to the Cracow bishops).¹¹ His son, Bolesław III Wrymouth was most probably involved in supporting the building work in the new bishops' seats, in Lubus Land and in Kuyavia (first in Kruszwica, later in Włocławek),¹² he also supported

⁸ Szczyński Skibiński, *Wokół fundacji artystycznych Piastów*, [in:] *Przemysłidzi i Piastowie*, p. 172; see also the reconstruction of the cathedral in Cracow erected just after 1000 by Bolesław the Brave, Janusz Firlet, Zbigniew Pianowski, *Z rozważań nad planem najstarszej katedry krakowskiej*, [in:] *Lapides viventes*, pp. 64–65. Recent dendrochronological dating has shown that at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries the rotunda at Łekno (built on the plan resembling very closely monument known from Bohemia) was constructed, see Andrzej M. Wyrwa, *Stan badań nad architekturą ze stanowiska nr 3 w Łeknie*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Pałuk*, vol. 1: *Osadnictwo i architektura w rejonie Łekna we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Andrzej M. Wyrwa ed., Poznań 1989 (=Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, seria Historia nr 160), pp. 153–154, *Ibid.*, *O możliwościach datowania zapraw metodą 14 C w obiektach architektonicznych*, "Wielkopolski Biuletyn Konserwatorski", vol. 1, Poznań 2002, pp. 169–181.

⁹ See Zygmunt Świechowski, *Wczesna architektura murowana na ziemiach polskich—jak dawna?*, [in:] *Początki architektury monumentalnej*, pp. 13–16, 18–19.

¹⁰ In the opinion of some researchers, the latter also established a chapter of canons here (for example J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, p. 164), that opinion however is currently being questioned, Marek Daniel Kowalski, *Uposażenie krakowskiej kapituły katedralnej w średniowieczu*, Cracow 2000, pp. 17–22.

¹¹ See the review of the literature by J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, pp. 165–167.

¹² See *ibidem*, pp. 209–211, 216–220.

the rebuilding of the destroyed cathedral in Płock.¹³ The creation of the collegiate church at Głogów in Silesia is usually connected with his reign, as were a dozen or so stronghold churches.¹⁴ Here however we should be aware that the lack of unequivocal evidence condemns us to hypothesizing about this sort of situation.¹⁵

The extent of the foundation activity of the Piasts seems, from the reign of Kazmierz the Restorer to have been less than that under Bolesław I and Mieszko II. The long time span required to complete prestigious projects such as the churches of Gniezno and Cracow¹⁶ seems to indicate that only limited resources were made available compared to the situation before the crisis of the monarchy. On the other hand, we see in this period an increase in the variety of the foundation activities of the Piasts, including a greater attention paid to the financing of the functioning of monastic complexes (on this more below). Until now these changes in the character of the foundation activities of the ruling family have not been properly explained.¹⁷ We may only propose the hypothesis that Kazimierz and his successors abandoned the policy of supporting only two or three selected centres on the glorification of which most of the available funds went. Although they possessed less extensive resources than Bolesław I and Mieszko II, they consistently supported the development of a greater number of local centres. The undertaken tasks were rarely fulfilled in the space of one reign, which forced the following rulers to continue funding the projects of their predecessors creating the impression of a certain tradition of foundation activity.

¹³ These are however only inferences based on the observation of other rulers. In the case of Płock the written sources mention the activities of Bishop Alexander of Malonne, and any involvement of the duke was forgotten, see Czesław Deptuła, *Kościół płocki w XII wieku*, [in:] *Kościół płocki w XI–XX wieku. Jubileuszowa Księga Pamiątkowa 900-lecia Diecezji*, red. Jerzy Kłoczowski, Płock 1975 (=Studia Płockie, vol. 3), pp. 67–84.

¹⁴ J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, pp. 196–202.

¹⁵ See the critical remarks of Marek Derwich, *Monarchia i możni a Kościół polski*, p. 202, concerning the calculations presented by Józef Dobosz.

¹⁶ The work of the rebuilding of the Cathedral on Wawel Hill was to last 60 years, it was finally consecrated only in 1142, see Jerzy Pietrusiński, *Krakowska katedra romańska fundacji króla Bolesława II Szczodrego*, [in:] *Katedra krakowska w średniowieczu. Materiały z sesji Oddziału Krakowskiego Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Kraków, kwiecień 1994*, Cracow 1996, pp. 43–105.

¹⁷ See M. Derwich, *Monarchia i możni a Kościół polski*, pp. 195, 203.

Monasteries

As in the case of the foundations created for the diocesan clergy, the support of the rulers for monks underwent change in the period after the collapse of the state of the first Piasts. Despite attempts by researchers in recent years to find traces of many small foundations for monks created by Bolesław I and Mieszko II, only a few are actually evidenced in the written sources. The special relationship between Bolesław the Brave and the monastery of hermits of St Romuald in the vicinity of Międzyrzecz in Great Poland is not in doubt.¹⁸ It seems very probable that he even attempted to become a lay confrere of the brothers there.¹⁹ This occurred when the Międzyrzecz monastery was treated by the ruler, and probably Otto III as a centre for the Christian mission among the Pomeranians and Polabians.²⁰ The situation however changed when the death of Otto III and the wars with Henry II destroyed the chances for the realisation of the plans for the missionary work. The Polish ruler is supposed to have generously supported the monastery after the tragic death of the founder brothers, this generosity however did not last long and between 1009 and 1022 the hermitage completely lost its influence and probably ceased to exist.²¹ Maybe Bolesław I, together with Radim Gaudentius, introduced monks from Czech Břevnov to Łęczyca. This is however a hypothesis based on later (fourteenth and fifteenth century) sources,²² there is nothing to suggest

¹⁸ The literature was presented by J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, pp. 79–80, footnotes 242–244, here also we find a widely accepted presentation of the state of research on the topic of the history of the community, *ibidem*, pp. 79–84. Marek Derwich, *Studia nad początkami monastycyzmu na ziemiach polskich. Pierwsze opactwa i ich funkcje*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 107 (2000), nr 2, pp. 84–85 emphasised the wide scope of help given by Bolesław the Brave to the community of hermits being created here.

¹⁹ A. Pleszczyński, *Bolesław Chrobry konfratrem*, pp. 3, 8, 15–22.

²⁰ See Andrzej Pleszczyński, *Otto III. und das Problem der Ostmission. Einige Bemerkungen über die politische und ideologische Grundlage eines Stiftes für Eremiten in Polen*, [in:] *Der heilige Prokop, Böhmen und Mitteleuropa*, pp. 85–87, 91–92; similarly, Zofia and Stanisław Kurnatowscy, *Piastowskie “urządzenie” kresów*, pp. 93–94.

²¹ See A. Pleszczyński, *Otto III. und das Problem der Ostmission*, pp. 90–91, but we should also note the comment of Jadwiga Karwasińska, *Świadek czasów Chrobrego*, p. 103, that after the death of the Brothers, Bolesław ceased to pay much attention to the abbey.

²² W. Korta (*Średniowieczna annalistyka*, pp. 326–330) and Roman Heck (*Z recepcji “Kroniki Pulkawy” w polskiej historiografii średniowiecznej*, [in:] *Słowianie w dziejach Europy*, p. 144) concluded, despite the views of earlier investigators, that there was a direct relationship between these houses. The most recent research is discussed by Wojciech Mrozowicz, “Zdarzenia godne pamięci”. *Uwagi źródłoznawcze w związku z odnalezieniem nowego przekazu*, [in:] *O rzeczach minionych*, pp. 199–210.

the active participation of the Piasts in the creation of a Łęczycza “cenobium”.²³ The written sources however evidence only one community of nuns in Bolesław I’s Poland alongside the group of hermits.²⁴

It cannot be excluded that both Bolesław, and Mieszko II supported—also for purely pragmatic reasons—monks who formed part of the milieu of bishops,²⁵ as a result of which before the collapse of the first Piast monarchy there would have been 7–11 communities of monks functioning in the lands of the Piasts, including three in the milieu of the bishops.²⁶ Unfortunately, as in the case of Łęczycza, there is no possibility of verifying the assumptions that the rulers were involved in the creation of most of these hypothetical communities. Archaeological investigations have revealed traces of monastic buildings dating only to the period after the reconstruction of the Piast state, but no traces of any earlier foundation have been found.²⁷ To sum up, there is only very slight evidence for the support of the Black Monks by the first Piasts, and all that can be said is that all three were equally active in supporting the building of diocesan structures, while to an equal degree they were cautious about creating monasteries or making donations to monks settled in Poland.

In the light of the accessible evidence, only Kazimierz the Restorer supported the Benedictines to any great extent. He himself invited the Black Monks from Cologne to Poland, counting on their help in the reconstruction of the Polish Church.²⁸ Most probably it was he who founded both the abbey at Tyniec²⁹ and that at Mogilno.³⁰ Bolesław

²³ G. Labuda, *Szkice historyczne XI wieku. Najstarsze klasztory w Polsce*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Szkice historyczne X–XI wieku*, pp. 201–205, 227–230.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 231.

²⁵ Marek Derwich has written many times of the monastic origins of the first Polish bishops and priests and those around them, referring to the work of earlier writers, such as Andrzej Radziwiński, see recently M. Derwich, *Schlesische und polnische Klosterkultur*, [in:] *Das Reich und Polen. Parallelen, Interaktionen und Formen der Akkulturation im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, Ostfildern 2003 (=Vorträge und Forschungen, vol. 59), p. 340.

²⁶ M. Derwich, *Studia nad początkami*, p. 99.

²⁷ See Tomasz Janiak, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad wczesnośredniowieczną architekturą sakralną w Polsce w perspektywie ostatnich 15 lat*, [in:] *Stan i potrzeby badań... 15 lat później*, pp. 93, 95–96.

²⁸ For a review of the literature see J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, pp. 115–116.

²⁹ See Gerard Labuda, *Szkice historyczne XI wieku. Klasztor Benedyktynów w Tyniecu*, pp. 298–303.

³⁰ Gerard Labuda, *Szkice historyczne XI wieku. Początki klasztoru benedyktynów w Mogilnie*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Szkice historyczne X–XI wieku*, pp. 335–339. The literature is

the Bold was a benefactor of the Benedictines, he continued the foundation of the house at Tyniec and founded the first monastery at Lubiń,³¹ and perhaps also the community at Mogilno.³² It was he or his son Władysław Herman who led to the creation of the prepostery of monks from Mogilno in Płock.³³ Władysław I together with his wife Judith of Swabia generously supported the Benedictines in Tyniec, and probably also at Mogilno.³⁴ Zbigniew is supposed to have founded an abbey at the stronghold of Łęczycza,³⁵ that hypothesis however awaits verification. Bolesław Wrymouth in turn led to the confirmation by Papal authority of the properties of Tyniec, and himself made a certain modest donation to the house.³⁶ Maybe under the influence of his wife Salomea of Berg, he also supported deep changes in the monastic movement in his state, intended to free it of secular influence, and by this means bring it closer to the currents of reform of the Benedictine rule popular in western Europe.³⁷ He also participated in the foundation of the abbey at Lubiń (second phase) and on Łysa Góra in the Holy Cross Mountains.³⁸

presented by M. Derwich, *Mogilno i Gniezno. Z dziejów Kościoła w Polsce w drugiej połowie XI wieku*, [in:] *Scriptura custos memoriae*, pp. 40–43.

³¹ Only Janusz Bieniak persistently regards Bolesław as at the most a co-founder of the abbey, and as the actual initiator of the foundation indicates Michał of the Awdaniec (Abdank) family, of the more recent works, see Janusz Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna* (Part IV A) (I), p. 37.

³² For a review of the literature see J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, pp. 134–150, who supports the notion of some researchers that it was Bolesław II who was the founder of the Mogilno monastery.

³³ Kazimierz Pacuski, *Początki benedyktyńskiego opactwa św. Wojciecha na grodzie płockim*, [in:] *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej*, Stefan K. Kuczyński ed., vol. 5, Warszawa 1992, pp. 148–152 indicated rather Zbigniew, or maybe Władysław Herman as the founder. Some researchers place the settlement of monks in Płock in the times of Bolesław III, or even later, in the second half of the twelfth century, see J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, pp. 191–192.

³⁴ See J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, pp. 169–170, footnote 327.

³⁵ Z. Morawski, "Sedes translata", pp. 296–298.

³⁶ G. Labuda, *Szkice historyczne XI wieku. Klasztor Benedyktynów w Tyńcu*, p. 275.

³⁷ Marek Derwich points out the special significance of the reign of Bolesław III for the growth of the independence (both economic and legal) of the monasteries of monks in Poland as well as the reforms of the life in the Mogilno convent on the Hirsau pattern. At the same time he strongly emphasizes the role of the influence of women (Judith of Swabia and Salomea of Berg), see *Ibid.*, *Monastycyzm benedyktyński*, pp. 186–189.

³⁸ M. Derwich, *Monastycyzm benedyktyński*, pp. 193–194. The role of Bolesław III may not have been so decisive in the case of the second monastery at Lubiń, since his role in the foundation seems to have been forgotten, J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*,

A separate problem is the influence of the dukes on the departure of monks from the milieu of the bishops and their settlement in separate monasteries. This process seems to become visible in the reign of Kazimierz the Restorer, when the monks were displaced from the milieu of the bishops by a secular clergy as a result of which in the end regular cathedral chapters were formed. We may only infer the significant involvement of the rulers in this process. Chronologically this is linked with the creation of a network of regular abbeys, supported by the rulers, and which could have performed the function of missionary centres.³⁹

Apart from monasteries with monks, in the period of interest here there also arose monasteries of canons, above all the foundation at Trzemeszno. Its beginnings were once connected with Bolesław I, with Kazimierz the Restorer and even Mieszko I, but today we are more inclined to connect it with Bolesław II, Władysław Herman or Bolesław Wrymouth.⁴⁰ Archaeological investigations have shown that the first traces of settlement on the site of the foundation come from the first half of the twelfth century, while the masonry church here was constructed about the middle of that century.⁴¹ In such a situation, given the records of the foundations of Bolesław III and Salomea for canons,⁴² it is not possible to push the beginnings of this foundation back beyond their reign. The connection of the monastery with the

pp. 187–188. There is however no doubt about the involvement of the ruler, alongside comes Wojśław, in the foundation of the abbey on Łysa Góra, see Marek Derwich, *Benedyktynski klasztor św. Krzyża na Łysej Górze w średniowieczu*, Warszawa/Wrocław 1992, pp. 199–203, 227–230.

³⁹ See Andrzej Radziwiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł katedralnych w Polsce XIV i XV w. na tle porównawczym. Studia nad rekrutacją i drogami awansu*, Toruń 1995, pp. 41–47; Marek Derwich, *Les fondations de monastères bénédictins en Pologne jusqu'au début du XVI^e siècle*, [in:] *Moines et monastères dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin*, Jean-Loup Lemaître, Michel Dmitriev, Pierre Gonneau eds, Genève 1996 (=École Pratique des Hautes Études, IV^e Section, Sciences historiques et philologiques V, Hautes Études Médiévales et Modernes, vol. 76), pp. 52–54.

⁴⁰ Cf. J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, pp. 194–196.

⁴¹ Marcin Wiewióra, *Zespół klasztorny kanoników regularnych w Trzemesznie w świetle badań archeologiczno-architektonicznych*, Toruń 2000 (=Archeologia Historica Polona, vol. 9), pp. 277–278, 294–295.

⁴² In the document of Mieszko III of 1145 (which is forged, but in the opinion of most researchers based on an earlier authentic record or records), there is a mention of the foundation of the monastery by Bolesław Wrymouth (“monasterium (...) ab ipso [i.e. patre nostro Bolezlao—P.W.] instauratum”, *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, vol. 1, Poznań 1877, nr 11, p. 16); see Józef Dobosz, *Dokument Mieszka Starego dla kanoników regularnych w Trzemesznie (28 kwietnia 1145 roku)*, [in:] *Gniezno. Studia i materiały historyczne*, vol. 4, Gniezno 1995, pp. 87–105.

person of St Wojciech closely corresponds to his efforts to support the cult of the patron of Poland.⁴³ As a result it is difficult to regard the creation of the monastery as an expression of the continuation of the foundation traditions of the ruling family.

Only together with the rebuilding of the state did the special care of the dynasty for monastic life—at first directed towards houses of monks, but at the end of the period studied here also canons, become clear. This may have occurred under the influence of patterns brought from the Reich by the son of Rycheza (closely connected with the monastery in Brauweiler), Kazimierz the Restorer and his milieu. It was only from that time that we can speak of the functioning in the Piast clan of a special tradition of supporting monastic communities. Maybe the picture is distorted by the lack of evidence. Nevertheless today in the case of the first Piasts we may demonstrate at the most a pragmatic support for collaborators in wider political plans, sometimes direct helpers (the mission of abbot Tuni, or the hypothetical mission of the hermit Benedict on behalf of Bolesław I),⁴⁴ or perhaps efforts intended to assure themselves post-mortem commemoration within functioning communities.⁴⁵ The activity initiated by Kazimierz was continued in full by Bolesław II, while that of Władysław I was on a much more modest scale. Bolesław Wrymouth, the last of the rulers in the period studied here attached less importance to the creation of new monastic houses, at the most he collaborated in the foundations of the aristocracy. It is worth noting that in his time, the foundation activities of his predecessors were forgotten and the house at Lubiń which he supported was reactivated with a different aim from that of his grandfather.⁴⁶

It seems therefore that for the Piasts a greater role that family tradition in the formation of their foundation policies was played by political considerations but included both religious and social factors. From the

⁴³ See above, pp. 383–384.

⁴⁴ See P. Stróżyk, *Śmierć eremitów*, pp. 10–11.

⁴⁵ If we accept the conclusions of Marek Derwich, *Studia nad początkami*, p. 94, who indicates the similarities between the Lubiń convent, a foundation of Bolesław II, and the Międzyrzecz house of the times of Bolesław I, and in connection with this the identity of function that their founders or patrons required of them, and “it is plain to see that [...] that function was liturgy and commemoration associated with it”.

⁴⁶ In the opinion of Marek Derwich, the first foundation at Lubiń, from the times of Bolesław II fulfilled the function of a centre preparing missionaries for work in Pomerania. The second foundation, from the times of Bolesław Wrymouth was smaller and was a typical centre of a community living a coenobitic life.

middle of the eleventh century in the Reich, the support of reformed Benedictine communities was an element of the policies of the aristocracy of the Empire intended to strengthen its own independence through the building of territorial power-bases. Although the Piasts, members of a ruling dynasty, found themselves in a different situation from the aristocracy, the manifestation of their sovereignty and independence from the richer rulers of the Reich, or the rulers of Bohemia, had an important role for Kazimierz, Bolesław II and Władysław I. A Benedictine monastery closely associated with the founder, permanently bearing evidence of his rights as a ruler and the satisfying of his obligations as a Christian leader, fulfilled those roles.⁴⁷

We are unable to state what could have had a stronger influence on the foundation activities of rulers, whether the form of patronage of the Church characteristic of family tradition and connected with the personal piety of the rulers, or the patterns of political-religious behaviour they adopted from abroad. This prompts us to caution in the assessment of the extent of the effects of tradition on the decisions taken concerning the foundation activities of the rulers.

Movable Goods

There is no doubt that the first Piasts were not only involved to a great degree in the founding of new ecclesiastical institutions, but also in an ostentatious manner supported those already in existence. Due to Cosmas we have information that Bolesław I (or perhaps Mieszko II)⁴⁸ funded a large gold cross (perhaps a wooden one covered with gold sheet) for the cathedral in Poznan and he provides evidence that in the churches in Piast territories there were other valuable items. Equally the letter of Duchess Matylda does not leave any doubt that Mieszko II was respected as the donor of many precious items in the churches of his kingdom. Both of these pieces of information come to us “second hand”, from beyond the circles nearest to the donors or their descendants. As a result we are uncertain of the motivation behind the

⁴⁷ See Hans Patze, *Christenvolk und “Territorien”*, [in:] *La cristianità dei secoli XI e XII in Occidente*, pp. 164–168.

⁴⁸ Writing of the presentation in Prague of the loot from the raid on Poland, Cosmas wrote of this cross that “(...) dux Mesco ter semetipsum apponderat”, *Cosmae pragensis Chronicon*, II, 5, p. 90, line 15. This gesture of the Polish ruler is most frequently attributed however to Bolesław I, see see A. Pleszczyński, *Gorliwość neofitów*, p. 97.

decisions of the Piasts to give these objects to these churches. Certainly a significant influence was the need to be seen to fulfil the role of ideal ruler as a donor. In the case of Bolesław and Mieszko II, this was connected with the efforts to emphasise the monarchic behaviour and the desire to specifically express his own piety. It is not possible to decide whether in his activity as a patron of the Church the ruler was guided by a desire to imitate his father or grandfather, or perhaps (perceiving its significance in the milieu of the aristocracy of the Reich), it was from them that they adopted this behaviour.

In the period of the second monarchy, an especially interesting phenomenon is the funding of the production of valuable liturgical manuscripts. In the time of Bolesław the Bold and/or Władysław Herman the “Regensburg Evangelary” was in Poland, as well as three so-called gold codices. These books were presented by Bolesław and/or Władysław with his wife Judith of Swabia to the cathedrals in Cracow and Gniezno. We know nothing of the donations of equally precious books for the other diocesan seats or monasteries. Since some of these codices might have been donated to the cathedrals by Bolesław II and some by Władysław Herman, we may speak of the maintenance by the descendants of Kazimierz the Restorer of some kind of tradition concerning donations to the Church. This would coincide with the efforts of Władysław to continue the activities intended to raise the dignity of the Piast rulers. Unfortunately analytical studies on the genesis of these manuscripts has not produced generally accepted opinions concerning the time when the manuscripts arose (apart from the Regensburg manuscript). What we do know is that the recipients of these gifts were restricted geographically, despite the existence of other ecclesiastical centres in the country equal in rank to Cracow in other towns in the country. It is interesting to note that the costly foundations of Bolesław Wrymouth also seem to be restricted to the circle of Gniezno. The ruler not only chose Gniezno as the site of his final act of unification with God and his people after the affair of Zbigniew and funded a magnificent reliquary for St Wojciech, but also in defining the manner in which the Pomeranians were to make recompense for the desecration of the graves of his ancestors, he required them to make a donation to the benefit of the Gniezno chapter.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ See above, pp. 398–399.

This coincidence does not however have much significance in the face of the deep difference between the activity of Bolesław Wrymouth and his direct predecessors. The funding of costly codices, though they were undoubtedly a manner of ostentatiously manifesting the dignity of his rule was by its nature a communication which was accessible only to a narrow circle of recipients in the royal court and among the clergy. The foundations of Bolesław Wrymouth had a dimension which went beyond these social limitations. The reliquary for the remains of the patron saint of Poland was intended to be admired by the whole people who would visit the Gniezno cathedral. The donation of Warciśław of Pomerania forced by the Polish duke for the “canons of Saint Wojciech” was declared in the face of the whole group of Polish knights that had been gathered for the expedition to Pomerania. The gesture of foundation or donation here took on a much wider social significance and corresponded with the traditions of foundation which are known from the history of the first Piasts. Probably this was unintended, but once again it however indicates the efforts of Bolesław III to introduce important changes in the picture of the ruler transmitted by the traditions maintained in the courts of his predecessors.

In the Face of Death

In the Ecclesiastical Memory

Did the Piasts actively cultivate the memory of the departed members of the family? We have already examined here the activities of Bolesław III as a reaction to the desecration of the graves of his ancestors which has some bearing on this question. We saw how strongly the association with the dead which he defined was related to the nature of his exercise of power. Here we wish to use other evidence to examine the issue of the commemoration of the deceased members in the Polish Church. Here however we have a similar aim, to reflect on the encouragement by the Piasts of the commemoration of the memory of their deceased and living relatives within the society of their subjects. What was the scope of the commemoration of the ancestors, and how deep did they extend into the past to commemorate dead members of the dynasty?

There are only three written sources from Poland which contain mentions which can be treated as evidence of attention paid by the Piasts to the commemoration of members of their own clan. Records from the Benedictine abbey in Lubiąż include notes which are dedicated to

Duke Bolesław (II?) and his wife, and also Duke Władysław (Herman?) with his wife. They are preserved as mentions taken from an unknown source,⁵⁰ and included in the “Book of Brothers” of the abbey at the end of the twelfth century and in the first monastic necrology in the third decade of the fifteenth century.⁵¹ A mention of Bolesław Wrymouth was preserved in a copy of the necrology of the abbey of St Vincent in Wrocław from the second half of the thirteenth century.⁵² It was taken by the anonymous writer, a premonstratensian, from the records (a necrology of calendar) which had been compiled originally in the Benedictine abbey founded before 1138 in Wrocław by the wealthy voivode Piotr Włostowic.⁵³ With regard to other institutions of the Polish Church, we can only say that probably records of this type were kept in them, but few traces of this now survive (an exception might be the mention of Bolesław the Bold in the document of Cardinal Gilles of Tusculum for the Benedictines of Tyniec).

The most interesting records from our point of view are those of Lubiąż. Some researchers identify the rulers Bolesław and Władysław mentioned there as Bolesław II and Władysław Herman. This would suggest the continuation by Władysław of the support of the community created by Bolesław and as such would be another example of a continuation of his efforts to carry on the patterns of behaviour of Bolesław as a ruler.⁵⁴ A second group of researchers however has shown that it is more probable instead to identify the mentioned

⁵⁰ Maybe they were mentioned in a collection of records concerning the deceased benefactors of the monastery, see Zbigniew Perzanowski, *Wstęp, [in:] Księga bracka i nekrolog opactwa Panny Marii w Lubiniu*, Zbigniew Perzanowski ed., Warszawa 1976 (=NPH, n.s. vol. 9, part 2), pp. XXIII–XXIV.

⁵¹ *Księga bracka i nekrolog opactwa Panny Marii w Lubiniu*, pp. 4, 94–95. The state of preservation of the manuscripts is described by the publisher in a short article—Zbigniew Perzanowski, *Rękopisy Księgi brackiej i Nekrologu opactwa lubińskiego*, “Studia Źródłoznawcze”, 21 (1976), pp. 79–83.

⁵² *Nekrolog opactwa św. Wincentego we Wrocławiu*, Karol Małczyński ed., introduction and commentary by Brygida Kürbis and Ryszard Walczak, Warszawa 1971 (=MPH, s.n., vol. 9, part 1), pp. 81, 27 October.

⁵³ Brygida Kürbis, Ryszard Walczak, *Wstęp, [in:] Nekrolog opactwa św. Wincentego we Wrocławiu*, pp. VIII, XIX–XX.

⁵⁴ It does not seem that it is possible—as Zbigniew Perzanowski (*Księga bracka i nekrolog opactwa Panny Marii w Lubiniu*, p. 4, footnote 4) suggested—to link the record from the “Book of Brothers” with the only legal act from the time of the reign of Bolesław the Bold. The inscription “Władysław and his wife” seems rather to exclude this possibility. The analysed phrase may refer only to the only spouses recognized by the church, one of the Judiths who Władysław had married after gaining rule over the country.

rulers as Bolesław III and his son Władysław II.⁵⁵ This thesis has been accepted by most investigators, though not always in its entirety.⁵⁶ A more cautious approach is adopted by those researchers that on the basis of the archaeological evidence see the foundation of Lubiń as a complex two-stage process, the first in the times of Bolesław II, the second under Bolesław III. From that perspective it is possible to identify the mentioned rulers as both Bolesław II together with Władysław I or alternatively Bolesław III and Władysław II.⁵⁷

It is the latter compromise resolution that should be adopted. The records in the “Book of Brothers” concerning the deceased persons mentioned in the prayers of the community go back to the end of the eleventh century.⁵⁸ The names of the rulers mentioned here were added in red ink alongside those of a dozen or so other names which we can identify as belonging to members of the political elite active in the second half of the eleventh century.⁵⁹ Nothing therefore prevents us from seeing the names of the rulers mentioned as those of Bolesław II and Władysław I, the first as the actual founder, the second as a benefactor of a monastery which evidently was already in existence in his time.⁶⁰ Let us additionally note that the monks of Lubiń indicated comes Michał of the Awdaniec (Abdank) family as the patron of the second foundation (that of the times of Bolesław III).⁶¹ The interpretation that Bolesław Wrymouth and his son Władysław

⁵⁵ Marek Cetwiński, *Jeszcze o fundacji opactwa benedyktynów w Lubiniu*, [in:] *Ibid., Śląski tygiel. Studia z dziejów polskiego średniowiecza*, Częstochowa 2001, pp. 102–113 (originally published in 1981); Henryk Łowmiański, *Początki Polski. Polityczne i społeczne procesy kształtowania się narodu do początku wieku XIV*, vol. 6, part 1, Warszawa 1985, pp. 331–333.

⁵⁶ Janusz Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku. Część II*, pp. 58–60 gives the older literature, rejecting the thesis of Z. Perzanowski. Gerard Labuda (*Szkice historyczne XI wieku. Początki klasztoru benedyktynów w Mogilnie*, pp. 330–332) and Józef Dobosz (*Monarcha i możni*, p. 187) have recently written on the identification of the named rulers as Bolesław III and Władysław II.

⁵⁷ Marek Derwich, *Tyniecka zgoda i wyszogrodzka wróżda. O dwóch konfliktach wewnętrznych w Polsce średniowiecznej XII i XIII wieku*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 95 (1988), fasc. 2, p. 8.

⁵⁸ J. Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku. Część II*, pp. 63–66.

⁵⁹ M. Derwich, *Tyniecka zgoda*, pp. 11–14.

⁶⁰ It was abandoned only in the later part of his reign, probably as a result of raids of the Pomeranians, see Marek Derwich, *Fundacja lubińska na tle monastycyzmu benedyktyńskiego w Polsce*, [in:] *Opactwo Benedyktynów w Lubiniu. Pierwsze wieki istnienia. Materiały z IV Sesji Lubińskiej z okazji 850-lecia konsekracji ołtarza NMP 14–15 października 1995 r.*, Zofia Kurnatowska ed., Poznań 1996, p. 15.

⁶¹ J. Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku. Część II*, pp. 62–63, 66.

took part in the process of the foundation of the Lubiń monastery is a modern day construct based precisely on the uncertain evidence of the mentions in the “Book of Brothers”. There is no other evidence in the sources for the involvement of Bolesław Wrymouth in the process of the foundation of the second phase of Lubiń. The analysis, in turn, of the appurtenances of the monastery show the presence of elements which could have come from the eleventh century from either a foundation donation of Bolesław II or those of his successor, but it does not reveal elements which could be ascribed to Bolesław Wrymouth.⁶² We therefore consider that the rulers mentioned in the “red inscription” in the original version from which the author of the “Book of Brothers” obtained their names were Bolesław the Bold and Władysław Herman. We cannot however exclude the fact that the author of the “Book of Brothers”, remembering the times of Michał the second founder of the Lubiń community, saw in these names Bolesław Wrymouth and his son Władysław.

However we may see the identity of the rulers mentioned in the “Book of Brothers” of the Lubiń house, we should note that in both the Lubiń and Wrocław texts, there is no evidence that the founder, or the ruler acting as the patron of a foundation (Wrocław) took steps to assure the the commemoration of their ancestors in the convent (necrology) or a wider group of living members of the family (“Book of Brothers”). It is clear that the concerns for intercession by prayer only extended to a very narrow area of the family and did not extend beyond the nearest relatives, or the group directly concerned in the support of a given institution.

We must devote separate attention to the record in the “Calendar of the Cracow Cathedral” which makes mention of the death of king Bolesław II, duke Władysław Herman and Judith (probably Judith of Swabia).⁶³ These have been the subject of much discussion,⁶⁴ in which only one thing is certain, that the form in which we have it today the “Calendar” arose in the second half of the thirteenth century as a copy of an older document. The main element of the basic record

⁶² See H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. 6, part 1, pp. 334–336; Marek Barański, *Organizacja setno-dziesiętnicza w Polsce XI–XIII wieku*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 45 (1979), pp. 10–17; J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, p. 188, footnote 416.

⁶³ *Kalendarz katedry krakowskiej*, Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa ed., [in:] *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie*, pp. 137, 150, 194.

⁶⁴ See J. Dobosz, *Monarchia i możni*, pp. 119–120, 166–167.

concerning Bolesław II (“Bolezlaus rex Polonie...obiit”) was probably created at the time of the death of the ruler, in contrast to the supplementary information added in the thirteenth century (“qui constituit episcopatus per Poloniam”).⁶⁵ The record concerning Judith, wife of Władysław Herman (“Judith regina Polonie, que contulit Chroppi, obiit”), could have arisen in the same way, but the question arises from where the thirteenth century copyist obtained his information. Were the monarchs who had been benefactors of the bishopric mentioned in the original calendar which was being compiled already in the second half of the eleventh century? Or was it the case that in the creation of a later compilation different elements were included from unknown sources such as necrologies, different from the annals which were being compiled in parallel with them,⁶⁶ and containing information about the generosity of the persons commemorated in the “calendar”? The second hypothesis seems more probable given the very generalised nature of the records concerning Władysław Herman (“Hermannus dux obiit”), undoubtedly very supportive not only of the canons of the cathedral as well as the whole diocese, but despite that, no mention is made of his generosity.

The acceptance of this hypothesis would only confirm the conclusions which we reached above. The institutions of the Church took steps to commemorate the death of selected members of the Piast dynasty, but the time-depth of this memory was not great. As in the case of Lubiń, also in Cracow we can find traces only of a complex of commemoration concentrated around two rulers, Bolesław II and Władysław Herman. It is notable that the “Calendar” does not contain a mention of the death of Bolesław Wrymouth and the inscriptions concerning the Piasts only begin at the end of the third quarter of the twelfth century.⁶⁷ All this seems to indicate that Herman, or Bolesław III at the beginning of his reign, undertook more strenuous efforts in the field of commemoration intended to emphasise the continuity linking

⁶⁵ T. Jurek, *Losy arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego*, pp. 68–69.

⁶⁶ In them would be noted only the year of the death of Bolesław and Władysław, in addition, Judith of Swabia was totally omitted, see above chapter 2, pp. 109–110.

⁶⁷ The first mention is of a duke Bolesław who died in 1173, probably the son of Bolesław IV the Curly, *Kalendarz kapituły krakowskiej*, p. 181. Since after him is mentioned also Kazimierz the Just, *ibidem*, p. 145, who was the guardian of the above mentioned Bolesław son of Bolesław IV, it is probably with him that we should probably link the initiative of the renewal of the custom of commemorating deceased rulers.

Władysław I and his sons with Bolesław II driven into exile in 1079.⁶⁸ In this way was confirmed the legitimacy of power held from 1079 by the Piasts from the younger line of the descendants of Kazimierz the Restorer. This kernel of commemorative tradition in the circle of the ruling family was created late and in specific circumstances, and did not develop further. Maybe this was decided by the choice of other techniques by Bolesław Wrymouth for legitimising his power (a developed form of annals entries, the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymus), and the lack of a need for similar activities by his sons.

A document issued by Salomea of Berg, widow of Bolesław III in 1138–1144 is an exceptional piece of evidence of the efforts of the Piast and their relations to assure deceased family members of a beneficial and eternal commemoration by members of the Church.⁶⁹ It concerns donations made to the Benedictine monastery at Mogilno. The short time between the death of Bolesław III and the issuing of the legal act as well as the person emitting the document seems to justify the hypothesis that the form of the relationship between living and dead members of the family shown in the document could have functioned in the family in the times of Bolesław III. It is obvious that within a standard formula of a document compiled by the chaplains of Jakub, the Archbishop of Gniezno or the beneficiary Benedictines, the authors could have reflected their manner of seeing the world.⁷⁰ Here however we are dealing with an extended very personal narrative of the issuer explaining the reasons behind the creation of this legal act. The text is regarded as authentic, and thus it is difficult to accept that the anonymous writers would have invented this information, knowing that the document would be examined by the issuer or her milieu.

Duchess Salomea writes in it that in order to atone for her own sins and those of her husband she humbly devotes herself to the ser-

⁶⁸ In such a case it is of secondary importance whether the inclusion of the death of Bolesław in the calendar was an expression of respect for the exiled ruler (thus Jan Powierski, *Kryzys rządów Bolesława Śmiałego. Polityka i jej odzwierciedlenie w literaturze średniowiecznej*, Gdańsk 1992, p. 235), or with regard to the respect due to the holder of the title of king (see J. Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna*, part IV A (I), p. 41). In both cases underlying the decision was the conviction that it was worth commemorating the predecessor and brother of the reigning ruler, and by this means strengthen the feeling of continuity of rule in the country.

⁶⁹ B. Kürbis, *Najstarsze dokumenty*, pp. 70–71.

⁷⁰ See Tomasz Nowakowski, *Idee areng dokumentów książąt polskich do połowy XIII wieku*, Bydgoszcz 1999, pp. 88–89, who shows the possibilities of the use of the preamble as a source of evidence of the world-view of the emitter.

vice of God, Mary and St John. She was moved to this by an event which occurred when, after the death of her husband, she was conscientiously taking part in his “frequent commemoration”. Her dead husband then appeared to her in a dream dressed in “modest mourning robes” and bewailing the fact that he had not done anything in the service of St John of Mogilno and assuring her that it would be to his advantage if she would do something like this on his behalf. The widow made suitable grants “for the salvation of myself, my husband and all my sons and of their successors”.⁷¹ Three elements of this short passage deserve attention. Firstly after her husband’s death the duchess made great efforts to secure the appropriate liturgical form of his commemoration. This was not done, or at least it was not thought worth mentioning whether it was done, in the framework of some commemoration system of the ruling family. The initiative came from the duchess who “sedula et officiosa” concentrated only on the person of the deceased. Secondly the marital union was maintained after the death of one of the spouses and care of the other person was continued by the living partner. This is not of course an exceptional case,⁷² but the form of the narrative is interesting since Salomea indicates that her acts are an execution of the will of the dead spouse. By the same means her behaviour was perceived as belonging to the Piast family customs. Thirdly, her concern for salvation is aimed at the nearest family, her husband and sons, and also more distant relations, the descendants of her own children. There is however no mention of the ancestors of her husband and their salvation which suggests that she did not wish to reach into the past, and the scope of her obligations was defined by the boundaries of her nearest family.

Certainly Salomea knew records of the past of the family of her husband, and Bishop Jakub accompanying her probably also knew them. For Wrymouth’s widow however the scope of her obligations towards his family was not defined by a narrative concerning the deep past, but her concerns were restricted to her nearest blood relatives. It is difficult therefore to speak of the neglect of dynastic tradition, since the act under discussion does not require its involvement. The omission

⁷¹ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, vol. 1, nr 9, p. 15.

⁷² In this case the appearance to his widow of the spirit of Bolesław III has the form of a specific and private act, without political consequences, see Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Duchy, żywi i umarli w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, translated by Aleksander Witt Labuda, Gdańsk/Warszawa 2002, pp. 158–160.

however of more distant relatives of her husband's and her own family does seem to indicate some form of hierarchisation of genealogical space, and this hierarchisation seems very close to that which we reconstructed for the times of the first Piasts. The creation of great narratives defining the form of dynastic tradition—the "Chronicle" of Gallus Anonymous, the extended court annals—did not introduce any great changes.

The efforts to secure commemoration of members of the dynasty among the ecclesiastical elite of the Piast state seems to have had a dualistic character. The dominating aspect is the political one, the need to create a conviction of the continuity of the power of the Piast family over Poland and its inhabitants, independent of political events, such as the exiling of Bolesław II from the country, which in fact broke that continuity. On the other hand, the Piasts were included in the liturgy of commemoration for personal reasons, this was either through the efforts of their trusted collaborators (Wrocław), but above all this could have been the obligation of the nearest living relatives. Thanks to the document of Salomea of Berg for the Benedictines of Mogilno we somewhat unexpectedly come into contact with the intimate, family, involvement in the building of a memory of the clan in the Polish Church. It is however an exceptional piece of evidence and we may reflect on whether—despite everything—it did not arise as the result of some special spiritual characteristics of the issuer of the document. She was very closely associated with the monastery of Zwiefalten, under the care of her own family, which was in turn commemorated by the convent in its liturgy. Therefore she may have wanted to bring the same patterns of memory of the family to Poland. We may believe that she succeeded in this, since her grant and the reasons she gave for donating it were generally accepted. This document is an exceptional piece of evidence also because it clearly shows the role of women and the cultural influences they brought to the practice of the creation of a dynastic tradition of the Piasts, of the bonds which linked the clan. The exceptional role of the reign of Bolesław Wrymouth in the development of the form of the dynastic tradition of the Piasts, which has many times been stressed, may have to a degree greater than has previously been suspected owed a lot to the influences coming from the Reich together with the wife of the duke.

Maybe however we should seek other forms of the expression by the Piasts of intimate and family links with their ancestors. Their existence might be demonstrated by the creation of family necropolises in one

of the centres connected both with royal power and the Church. The maintenance of a custom of burying members of the dynasty alongside each other would suggest the desire to accent the community of the dead with each other and with the living who decided the burial place. Did however such necropolises exist?

Family Necropolises

We learn of the places of burial of the Piast rulers before 1138 mainly through the investigations of archaeologists.⁷³ They however are unable to reach a consensus on whose grave they have discovered. Due to the existence of a written source, the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymus, there is only general agreement—about the place of burial of Władysław Herman in Płock. Equally convincing, though not accepted by all, is the linking of the tombs found in the centre of the Cathedral in Poznan with the burials of Mieszko I (grave nr 186) and Bolesław I (grave nr 187).⁷⁴ It is also possible that in the eastern part of the southern aisle of Poznan cathedral was the final resting place of one of the Piast princesses (grave nr 180).⁷⁵ There are however no indications allowing us to locate the burial of Mieszko II in Poznan cathedral. There have been suggestions that he was interred in the tomb of his father. The earliest mention of this was made by Jan Długosz writing his history of Poland in the second half of the fifteenth century. The same historiographer was also the first to locate the grave of Kazimierz the Restorer in Poznan, again suggesting that he was buried in the tomb of Bolesław I. Attention is drawn to the similarity of phrasing describing the place of burial of both rulers,⁷⁶ which sound as if

⁷³ See Helena Zoll-Adamikowa, *Pochówki dostojników kościelnych i świeckich w Polsce wczesnopiastowskiej (na podstawie źródeł archeologicznych)*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 55/56 (1989/1990), pp. 33–70; Elżbieta Dąbrowska, *Groby członków dynastii piastowskiej we wczesnym średniowieczu. Stan badań*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 70 (2004), pp. 167–182.

⁷⁴ There have been views that graves 186 and 187 in Poznan were not of the first Piast rulers, for the alternative arguments see Zofia Kurnatowska, *Archeologiczne świadectwa o najstarszych grobowcach w katedrze poznański*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 55/56 (1989/1990), pp. 83–84; recently Z. Kurnatowska, M. Kara, *Początki architektury sakralnej na grodzie poznańskim*, p. 61. Gerard Labuda (*Budownictwo sakralne Gniezna i Poznania*, p. 278) remains sceptical concerning the identification of the Poznan graves with Mieszko I and Bolesław I.

⁷⁵ The most recent presentation of the results of investigations, see Z. Kurnatowska, M. Kara, *Początki architektury sakralnej na grodzie poznańskim*, pp. 59–62.

⁷⁶ On the burial of Mieszko II: “in Poznaniensi cathedrali ecclesia (...) in paterno sepulchro”, and Kazimierz: “in katedrali Poznaniensi ecclesia in sepulchro avi sui

they were constructed on the basis of a single pattern. Here however it does not seem we can envisage them as having come from some lost source.⁷⁷ Presumably Długosz, knowing the burial practice of rulers of his own time in a single place—on Wawel Hill in Cracow, and knowing the place where Bolesław I had been buried, imagined that his successors must have been buried nearby. Since there was no actual trace of their tombs in Poznan, the historiographer may have simply assumed that they had been interred in the tombs.

The real place of burial of Mieszko II still remains a mystery. Maybe by making the cathedral of Poznan a place especially dedicated to the memory of his father,⁷⁸ he himself chose another place in which to be interred. This might have been Cracow, which would explain the especial association between this town and his son and successor Kazimierz. Archaeological investigations in Cracow cathedral and its surroundings have not however led to the discovery of any grave which could be associated with this ruler, though there is evidence of the burial of a member of the ruling family here after the middle of the eleventh century.⁷⁹ Neither however can we exclude Gniezno as the place where the king was buried. Adjacent to the supposed graves of St Wojciech and his brother Gaudentius, in the cathedral two other burials of the first half of the eleventh century were discovered and the boundary between the choir and the nave, but a lack of information about the contents of these graves prevents an identification of the people interred.⁸⁰ A later tradition of the burial of Dobrawa in Gniezno cathedral must only be treated as a hypothesis.⁸¹ It should be admitted that it would be astonishing if there had been a complete lack

Boleslai primi Polonorum Regis cum paternis cineribus consepultus”, *Joannis Długossi Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, books 1–2, Jan Dąbrowski ed., Warszawa 1964, p. 310; *Ibid.*, books 3–4, published by a group under the direction of Marian Plezia, Warszawa 1970, pp. 75–76.

⁷⁷ See Antoni Gąsiorowski, *Najstarsze polskie pochówki monarsze w świetle źródeł pisanych*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 55/56 (1989/1990), pp. 87–88.

⁷⁸ Archaeologists indicate that there had been a special “confessio” on the site of the supposed burial of Bolesław the Brave which had been destroyed in the invasion of Bretyslav, see T. Janiak, *Czy Bolesław Chrobry był czczony jako święty?*, pp. 67–95.

⁷⁹ A. Gąsiorowski, *Najstarsze polskie pochówki*, p. 92 indicates Cracow as the place of the burial of Mieszko II, see also E. Dąbrowska, *Groby członków dynastii piastowskiej*, p. 171.

⁸⁰ H. Żoll-Adamikowa, *Pochówki dostojników*, pp. 51–52, nr 1.3 and 1.4.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 38, 53–54, nrs 1.15 and 1.16.

of Piast burials in the cathedral.⁸² The collection here of relics of saints which were to be the special protectors of the rule of Bolesław I and Mieszko II (St Wojciech, The Five martyred Brothers, Radzim-Gaudentius) would have allowed any rulers buried here to participate with them in the liturgy.⁸³ For Mieszko II who knew the religious customs of the elite of the Empire, the choice of Gniezno as the place of burial would have been natural. This however remains speculation.

Gallus Anonymous writes of the Cathedral in Płock as the burial place of Władysław Herman.⁸⁴ Since the duke could have been the founder of the bishopric here, and at least its benefactor, his burial in the episcopal church does not raise any doubts. The situation however is different when it comes to the supposed burial of Bolesław Wrymouth next to him. The latter did not favour Płock in any particular way, and the first who mentions that he was buried here was again the chronicler Jan Długosz.⁸⁵ In this case too we argue for the rejection of the information he offers.⁸⁶ Bearing in mind his apparent tendency to place the location of the burials of individuals with those of their fathers known to him from other sources, it is difficult to accept such information uncritically. Archaeological investigations have not found any closely datable place which can be indicated as a site originally prepared for the interment of the bodies of members of the ruling family.⁸⁷ A deformed mandible found among remains mixed in the seventeenth century and translated to a special crypt containing the remains from all “Piast” burials has been claimed to have belonged to Bolesław Wrymouth.⁸⁸ This identification however is based on the notion that the ruler’s cognomen refers to a physical defect.⁸⁹ This

⁸² See E. Dąbrowska, *Groby członków dynastii piastowskiej*, p. 170.

⁸³ Czesław Deptuła, *Mortui cantantes*, [in:] *Scriptura custos memoriae*, pp. 36–38.

⁸⁴ *Galli Anonymi Cronicae*, II, 21, p. 88, lines 19–20.

⁸⁵ *Joannis Długossii Annales*, ks. 3–4, p. 410.

⁸⁶ A. Gąsiorowski, *Najstarsze polskie pochówki*, pp. 89–90, 92–93.

⁸⁷ It is difficult to accept the argument of Władysław Szafrąński, *Płock we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Wrocław/Warszawa/Cracow/Gdańsk/Łódź 1983, pp. 62–70, who sees a fragment of a woman’s skull found in an undatable destruction layer as the remains of Judith, the wife of Władysław Herman, from the grave profaned by the Pomeranians.

⁸⁸ Władysław Szafrąński, *Widziałem kości monarchów polskich. Badania naukowe zawartości grobu piastowskiego w katedrze płockiej*, “Notatki Płockie”, 2 (1973), nr 71, pp. 23–32; and a fuller account of the same event—Ibid., *Otwarcie grobu Piastów w katedrze płockiej w 1972 roku*, “Rocznik Mazowiecki”, 8 (1984), pp. 71–72.

⁸⁹ See critical comments H. Zoll-Adamikowa, *Pochówki dostojników*, p. 39.

however is not actually confirmed by any written source.⁹⁰ Since the conclusions of archaeologists investigating Medieval Płock have been questioned in a number of fundamental manners, also with regard to the dating and reconstruction of the earliest sacral buildings here, it is not possible to accept the earlier suggestions concerning the place of burial not only of Wrymouth, but also Władysław Herman. The additional suggestion that Salomea of Berg was buried in Płock should also be treated as a hypothesis which unfortunately has no basis in the written sources. This has been suggested merely on the grounds that it was here that her husband was buried, and the suggestion that it was in Płock that was held a gathering of the junior dukes on the occasion of the funeral of their mother when she died in 1144.⁹¹ In conclusion, though we may state that the burial of Władysław Herman here is certain, the burial of Bolesław III and Salomea here is very hypothetical.

There have been suggestions that Tyniec was the place of burial of Bolesław the Bold. This however has very little to commend it.⁹² He could have been a (co)founder of the abbey, but he died in exile in Hungary and the sources do not mention the translation of his body to Poland. A grave found *in medio ecclesiae*, in the chancel of the abbey church, on the main axis of the building (number 13) has been regarded as possibly his tomb. It contained however no grave goods, neither did it have any masonry lining, and there is no sign that it would have been differentiated spatially in any way within the church.⁹³ For some researchers, a decisive argument is the preservation in the grave fill of iron elements which have been identified as coffin fittings. The use of such fittings was extremely uncommon and it has been suggested that the coffin was used in connection with the exhumation or transport of a body. From here it is only a small step to the suggestion that Władysław Herman brought the body of the ruler

⁹⁰ See the negative opinions of Elżbieta Kowalczyk on the conclusions of W. Szafranski, eadem, *Krzywousty*, pp. 13–14.

⁹¹ Jarosław Wenta, *Na marginesie dokumentu legata Humbalda z 2 marca 1146 roku dla Trzemeszna*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 53 (1987), pp. 113–114.

⁹² This problem is discussed by E. Dąbrowska, *Groby członków dynastii piastowskiej*, pp. 173–175.

⁹³ The only element suggesting the possibility of the existence of a gravestone could be the hole in the floor over the burial. Klementyna Żurowska interpreted this however as evidence of the activities of the monks when they translated the remains of the person buried in the grave, see eadem, *Dwa zagadkowe groby romańskie w Tyńcu*, "Z otchłani wieków", 40 (1974), pp. 159–160.

to Poland so that it could rest in the royal foundation.⁹⁴ This however is purely a guess and the grave could equally have belonged to any benefactor of the abbey who died at a considerable distance from the house. If the funeral of the king was planned at Tyniec, and even if the plans were not fulfilled, should not this grave have had a character closer to that of grave 18, identified as the final resting place of the first abbot (Aron or Anchora)?⁹⁵ It is more probable that in this place was buried somebody who had done great service to the abbey, but from outside the Piast dynasty, and whose body had been exhumed during the rebuilding of the church.⁹⁶ Let us also add that today scholars indicate that in the case of Polish monastic churches, the central area was rejected as a place of interment of the founders and benefactors.⁹⁷

To summarise: in the period under study here it is difficult to speak of the creation of a family sepulchral tradition among the Piasts. If we reject the suggestion of Długosz, there remain very few arguments for the existence of a Piast family necropolis.⁹⁸ The graves in Poznan were of an exceptional character in this general tendency, but only concern two generations of rulers, with the domination of the grave of Bolesław I and the altar of the Holy Cross which accompanied it.⁹⁹ As a consequence, during the rebuilding of the cathedral under Kazimierz the Restorer presumably the location of Bolesław I's remains

⁹⁴ Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, *W dziewięćsetlecie śmierci Bolesława Szczodrego. Zapiski z nekrologów i grób królewski*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 28 (1983), p. 185.

⁹⁵ The skeleton of the deceased person lay in a stone sarcophagus covered with a slab, over which was another slab with a raised band round the edge which allowed the monks identify the site of the burial, see Klementyna Żurowska, *Romański kościół i klasztor benedyktynów w Tyńcu na tle architektury piastowskiej XI wieku*, [in:] *Benedyktyni tynieccy w średniowieczu*, pp. 188–189. On this grave, see also H. Zoll-Adamikowa, *Pochówki dostojników*, p. 60, nr 3.1.

⁹⁶ Burial nr 13 lay on the axis of the church, in the vicinity of the western entrance. Since the hypothetical graves of Bolesław I and Mieszko I lie in the centre of Poznan cathedral, the situation of the grave at Tyniec—far from the centre and eastern part of the church—do not favour the interpretation of this grave as belonging to one of the noble patrons of the monastery.

⁹⁷ Elżbieta Dąbrowska, *Miejsce uprzywilejowane grobu w opactwach reguły św. Benedykta we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Lapides viventes*, p. 368.

⁹⁸ Thus also A. Gąsiorowski, *Najstarsze polskie pochówki*, pp. 90–91. Zbigniew Dalewski, *Między Gnieznem a Poznaniem*, pp. 38–40, however supports the historiographic tradition accepting the reliability of the account by Długosz.

⁹⁹ See Z. Kurnatowska, M. Kara, *Początki architektury sakralnej*, pp. 61–65. More precise drawings in Z. Kurnatowska, *Archeologiczne świadectwa*, p. 73, ryc. 2 i p. 75, ryc. 3.

was known, while there was only a general idea where Mieszko I lay.¹⁰⁰ Some researchers conclude that Bolesław I's Poznań tomb and associated altar were constructed in his lifetime. Did he (or perhaps his son Mieszko II) therefore intend to continue a family tradition, or was the aim to overshadow the memory of Mieszko I? The Płock necropolis also had a limited character, it is difficult to prove that it was in use for two generations. There is a surprising lack of evidence of the presence of the Piasts in Gniezno, in the vicinity of the grave of Wojciech, the most important saint of the Piast realm. The hypothetical location of the grave of Mieszko II here does not find much support in the written sources. There is also a lack of evidence that Kazimierz the Restorer or Bolesław Wrymouth were interred here. All this seems to suggest that, as in the case of the commemoration of members of the family in Polish monastic houses, so for the whole period in their communion with dead members of the dynasty, the Piasts took care mainly of the nearest members of their family circle.

In such a situation can we say that an element of the family tradition of the Piasts before 1138 was the lack of a permanent place of burial for the members of the family, especially those who were rulers? This also seems to be an extremely broad generalisation. It would be disproven by the two burials of Mieszko I and Bolesław I adjacent to each other in Poznań cathedral, though the latter—as archaeologists suggest—may have been created in Bolesław's lifetime thus with the full intention of referring to the tradition of his father. On the contrary however, the actual intent could equally have been to overshadow the memory of Mieszko by the construction of the "Memory mark" of Bolesław. The funerary customs of the Piasts seen from the perspective of such a notion would seem to indicate that each ruler would choose a separate place for their burial. In this way the specific glory of each Piast would be reflected without the necessity of rivalry with the memory of his predecessors.¹⁰¹ This hypothesis however should be tempered with regard to the possibility of ascribing the initiative

¹⁰⁰ This is the conclusion that suggests itself if we agree with Z. Kurnatowska (*Archeologiczne świadectwa*, p. 84): the deep trenches that were dug during the construction of the Romanesque cathedral cut into the tomb of Bolesław I, while in the case of Mieszko's grave they only passed by it, were traces of the "deliberate search for the graves of the first rulers of Poland in order to translate them to another tomb".

¹⁰¹ As was shown in his essay by Joachim Wollasch, *Treści ideowe memorii zmarłych w kościołach*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 55/56 (1989/1990), pp. 9–10, the selection of a place of burial, the rulers were always guided by traditions connected with the world

of the construction of the tomb monument at Poznan to Bolesław I to his son, Mieszko II. It would be he who decided of the message of the burial of his father (with a continuation of the rivalry with the memory of Mieszko I). Such a hypothesis would also correspond to the contents of the epitaph of Bolesław the Brave (if we agree that it was created in the reign of Mieszko II). It was to the reign of the latter also that we should link the cessation of the process of creating a family necropolis here in favour of building places of memory for each ruler in succession. The burial of Władysław Herman in Płock would be a reflection of this tendency.

The attention paid by the Piasts both to the commemoration of the deceased members of the clan as well as a suitable place for their burial indicates a very narrow scope of the feeling of inclusion in the family of rulers, limited in effect to one or two generations of the nearest relatives. The other side of this phenomenon is the subordination of these efforts to commemorate members of the clan to the strengthening of the position of the ruler, or sometimes perhaps his nearest family, in the eyes of his subjects. This concentration on the present and the recent past even with respect to commemoration of ancestors is understandable since it concerns relationships within the area ruled by the Piasts. Was there a similar situation concerning the commemoration of the dead in the territories outside Piast rule? Did other feelings come into play and other motivations when the pressure of current political needs was not so great?

2. THE REICH

It is only from the territories of the Reich that we have a greater number of accounts concerning the attention paid by the Piasts to the guaranteeing the commemoration of members of the family through foundations outside their own country. Bearing in mind the strategic significance of this area for Piast policies, all the more interesting seem to be the possibilities of following the factors which decided on the form of Piast commemoration in individual centres of the church here.

of power—sometimes that which they inherited and sometimes that which they themselves created.

Fulda

The first record of the commemoration of the Piasts in the churches of the Reich come from the “Necrological annals” (“Totenannalen”) of the Benedictine monastery at Fulda.¹⁰² Here were preserved two mentions of the death of Mieszko I in 992.¹⁰³ We know little of the personal relationships of that ruler with the abbey,¹⁰⁴ or of any involvement of the monks here in the conversion of Poland. The lack of any mention of the death of Oda the ruler’s wife weakens the argument for connecting the introduction of Mieszko I’s commemoration here with regard to the connections of his wife’s family with this abbey. In this situation, it seems that the association of this monastery with the Piast rulers was decided by the policies of the imperial court.¹⁰⁵ Mieszko at the end of his reign had a very good relationship with the young Otto III and his milieu, which was strengthened by a feeling of a common threat from the Lutizi.¹⁰⁶ An especial expression of that was the visit of Mieszko I at Easter in the year 991 (the year before his death), to the imperial court of the emperor in Quedlinburg.¹⁰⁷ The superior of the abbey of Fulda was in this period closely associated with the royal and imperial court,¹⁰⁸ and the monastery conscientiously fulfilled its

¹⁰² This is described and the literature presented by Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Die Überlieferung der fuldischen Totenannalen*, [in:] *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter*, Karl Schmid ed., München 1978, vol. 2: *Untersuchungen* (=Münstersche Mittelalter Schriften, vol. 8/2.2), pp. 447–504.

¹⁰³ *Die Fuldaer Totenannalen*, [in:] *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter*, Karl Schmid ed., München 1978, vol. 1: *Grundlegung und Edition der fuldischen Gedenküberlieferung* (=Münstersche Mittelalter Schriften, vol. 8/1), p. 346, SA 992, for an analysis of the contents of the record see below.

¹⁰⁴ A. Pleszczyński, *Bolesław Chrobry konfratrem eremitów*, p. 10 suggested that “the entry of the duke of the Polans in the necrology... [was—P.W.] certainly connected with a rich donation of Mieszko I for the monks there.” The record only notes the date of his death and we have no information on him sending any gift to Fulda.

¹⁰⁵ A. Pleszczyński, *Gorliwość neofitów*, p. 95 also indicates Mieszko’s support for the emperor’s policies as the reason for the creation of an entry for him in the Fulda “Necrological annals”.

¹⁰⁶ See J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko pierwszy*, pp. 162–167, 201.

¹⁰⁷ See J. Banaszkiwicz, *Mieszko I i władcy jego epoki*, p. 92.

¹⁰⁸ The intensity of the mutual contacts is evidenced by the fact that from the beginning of the eighth century to 1024 we have records of about 100 meetings of the abbots of Fulda with the rulers of first the kingdom of the Franks, later the Empire, and in the end the Reich, see Hans-Peter Wehlt, *Reichsabtei und König, dargestellt am Beispiel der Abtei Lorsch mit Ausblicken auf Hersfeld, Stablo und Fulda*, Göttingen 1970 (=Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, vol. 28), pp. 234–250, 359–365. Probably these were visits connected with legal matters; though

obligations towards the rulers as the abbot of the Reich. One of the three most important of these was to maintain the series of prayers for the rulers and persons associated with them. The monks fulfilled this obligation with great care, recording the names of the people within the community who should be the subject of their prayers, not only members of the royal family, but also members of the aristocracy connected with it and knights which had fallen at Cotrone in a battle with the Saracens.¹⁰⁹

For the subject under investigation here, the most important is that this current of the Piast commemoration was closely connected with the realities of political life of the Empire rather than Poland, this is clearly shown in the description of Mieszko I in two versions of the “Annals” by the titles “comes” and “marchio”. There is no reason to doubt that Mieszko really was seen in Fulda as a comes and margrave, but from the point of view of the monks here, these titles did not for them fulfil any important function after the death of the bearer. Equally in the traditions and political realities of the state of the Piasts, these titles had no analogies, nor did they become permanently established. If they were mentioned in Fulda, it was because of the Saxon elite and the imperial court seeking allies in the east. It also seems that this manner of entitling Mieszko could reflect the position of the Slav duke among the aristocracy of the Reich after he accepted the status of a tributary of the Emperor (before 972).¹¹⁰ With regard to the close and exclusive relationship of the record discussed here with the politics and customs of the Empire, it is not surprising that the relationship between Fulda and the Piasts broke down after the death of Mieszko I. Nothing indicates that the successors of the Polish ruler attempted to maintain it—even assuming they knew of it.

most frequently the abbots of Fulda acted as advisors of the emperors, see Rudolf Schieffer, *Fulda, Abtei der Könige und Kaiser*, [in:] *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen*, Gangolf Schrimpf ed., Frankfurt am Main 1996 (=Fuldaer Studien. Schriftenreihe der Theologischen Fakultät, vol. 7), pp. 48–50, 54–55.

¹⁰⁹ Franz-Josef Jakobi, *Die geistlichen und weltlichen Magnaten in den Fuldaer Totenannalen*, [in:] *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter*, vol. 2, pp. 803–804, 872–875.

¹¹⁰ For more on the subjects of Mieszko’s titlature in the “Chronicles” see Przemysław Wiszewski, *Mieszko I jako komes i margrabia w pamięci mnichów z Fuldy. Przyczynek do problemu obecności Piastów w świecie arystokracji ottońskiej* Rzeszy, [in:] *Piastowie śląscy w kulturze i europejskich dziejach*, Antoni Barciak ed., Katowice 2007, pp. 189–198.

The situation concerning the relationship between the Piasts and Magdeburg was completely different. Here the son certainly knew of the connections between his father and the archbishopric, maybe even wished to continue it, but it was impossible.

Magdeburg

While it is true that the Magdeburg necrology does not contain any records associated with the Piasts ruling in Poland,¹¹¹ however we know from a mention in the “Chronicles” of Thietmar that for a short time (until the beginning of the war with the Empire in 1007) Bolesław the Brave was linked with the metropolitan centre of Magdeburg by a very close “*fraternitas*”. The Polish ruler apparently obtained a privilege which was granted above all to monarchs of the Reich—in the opinion of some investigators he became a lay canon in the cathedral chapter,¹¹² in the opinion of others he was linked by a less formal “spiritual brotherhood”¹¹³ with the Saxon clergy. It seems that in the light of the discussions of German researchers on royal canonship in the Reich these two differing opinions can be reconciled. A differentiation may be made between the *fraternitas* of the Ottonian rulers of the Reich with the institutions of the local Church and the later royal canonship of the period of the Salians.¹¹⁴ On the other hand the acceptance into the *fraternitas* of a given chapter automatically meant that they became a member of the chapter in the sense of participation in its spiritual benefits and also in part property rights (prebenda).¹¹⁵ We may therefore accept that—like the rulers of the Reich—through his relationship of *fraternitas* with the Magdeburg canons, Bolesław

¹¹¹ See *Die Totenbücher von Merseburg, Magdeburg und Lüneburg*, Gerd Althoff, Joachim Wollasch eds, Hannover 1983 (=MGH, Libri memoriales et Necrologia, n.s., vol. 2), pp. 7–25, 35–41.

¹¹² See Dietrich Claude, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Magdeburg bis in das 12. Jahrhundert, part I: Die Geschichte der Erzbischöfe bis auf Ruotger (1124)*, Köln/Wien 1972, pp. 250–251; Marek Derwich, *Kanonicy świeccy, Bolesław Chrobry i Magdeburg. Ze studiów nad “zapomnianą” instytucją kościelną*, [in:] *Viae historicae*, pp. 235–239; in both works the literature of the topic.

¹¹³ J. Strzelczyk, *Bolesław Chrobry*, p. 127.

¹¹⁴ Manfred Groten, *Von der Gebetsverbrüderung zum Königskanonikat. Zu Vorgeschichte und Entwicklung der Königskanonikate an den Dom- und Stiftskirchen des deutschen Reiches*, “Historisches Jahrbuch”, 103 (1983), 2. Halbband, pp. 5–10.

¹¹⁵ Michael Borgolte, *Über Typologie und Chronologie des Königskanonikats um europäischen Mittelalter*, “Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters”, 47 (1991), fasc. 1, pp. 28–29.

obtained the right to eternal prayers being offered for his soul. This has its own specific significance, it was in the times of Otto III that we see the beginnings of the phenomenon under discussion, whatever place we may assign it in the typology of the relationships between rulers and the Church.¹¹⁶ There are however no other examples of the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries of the acceptance of foreign rulers into a *fraternitas* with chapters together with the privilege of use of the prebenda. We only meet such a phenomenon in the case of monasteries which raises the question of the acceptability of equating the two phenomena.¹¹⁷

The inclusion of Bolesław in the group of people especially honoured by the Magdeburg canons raised him up above the Saxon aristocracy and the majority of the local rulers, and almost made him the equal of the emperor. According to Dietrich Claude, this was connected with the reaching of an accord of peace between Bolesław I and Emperor Henry II in 1005, in which a decisive role was played by Tagino, the archbishop of Magdeburg.¹¹⁸ At the same time the first traces of a brotherhood between the Magdeburg canons and the rulers of the Reich come only from 1010 when we have a record of the “*fraternitas*” of Henry II. Most scholars believe that this could not have been established much earlier, but in the opinion of Roman Michałowski this had already happened in February 1004.¹¹⁹ In such a situation, was the conclusion of a peace in 1005, which was not entirely beneficial to the Empire, sufficient reason for the raising of a foreign ruler up in the ranks of the Church of the Reich in this manner? Would Henry II, the

¹¹⁶ Josef Fleckenstein, *Rex canonicus. Über Entstehung und Bedeutung des mittelalterlichen Königskanonikates*, [in:] *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm zu seinem Siebzigsten Geburtstag von Schülern und Freunden zugeeignet*, Peter Classen, Peter Scheibert eds, vol. 1, Wiesbaden 1964, pp. 65–69; Manfred Groten, *Von der Gebetsverbrüderung*, pp. 5–6.

¹¹⁷ Joachim Wollasch (*Kaiser und Könige als Brüder der Mönche. Zum Herrscherbild in liturgischen Handschriften des 9. bis 11. Jahrhunderts*, “*Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*”, 40 (1984), fasc. 1, pp. 1–20) saw as a significant lapse the exclusion from the study of M. Groten of a discussion of the connection between rulers as founders and the monks obliged to cultivate the memory of their lay “brothers”.

¹¹⁸ D. Claude, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Magdeburg*, p. 251. Marek Derwich (*Kanonicy świeccy*, p. 239) also seems to regard this opinion as justified.

¹¹⁹ Despite earlier conclusions, see M. Groten, *Von der Gebetsverbrüderung*, pp. 10, 12, the acceptance of the date 1005 has been convincingly argued by Roman Michałowski, *Bolesław Chrobry bratem kanoników magdeburskich. Próba nowego spojrzenia*, “*Kwartalnik Historyczny*”, 112 (2005), nr 3, pp. 60–61.

special patron of Magdeburg have agreed to it? Accepting a foreign ruler into the community of canons in the territories of the Reich was an extremely rare occurrence. The first example comes only from the first half of the twelfth century.¹²⁰

The agreement to award Bolesław this additional honour could have come from Otto III in a very specific moment, the increasing of his status from a tributary to the dignity of a lord in 1000. We know from other sources that a candidate for the privileges of brotherhood in a given community was expected to visit it personally with rich gifts.¹²¹ We know nothing of any visit of Bolesław the Brave to Magdeburg about 1005. We do know however that he spent Palm Sunday in the year 1000 together with the Emperor and Archbishop of Magdeburg.¹²² If Otto III had thought of creating a “family of rulers” associated with him, in which Bolesław was to play a leading role, his creation as a confrere of the authorities of the neighbouring diocese would have made sense. It would have been politically apposite, Otto III was preparing to leave the Reich for Rome, and in this way Bolesław would be obliged to protect it from the pagan Slavs of the Elbe region¹²³ whose rebellion during the absence of Otto II had already once shaken the Church. This would be fulfilling the Polish ruler’s obligations resulting from an alliance against the Polabians.¹²⁴

Whatever the case, the association of the Piasts with Magdeburg was of an episodic character. Despite that, it seems that its consequences for the perception of the first Piasts of their role in the Empire were considerable. Our attention is drawn to the significance of the continuation after the death of Otto III by Bolesław the practices of col-

¹²⁰ M. Borgolte, *Über Typologie*, pp. 37–39.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 23–24.

¹²² See Matthias Hardt, *Verkehrs- und siedlungsgeschichtliche Bemerkungen zur reise Ottos III. nach Gnesen*, [in:] *Trakt cesarski*, pp. 369, 396–398; P. Urbańczyk, *Zjazd gnieźnieński w polityce*, pp. 78–79. Roman Michałowski (*Bolesław Chrobry bratem*, pp. 65–67) also accepts the year 1000 and Magdeburg as the date and place of the awarding of this fraternitas.

¹²³ King Alphonse VII of Castille was in 1127 made a canon of the church of St James in Compostella, and on this occasion accepted the responsibility of defending the local church from its enemies, M. Borgolte, *Über Typologie*, p. 38. Generally Michael Borgolte (*ibidem*, pp. 42–43) sees the canons’ search for a guardian for the rights and property of the chapter as the most important reason for the creation in the twelfth century of the canonate of rulers.

¹²⁴ Roman Michałowski, *Początki arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego*, [in:] *1000 lat Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej*, Jerzy Strzelczyk, Janusz Górny eds, Gniezno 2000 (=Bibliotheca Millennium), pp. 46–48.

laboration in the sphere of culture of the ruler characterising the elite of the Reich through ostentatious gestures of piety. An element of this activity would not only be the maintenance of relations with Magdeburg until 1007,¹²⁵ but also the encouragement in the family of the conviction of the value of maintaining the memory of the Piasts in ecclesiastical centres of the Reich.

Lüneburg

In the necrology of the Benedictine abbey of Lüneburg under the date seventeenth June is a record concerning “Bolizlauus dux”.¹²⁶ This is now regarded as referring to Bolesław the Brave.¹²⁷ His presence in the necrology was made possible by the dynastic links between the Piasts and the Ekkehard family.¹²⁸ Bolesław’s daughter Regelinda, was the wife of Herman, the Margrave of Meissen, the son of Ekkehard I.¹²⁹ The wife of the latter (Herman’s mother) was Schwanhilda, the sister of Herman Billung. Due to this a whole series of people from the family of Ekkehard I found themselves in the necrology of the monastery of the Billung family in Lüneburg.¹³⁰ This did not however bring with it any kind of closer relations between the Piasts and the abbey. There was even no mention of Regelinda. This seems to result from the fact that the genealogical links between the Piasts and the Ekkehardings were only an initial pretext for the introduction of a commemoration of Bolesław I in the Lüneburg abbey. Equally of importance were the political links of Bolesław I with the Saxon and Bavarian opposition against Henry II.¹³¹ It was to this opposition that the Billungs belonged, among whom duke Bernard I was openly an ally of Bolesław the Brave, while his son Bernard II was accused of the sabotage of the

¹²⁵ A. Pleszczyński, *Gorliwość neofitów*, p. 98, footnote 27.

¹²⁶ *Die Totenbücher von Merseburg, Magdeburg und Lüneburg*, pp. 27, 37.

¹²⁷ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, p. 83, see here for further literature.

¹²⁸ This is discussed by Gabriele Rupp, *Die Ekkehardiner, Markgrafen von Meissen, und ihre Beziehungen zum Reich und zu den Piasten*, Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern/New York/Paris/Wien 1996 (=Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe III: Geschichte und Hilfswissenschaften, vol. 691), pp. 95–97, 108–111.

¹²⁹ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, pp. 110–111.

¹³⁰ *Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I. und Otto I.*, Theodor Sickel ed., Hannover 1879–1884 (=MGH, *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae*, vol. 1, part 1) nr 183, p. 266. General information on the beginnings of the monastery is given by Helmut Path, *Das St. Michaeliskloster von 1376 in Lüneburg. Ein Ausgrabungsbericht*, Lüneburg 1980, pp. 13–14.

¹³¹ A. Pleszczyński, *Bolesław Chrobry konfratrem eremitów*, pp. 10–11.

plans of the emperor against Bolesław.¹³² In the necrology of that same Lüneburg monastery was also commemorated one of the enemies of Henry II, and an ally of Bolesław the Brave, *comes* Hezilo of Schweinfurt¹³³ together with his wife. In his case the decisive factor was the union of his daughter Eilika with Bernard II of the Billungs.¹³⁴ The marriage of Regelinda allowed the commemoration of the memory of Bolesław and the transmission of the appropriate information to the monastery. We may assume that this may have been encouraged by the knowledge which Regelinda possessed about the significance which her husband and brother Mieszko II attached to the commemoration of the memory of the family in the Church of the Reich. Equally clear is the political context with which the commemoration of deceased members of the aristocracy in the Lüneburg monastery was linked.¹³⁵

Naumburg

In the traditions of the milieu of the cathedral in Naumburg the above-mentioned Regelinda was named as a founder.¹³⁶ Together

¹³² Knut Görich, *Eine Wende im Osten*, pp. 130–131.

¹³³ On his relations with Bolesław the Brave see Christian Lübke, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Slaven an Elbe und Oder (vom Jahr 900 an)*, part 3: *Regesten 983–1013*, Berlin 1986 (=Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen, Reihe I, Giesener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des eruropäischen Ostens, vol. 134), nr 356, p. 201.

¹³⁴ Hubertus Seibert, *Adlige Herrschaft und königliche Gefolgschaft. Die Grafen von Schweinfurt im ottonischen Reich*, "Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte", 65, 2002, pp. 870–871.

¹³⁵ See Gerd Althoff, *Adels- und Königsfamilien im Spiegel ihrer Memorialüberlieferung. Studien zum Totengedanken der Billunger und Ottonen*, München 1984 (=Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, vol. 47), p. 109; *Ibid.*, *Beobachtungen zu den Necrolog-Handschriften, ihrer Anlage und zu den eingetragenen Personen*, [in:] *Die Totenbücher von Merseburg, Magdeburg und Lüneburg*, p. XXXVI.

¹³⁶ Max Perlbach (*Fragment eines Naumburger Anniversariums*, "Neue Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen", 17 (1889), p. 253) published a text probably taken from older necrologies in the fifteenth century and added (together with a whole series of names of benefactors of the cathedral) to a calendar compiled in the fourteenth century: "Relingis fundatrix X den[arum] [pro] can[delis]". Here the date of her death is given as 1st April, while the date of her death is given as 21st March in a fourteenth century source. Unfortunately this information comes from a modern edition of an extract from this source, so it is difficult to determine how reliable it is, *ibidem*, pp. 249 and 253 (in the mention of Regelinda). Kazimierz Jasiński (*Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, p. 111) accepts the reliability of the information about her death on 21st March. The tradition of the inclusion of Regelinda among the "first founders" of the cathedral is also recorded by a document from 1249 of Theodorik (II) the bishop of Naumburg in which he names: "primi ecclesie nostre fundatores, quorum nomina sunt hec Hermannus Marchio, Regelyndis marchionissa,

with her husband she had participated in the transfer of the diocesan seat to here from Zeitz (Žycz).¹³⁷ According to a document of 1249 she was accepted, together with other patrons of the bishopric, “in generalem fraternitatis societatem”. This meant equally that she was mentioned in all the prayers of the clergy of the cathedral referring to benefactors, deceased, living or future.¹³⁸ There is however a clear differentiation visible in the necrologies. Her husband was defined as a canon, most probably in the sense of a honorific lay canon, while she was referred to as a founder.¹³⁹ While however the role of Regelinda in the creation of the bishopric meant that her name was frequently referred to in the necrological sources, the names of her relatives are not found in them.

Thus in the case of the records from Fulda, the notes from Naumburg are not evidence of the persistence of a commemorative tradition begun by the Piasts. They show only the cultivation of the memory of members of the family engaged in many ways in the life of the aristocracy of the Reich. We may speak of the active involvement of the Piasts in the construction of a commemorative framework referring to them in the case of their relationship with the Bamberg church. In the opinion of some researchers this was initiated due to the influence and knowledge of Regelinda.

Eckehardus Marchio, Uta marchionissa (...) qui pro prima fundatione maximum apud deum meritum et indulgentiam peccatorum suorum promeuerunt”, Carl Peter Lepsius, *Geschichte der Bischöfe des Hochstifts Naumburg vor der Reformation. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Osterlandes*, part1, Naumburg 1846, nr 64, pp. 292–293.

¹³⁷ In accord with the practice of the author of the commemorative document cited above, the note “10 denars” next to Regelinda’s name was intended to indicate the value of the revenue coming from the donation of Regelinda and indicating what they were to be used for: M. Perlbach, *Fragment*, p. 250. This would suggest that Regelinda was still alive at the time of the foundation of the cathedral, see K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, p. 111.

¹³⁸ Carl Peter Lepsius, *Geschichte*, nr 64, p. 293. See Ernst Schubert, *Der Westchor des Naumburger Doms. Ein Beitrag zur Datierung und zum Verständnis der Standbilder*, “Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin”, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, 1964, nr 1, p. 43.

¹³⁹ See Walter Schlesinger, *Meissner Dom und Naumburger Westchor. Ihre Bildwerke in geschichtlicher Betrachtung*, Münster/Köln 1952 (=Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, fasc. 2), p. 47, footnote 164: “21. Martii ob[iit] Religundis fundatrix” and “2 April ob[iit] Hermannus comes et canonicus”.

Bamberg

The first sources recording the relationship between the Piasts and Bamberg go back to the times of Mieszko II. In unknown circumstances he donated to the Benedictines of the Bamberg monastery of St Michael, liturgical robes and a considerable sum of money. The latter was used to cover the costs of the creation of 24 statues which probably decorated the barrier of the lectorium.¹⁴⁰ In return for this generous gift, he was created a confrere of the monastery,¹⁴¹ and his memory was long cultivated by the monks. The basic part of the record concerning him (“Mieszko, prince of Poland, our brother”) was introduced by the hand of the author of the preserved copy of the necrology, dating from about 1121–1123,¹⁴² adding to it in the margin a note concerning the donation by the duke of liturgical robes and money. In the twelfth century, the names of about 2200 people were included in the whole necrology, and about 300 notes on donations and liturgy, but as few as ten of them were in the hand of the original writer of the codex. In addition, while other similar notes were shortened by erasure, the one concerning Mieszko was in the course of time enriched by a mention of the statues and the liturgy which was to be offered for the duke.¹⁴³ Undoubtedly therefore both the person of the founder as well as his donation were long remembered by the monks, not only during the annual celebration of the communal liturgy devoted to all the lay breth-

¹⁴⁰ A. Gieysztor, *Bamberg i Polska w XI i XII wieku*, p. 73; Peter Schwarzmann, *Die ehemalige Benediktiner-Klosterkirche St. Michael in Bamberg*, Bamberg 1992 (=Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg, Beiheft 27), p. 20.

¹⁴¹ *Das Necrolog des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg*, Johannes Nospickel ed., Hannover 2004 (=MGH, Libri memoriales et necrologia, nova series, vol. 6), p. 469: “Misico dux Poloniorum frater noster. Hic dedit nobis pallium unum et VI cappas puerorum et plurimum pecunie, unde facte sunt XXIII stutue, que circa chorum sunt locate. III candelē”.

¹⁴² Aleksander Gieysztor (*Bamberg i Polska*, p. 72) saw this differently. He thought that the addition “f[rater] n[oster]” was made by another hand based on a lost record concerning donations. This view, concerning also an equally consistent approach to other inscriptions in the necrology has not so far been accepted by other researchers.

¹⁴³ Elmar Hochholzer, *Paläographische Beobachtungen*, [in:] *Das Necrolog des Klosters Michelsberg*, p. 48. Joachim Wollasch, *Totengedanken und Traditionsbildung im bischöflichen Eigenkloster Michelsberg zu Bamberg*, [in:] *Das Necrolog des Klosters Michelsberg*, p. 5, links the creation of the necrology with the consecration of the new church of the abbey 1121.

ren.¹⁴⁴ In the opinion of some researchers, the duke made the above-mentioned donation in 1021 on the occasion of the consecration of the monastic church in the presence of emperor Henry II.¹⁴⁵ This hypothesis is weakened however by the documents concerning the consecration. The oldest contained in the “Chronicle” of Frutolf of Merseburg written at the beginning of the twelfth century mentions only the presence of the emperor and many bishops at the event.¹⁴⁶ This chronicler made use of local sources from Bamberg, and in his own monastery memory of the donation of Mieszko was still alive, as one may deduce from the necrology.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, having access to the traditions of the magnificent gift of Mieszko for the monastery, if there had been any reference to the linking of the gift with the consecration, why would Frutolf not have mentioned it? No other source concerning this ceremony, including those independent of Frutolf mentions the participation of any other member of the aristocracy apart from Henry II.¹⁴⁸ In the writing of his chronicle Frutolf, based his work on forged documents which arose in the monastery, attempted to support the vision of Henry II as the founder of the monastery, in order to avert the threat of the interference of bishops in the management of the property of the house.¹⁴⁹ From that point of view it would be beneficial to

¹⁴⁴ This is not negated by the lack of an inscription using the title of “full confrere” — “plenus frater” for Mieszko, which was used in the case of the more extensive commemorations in the monastery. In Michelsberg only ten lay persons attained this honour all of them died after the writing of the preserved version of the necrology in the twelfth century or were connected to the monastery by taking monastic vows. The beginning of the differentiation of the categories of confrere and full confrere was connected with the introduction from about 1112 in the monastery of the reforms of monastic life emanating from Hirsau and may have not been applicable to persons who died before that date, see Johannes Nospickel, *Das Michelsberger Nekrolog*, [in:] *Das Necrolog des Klosters Michelsberg*, pp. 71–72, 76.

¹⁴⁵ H. Ludat, *Piasten und Ottonen*, pp. 89–90.

¹⁴⁶ *Frutolfs Chronica*, ed. and translated by Franz-Josef Schmale, Irene Schmale-Ott [in:] *Frutolfs und Ekkehardts Chroniken und die Anonyme Kasierchronik*, ed. and translated by Franz-Josef Schmale, Irene Schmale-Ott, Darmstadt 1972 (=Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 40), pp. 52–55.

¹⁴⁷ Franz-Josef Schmale, Irene Schmale-Ott, *Einleitung*, [in:] *Frutolfs und Ekkehardts Chroniken*, p. 10.

¹⁴⁸ See the list of mentions in *Die Regesten der Bischöfe und des Domkapitels von Bamberg*, p. 78, nr 166.

¹⁴⁹ For the beginnings of the monastery and circumstances surrounding the foundation see Rainer Braun, *Das Benediktinerkloster Michelsberg 1015–1525. Eine Untersuchung zur Gründung, Rechtsstellung und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Kulmbach 1978 (=Die Plessenburg: Schriften für Herimatsforschung und Kulturpflege in Ostfranken, vol. 39), vol. 1, pp. 35–42, 48–50.

be able to show that other people not connected to the bishop had also contributed alongside the emperor to the enlargement of the property of the monastery. Such information however is lacking. This lack of benefactors' names is not related to the type of document being analysed, for contemporary documents concerning the consecration of the Bamberg cathedral list with evident pride the 45 bishops that took part in the event.¹⁵⁰ Most clearly therefore the memory of the Bamberg community concentrated on Henry as actively participating in the course of the consecration of the church, but there was no memory of any other donations made by those in his milieu. Therefore, even if Mieszko was present during the consecration of the church, it seems quite unlikely that he made a significant donation at that time.

In the record in the monastic necrology, Mieszko is given the title of duke, which may suggest that the donation came from the period preceding his royal coronation in 1025.¹⁵¹ The coronation of Mieszko was not however recognised in the Reich by the imperial court and its milieu. Also at the time of his death, Mieszko could have been treated by them as a duke. He had lost his insignia and it was as a duke that he had humbled himself before Conrad II.¹⁵² At the same time the approach of the clergy in the Reich towards Mieszko's titlature was diverse: in the Merseburg necrology he is titled duke,¹⁵³ while in the necrology of the monastery in Niederaltaich he is named king.¹⁵⁴ The title used in the Bamberg necrology therefore cannot be used as an indicator of the chronology of the donation offered by Mieszko II.

We may indicate two points in time when Mieszko could have made this donation. The first is May eighth 1017 when the emperor issued a solemn document confirming his own donations to the monastery and defining its privileges.¹⁵⁵ The emperor had returned from the unsuccess-

¹⁵⁰ See *Dedicatio ecclesiae s. Petri Babenbergensis*, Philip Jaffé ed., [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 17, Hannover 1861, p. 635.

¹⁵¹ *Das Necrolog des Klosters Michelsberg*, p. 469.

¹⁵² The ambiguity of meaning of the titlature of Mieszko II in the Bamberg necrology was discussed by A. Gieysztor, *Bamberg i Polska*, p. 71, see also J. Bieniak, *Polska elita polityczna... (część IV A) (I)*, pp. 42–43.

¹⁵³ *Die Totenbücher von Merseburg, Magdeburg und Lüneburg*, p. 29.

¹⁵⁴ *Necrologium monasterii Altahae Inferioris*, Maximilian Fastlinger ed., [in:] MGH, *Necrologia Germaniae*, vol. 4: *Dioecesis Pataviensis*, Maximilian Fastlinger, Josef Sturm eds, Berlin 1920, p. 43, under the date fourth may with a mistaken identification of the deceased by the publisher.

¹⁵⁵ Despite the discussion on the reliability of the whole of the legal content, the fact that such a document was issued is not in doubt, see *Die Urkunden Heinrich II*, Harry

cessful expedition against Bolesław the Brave and it would not be surprising if making use of that moment the Piasts would have begun negotiations in order to obtain peace. Both sides desired this and it was already achieved in 1018. The choice of a ceremony connected with a foundation that was dear to the heart of Henry for the beginning of such negotiations would be in accord with the customs of the imperial court. The expeditions against Bolesław I were many times preceded by participation in the consecration of churches.¹⁵⁶ A donation for the most important of his foundations at that time would have been in itself a gesture suggesting peaceful intent. Bolesław himself could not have appeared in the Reich, it is also doubtful whether in the prevailing situation when he was still an enemy, his gift to a place beloved of the emperor would have been accepted. Mieszko II was however the personal vassal of Henry II, he supposedly—according to the words of Thietmar—declared full submission to him as soon as his father allowed him. He also lamented the death in the wars of his friends from the times of his sojourn in the imperial court. He could freely have therefore made a suitable grant to the monastery in his own name.

The second occasion on which Mieszko was able to afford such a generous gift and could have made it in his own name was the period after his coronation, but before the outbreak of war with Conrad II. It was then, when he was attempting to get recognition of his crown that it was especially important for him to gain the acceptance of the opinion-forming factions in the Reich. The granting of this donation might have been prompted by his sister, Regelinda, the wife of Herman Ekkerhard.¹⁵⁷ She knew the realities of the political life of the Reich “from the inside”. A not insignificant role in this was played by Eberhard the bishop of Bamberg (1007–1040), the chancellor of the Reich, and for long a trusted collaborator of Henry II (and who played an important role in the state after the emperor’s death). The

Breslau, Hermann Bloch eds, in collaboration with M. Meyer, Robert Holtzmann, [in:] *Die Urkunden Heinrichs II. und Arduins*, Harry Breslau ed., Hannover 1900–1903 (=MGH, Diplomata; Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae/Die Urkunden der Deutschen Könige und Kaiser, vol. 3), nr 366, p. 468.

¹⁵⁶ Karl Josef Benz, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Bedeutung der Kirchweihe unter Teilnahme der deutschen Herrscher im hohen Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zum Studium des Verhältnisses zwischen weltlicher Macht und kirchlicher Wirklichkeit unter Otto III. und Heinrich II*, Kallmünz Opf. 1975 (=Regensburger Historische Forschungen, vol. 4), pp. 97–98, 146–150.

¹⁵⁷ See G. Labuda, *Mieszko II*, pp. 59–61.

foundation by Mieszko II could have been an attempt to gain the favour and support for the Polish crown of Eberhard, whose offices meant that he was guardian of the Michelsberg.

Of these two possible dates, 1017 seems the more suitable since if this event had taken place in that year, it would mean a coincidence of an event of importance in the history of the Bamberg monastery itself with possible political solutions which were beneficial for the Piasts. Although this issue is impossible to definitively resolve, what is important is the fact that the genesis of Mieszko's gesture can be sought in the behaviour of the aristocracy of the Reich, similar to that which characterized the behaviour of Bolesław the Brave. In this sense, independently of the time when the grant was made, it would be evidence of a certain tradition within the Piast family.

Both German and Polish scholars have noted a record in the necrology of Michelsberg concerning Regelinda and linked this name with Piast duchess mentioned above.¹⁵⁸ It is found however under the date fourteenth May,¹⁵⁹ while the necrology of Naumburg, more closely associated with the sister of Mieszko II, unequivocally gives her date of death as 21st March. As a result, it seems we cannot treat this record as being associated with the Piast duchess. It was only Mieszko II's grandson, Władysław Herman, who renewed contact with the Bamberg church, though not the monastery, but with the bishop. We wrote earlier of the gift by Władysław of "two round crosses" to the Bamberg cathedral. In return he obtained a prebenda which he gave to the prelates who were to pray in the choir in the intention of the salvation of his soul and those of his wife and all relatives.¹⁶⁰ In addition to the confraternity of Bolesław the Brave with Magdeburg, this is the second example of this type of link between a Piast and the chapter of one of the most important ecclesiastical centres of the Reich. While this gesture had a political basis, it was not devoid of family connections. The bishop at the time (Rupert, 1075–1102), mentioned as one of the initiators of the gesture of the duke was a very close collaborator with emperor Henry IV.¹⁶¹ It was to this ruler in turn who Herman owed

¹⁵⁸ K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, p. 109, footnotes 3–4.

¹⁵⁹ *Das Necrolog des Klosters Michelsberg*, p. 540.

¹⁶⁰ See above, pp. 83–88.

¹⁶¹ *Germania Sacra*, II/1: *Das Bistum Bamberg*, part 1, Erich von Guttenberg ed., Berlin/Leipzig 1930, pp. 111–114, *Die Regesten der Bischöfe und des Domkapitels von Bamberg*, pp. 248–249 (in both works is a review of the older literature).

his marriage with a member of the imperial family, and thus elevation in status relative to the Empire among all the princes ruling territories on its borders. This could have been necessary in the face of the emerging threat of conflict with Vratislav II the Czech ruler who for a certain period at the instigation of Henry IV pretended to the title of king of Poland. It is true that this could indicate a certain similarity of the gestures of Władysław Herman and Mieszko II. Władysław I, like his grandfather earned his place in the memory of the clergy of Bamberg. As in the case of Mieszko in Michelsberg, here too in the necrology there is a clear emphasis on his generous gift.¹⁶² These are however accidental similarities. Of greater importance than Piast traditions in the efforts of Władysław Herman could be those connected with the Salians. Władysław's second wife Judith of Swabia, daughter and sister of rulers joined in confraternity with several cathedral chapters (especially Henry III),¹⁶³ or somebody from her milieu (Otto, the future bishop of Bamberg and for short period chaplain in Herman's court?), could have enlightened the Polish duke concerning the significance for his salvation and position in the Reich of obtaining the privilege under discussion.¹⁶⁴

Completely different reasons led to the commemoration in Bamberg Cathedral of the death of Bolesław Wrymouth.¹⁶⁵ He was exceptionally closely associated with the Pomeranian mission of Bishop Otto mentioned above. Even if his role was assessed variously in Bamberg, there was no doubt of the favour of the duke towards Otto himself. In the record in the Bamberg necrology, as is the case with other sources connected with Bamberg, there is no mention of gifts made by the duke to the cathedral. We may assume then that he was honoured there as a benefactor and protector of Bishop Otto during his mission to Pomerania. For this reason it is difficult to see this record as an example of the concern of the Piasts for commemoration, but it was an element

¹⁶² "Hermanus dux Polonie ob[iit], qui cruces aureas et rotundas L libris redemptas eccl[es]ie reddidit", Caspar Anton Schweitzer, *Vollständiger Auszug aus den vorzüglichsten Calendarien des ehemaligen Fürstenthums Bamberg*, "Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg", 7 (1844), p. 189, under the date of fourth June.

¹⁶³ On the relationship between Henry III and Henry IV see Manfred Groten, *Von der Gebetsverbrüderung*, pp. 16–22.

¹⁶⁴ It is worth noting that from the times of Henry II, the next ruler of the Reich to become a confrere of the Bamberg cathedral was only Conrad III about 1141, *ibidem*, p. 25.

¹⁶⁵ C.A. Schweitzer, *Vollständiger Auszug*, p. 279: "Polezlaus dux poloniorum".

of a broader programme by the Bamberg monks connected with the commemoration of Bishop Otto I buried in the monastery.¹⁶⁶

Paradoxically, the persistence of the relationship between the Piasts and Bamberg did not mean the deliberate maintenance of the memory of the family in this centre by the Polish members of the dynasty. In the gestures of Mieszko II and Władysław Herman it is not possible to indicate a connection with a tradition preserved in the memory of the family of some form of behaviour of the ruler. It is possible however to connect the donation of Mieszko II to Bamberg with his other activities with regard to the Church of the Reich.

Merseburg

In the necrology of Merseburg we find a record concerning the death of Mieszko II from the tenth May, describing him as “duke of the Poles”.¹⁶⁷ Its presence there can only be explained with reference to the political circumstances of Mieszko’s return to power in Poland. The “Hildesheim Annals”, the source closest in time to the events described tell us that in 1032 Mieszko admitted that the defeat that had fallen on him was a result of his own “unrestrained pride”. As a result of this he decided to make his peace with the emperor Conrad, and with this aim in mind he went to Merseburg and there humbly “submitted himself to the rule of the emperor”. Conrad is said to have accepted him with grace and divided Poland between him and his cousin (“patruelus”) Teoderic. Later however Mieszko “usurped” and began to rule in a united kingdom.¹⁶⁸ The “Magdeburg Annals” of the twelfth century transmitting the tradition that was alive in the archdiocese at this time present the situation in a different light. Here Mieszko admitted his fault, his pride, as the cause of his problems but the latter were, according to him, a result of the judgement of God. According to this text he himself decided to submit himself to the emperor, “he gave himself under his rule”. There is no information in this source that Mieszko was later to act in disregard to the emperor’s determinations.¹⁶⁹ The collection of information in both sources ends with an

¹⁶⁶ J. Wollasch, *Totengedanken und Traditionsbildung*, pp. 11–12.

¹⁶⁷ *Die Totenbücher von Merseburg, Magdeburg und Lüneburg*, p. 29: “Lanperus sive Misico dux poloniorum decessit”; on the facsimile of the manuscript, f. 2r: “Lamp[er]t[us] siue Misico dux polonioru[m] decessit”.

¹⁶⁸ *Annales Hildesheimenses*, p. 37, SA 1032.

¹⁶⁹ *Annales Magdeburgenses*, p. 170, SA 1032.

almost identical account of the death of the Polish ruler two years later and the extinguishing of Christianity in the country.¹⁷⁰ In contrast to the author of the text associated with the Hildesheim monastery, the author of the “Magdeburg Annals” presented a story that seems to suggest the occurrence of internal changes in Mieszko’s mind which were caused by the events of 1031–1032. The culmination would have been the humble gesture of submission of himself and his rule to the emperor in Merseburg.

We know that the chronicler’s tale presented above differs from the reconstruction of events by modern researchers in at least one point, the year when they occurred. Historians concur that Mieszko II submitted to Emperor Conrad II at a meeting in Merseburg in July 1033, made aware of the threat by the invasion of the ruler of the Reich which had taken place in 1032.¹⁷¹ As for the unification of the country, this could have taken place without violence, since of the three (not two) co-rulers, Otto (Mieszko’s half-brother) died a natural death while Teoderic came into possession of Pomerania, which was at this time outside the territory of Poland itself.¹⁷² In the latter point the narrative from Saxony would therefore be closer to the real events, though written down later than the Hildesheim version, and despite the fact that it was closely reliant on the latter. In its sense, the version of the “Magdeburg Annals” is more sympathetic towards Mieszko with regard the last years of his rule than that known from the “Hildesheim Annals”, though is sharply critical of the deeds of the Polish king before 1031. This contrast seems a deliberate rhetorical effect due to the annalist changing the sense of the source which is the basis of his version of the story.

This in turn may incline us to suspect that in the archdiocese of Magdeburg there may have been some memory of Mieszko’s deeds of 1033 preserved somehow, though bearing in mind the mistaken dating of events given in the “Hildesheim Annals” this was isolated from any indications of exact chronology. Such a hypothesis would be confirmed by the note in the “Merseburg Necrology”, but still brings us no closer to determining how it was introduced there in the first

¹⁷⁰ *Annales Hildeheimenses*, p. 38, SA 1034; *Annales Magdeburgenses*, p. 170, SA 1034.

¹⁷¹ *Herimanni Augensis Chronicon*, p. 121, SA 1032.

¹⁷² G. Labuda, *Mieszko II*, pp. 88–89, 119–120; F.-R. Erkens, *Konrad II*, pp. 152–153; H. Wolfram, *Konrad II*, pp. 238–239.

place. Was it because when he submitted himself to Conrad in Merseburg, the Polish ruler made some kind of symbolic donation to the cathedral there? In previous years his wars had led to a great amount of serious destruction in the whole of Saxony, including the property of the Church. Since Mieszko recompensed the damage he had done the emperor, could he not on the same occasion make the same gesture towards the clergy whose interests were also perceived as damaged? Since his father could become a canon in Magdeburg, and he himself a confrere of St Michael's in Bamberg, it would have been logical (and according to a certain traditional trend of symbolic behaviour) if in making peace with the emperor, Mieszko confirmed this act by a suitable association with the Church here. It seems possible that both motivations could have encouraged him to grant a donation to the Merseberg cathedral, and in return he was commemorated in the necrology, and this in turn—if not the foundation itself—allowed a tradition concerning him to survive in some form. These are only however suggestions. On their basis we can only formulate the hypothesis which requires further investigation that in 1033 Mieszko could have entered into some sort of an association with the cathedral in Merseburg and in this was acting according to a certain tradition which was common to himself and his father.

But the tradition of this type was not the only one in the milieu of early Piast family as far as efforts for achieving a commemoration in the Reich Church was concerned. We may connect the records of the death of Mieszko II present in the necrology of the monastery of Niederalteich with another aspect of the tradition concerning the memory maintained in the Piast family.

Niederalteich

In the necrology of the monastery of Niederalteich there is preserved a record of the death of Mieszko II and there he is given the title of king.¹⁷³ In the “*Annales Altahenses maiores*” kept in the monastery we may discern an interest in the fate of the Polish ruler in connection with the history of Emperor Conrad II.¹⁷⁴ The contents of these records

¹⁷³ *Necrologium monasterii Altahae Inferioris*, p. 43, pod datą 4 maja.

¹⁷⁴ *Annales Altahenses maiores*, Edmund von Oefele ed., Hannover 1891 (=MGH, *Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum*, vol. 4), p. 18, in the opinion of

however do not seem very sympathetic towards the Polish ruler,¹⁷⁵ though they are devoid of the sort of disdain with which his reign is treated by the clergy of Magdeburg. It does not seem that this could however be a result of memories of the maintenance of any closer relations with the Piast court. The “*Annales Altahenses maiores*” were created after 1073¹⁷⁶ and were based on the records kept in the monasteries at Hersfeld and Hildesheim. It was the tone of these records that is reflected in “*Annales Altahenses maiores*” and it would seem that if any attitude to Mieszko II is expressed, it is that of the Bavarian monks of these houses.¹⁷⁷

We seek in vain traces of associations with Poland in the history of the monastery at Niederaltaich, even though the house maintained contacts with the Czechs and Hungarians.¹⁷⁸ There are no traces of any donation of Mieszko II which would justify his inclusion in the necrology of the monastery. It seems that the reason why the convent in Niederaltaich decided to include a commemoration of Mieszko II in the monastic necrology was the fact that it belonged to the circle of monastic reform initiated by the Lotharingian monastery in Gorze. Under the rule of Abbot Godehard at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and then his successors, this reform was introduced in Niederaltaich, and then propagated by monks from here in other houses connected with the abbey (Hildesheim, Hersfeld, Weltenburg, Ostrov, Břevnow and Ossiach). At the same time the monks of Niederaltaich introducing their own version of the customs of Lotharingia remained in close association with the convent of the abbey of St Emmeram in Regensburg, which also reformed Benedictine houses in the spirit of the reforms of Gorze.¹⁷⁹ It is precisely at St Emmeram

the publisher, the records of the years 1031 and 1032 were taken from the “Hildesheim Annals”.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, 1031, 1032.

¹⁷⁶ In the opinion of Ernst Ehrenfeuchter, the whole compilation was written between 1073 and 1076, *Ibid.*, *Die Annalen von Niederalteich. Eine Quellenuntersuchung*, Göttingen 1870, pp. 14, 24, 71.

¹⁷⁷ In the opinion of some researchers, the records to 1032 were all taken from some older original, E. Ehrenfeuchter, *Die Annalen*, p. 21, and following him Knut Görich, *Ein Erzbistum*, p. 15, footnote 26.

¹⁷⁸ See Christel Jung, *L'abbaye de Niederaltaich, centre de réforme monastique au X^e et XI^e siècle. Thèse de doctorat de troisième cycle, préparée sous la direction de Monsieur le Professeur Pierre Riche*, Paris/Nanterre 1988, pp. 188–198, 204–210.

¹⁷⁹ See Kassius Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny. Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, vol. 1, Rom 1950, (=Studia Anselmiana, vol. 22), pp. 161–177; Georg Stadtmüller, in collaboration with Bonifaz Pfister, *Geschichte*

that we have a lot of evidence of the commemoration of the family of Kazimierz the Restorer (see below), but there is no record of the death of his father Mieszko II in the necrology there.

Despite the lack of a document formally confirming the existence of a confraternity of prayer between the abbeys of Niederalteich and Regensburg, this is evidenced by records concerning monks from Niederalteich of the end of the tenth and eleventh century in the necrology of St Emmeram.¹⁸⁰ Between 1045 and 1049 the first layer of supplementary records were added in a second hand to the “Regensburg Necrology”, and it contained a very large number of notes concerning monks from Niederaltaich.¹⁸¹ This has been taken as evidence of the renewal of the confraternity between the two abbeys. If in reality there was such an act, it should have been mutual in its effects and the monastery at Niederaltaich would have incorporated some of the notes of the death of persons associated with St Emmeram into their records. This could explain the transfer to Niederaltaich of records of the death of Mieszko II from an older version of the “Regensburg Necrology”,

der Abtei Niederaltaich. 731–1971, München 1971, pp. 100–102, 121–122, where the authors suggested a connection between the reforms at Niederalteich and the customs of St Emmeram. Elmar Hochholzer (*Die Lothringische (“Gorzer”) Reform*, [in:] *Die Reformverbände und Kongregationen der Benediktiner im deutschen Sprachraum*, red. Ulrich Faust, Franz Quarthal eds, St. Ottilien 1999, pp. 70–71), however, demonstrates that both centres drew from the same Lotharingian source, but treats their activities as independent and parallel. On the other hand, Christel Jung, *L’abbaye de Niederaltaich*, pp. 52–53, indicates that the customs of Niederaltaich, though they had an independent character, especially after the reforms in the times of Abbot Godehard, recalled those of Einsiedeln which itself was influenced by St Emmeram. In Niederaltaich there were many reformative trends operating, but the influence of St Emmeram was especially strong. A decisive influence on this was due to the links between Godehard with Henry IV the duke of Bavaria, who had been brought up in St Emmeram, who supported the reform movement among the monks there, see Josef Fleckenstein, *Godehard*, [in:] *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 4, München 1989, k. 1531–1532. The great authority of the head of the Regensburg house is shown by the behaviour of Godehard, when—according to Wolfher’s “Life of Godehard”—Henry IV led to the deposition of Abbot Erkenbert (Erchanbert) from Niederaltaich and appointment of Godehard in his place. The latter did not want to take up the appointment and turned for advice in this difficult moment to the abbot of St Emmeram (see *Wolfherii Vita Godehardi episcopi prior*, Heinrich Georg Pertz ed., [in:] MGH SS, vol. 11, Stuttgart 1854, pp. 175–176).

¹⁸⁰ *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*, Eckhard Freise, Dieter Geuenich, Joachim Wollasch eds, Hannover 1986 (=MGH, Libri Memoriales und Necrologia, n.s., vol. 3), pp. 185–187.

¹⁸¹ See Joachim Wollasch, *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram als Zeugnis für die Geschichte des Mönchtums im Reich*, [in:] *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram*, p. 20.

without reference to his son or family; at that time, the latter were still alive and records concerning them were entered into a newer version of the “Regensburg Necrology”. The omission of Mieszko II in the version of the “Regensburg Necrology” known to us today results from the fact that it was created from c. 1045 and might not have included part of the earlier notes.

Brauweiler

The Benedictine abbey at Brauweiler was closely related to the Piasts through Rycheza, the wife of Mieszko II from the Ezzonid family. This Saxon aristocratic family was the founder of the monastery which was to become the family necropolis and later the place of cult dedicated to the founders Ezzon and Matylda.¹⁸² It is not surprising then that after her arrival in Poland, Rycheza generously supported the monastery,¹⁸³ perhaps seeing in it her future place of interment. In return she earned a suitable place in the monastic necrology, as well as a flattering portrayal in the house’s chronicle concerning its foundation written in the last quarter of the eleventh century.¹⁸⁴ The commemoration of Rycheza is interesting for the topic of our research here in that despite her obvious links with the Piasts, her commemoration does not contain any mention of her husband or son. This is despite the fact that in the records of her in the necrologies of the churches of the Reich her title is given as “queen of Poland” (Brauweiler,¹⁸⁵ Cologne church

¹⁸² See Michał Tomaszek, *Klasztor i jego założyciel*, pp. 268, 274–277.

¹⁸³ See Klaus Gereon Beuckers, *Die Ezzonen und ihre Stiftungen. Eine Untersuchung zur Stiftungstätigkeit im 11. Jahrhundert*, Münster/Hamburg 1993 (=LIT, Kunstgeschichte, vol. 42), pp. 33, 69–71.

¹⁸⁴ *Fundatio monasterii Brunwilarensis*, Hermann Pabst ed., “Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde”, 12 (1874), pp. 181, 183–184; *Brunwilarensis monasterii fundatorum actus*, Georg Waitz ed., [in:] MGH SS, vol. 14, Hannover 1883 [cited henceforth as *Actus*], pp. 139–140. The hypotheses concerning the dating of this work are presented and critically analysed by Eckhard Müller-Mertens, *Regnum Teutonicum. Aufkommen und Verbreitung der deutschen Reichs- und Königsauffassung im früheren Mittelalter*, Wien/Köln/Graz 1970 (=Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte, vol. 15), pp. 262–269. He concludes that there is only one certain date (the middle of 1077) as the *tempus a quo* of the work.

¹⁸⁵ See E. Hlawitschka, *Königin Richeza*, p. 240, footnote 114: “obiit illustrissima Richeza regina Poloniae fundatorum filia, cuius memoria solempniter peragitur”. Unfortunately that record comes from the necrology of the end of the fifteenth century, which is only based on an earlier original of unknown date.

of the BMV ad Gradus),¹⁸⁶ or “queen” (Aachen,¹⁸⁷ abbey of St Gereon in Cologne,¹⁸⁸ Cologne cathedral).¹⁸⁹

The use of the royal title with reference to Rycheza could have been simply customary usage without evoking any further associations, such as the identity of her husband and children.¹⁹⁰ This suggestion is not however supported by the sources. In a forgery of a document of Henry III allegedly from 1051, which in the opinion of researchers is an amalgamation of information from two authentic documents of the ruler, Rycheza is given a somewhat differently formulated title: “Richeza Poloniae/Boemiae quondam regina”.¹⁹¹ The imperial court clearly emphasised in an official communication that Rycheza was no longer a queen and indicated the historical circumstances connected with her title.¹⁹² Despite that, the widow of Mieszko II retained her title. This maintenance of the title might not have occurred without any reference by her or those around her to the Piasts.

¹⁸⁶ *Auszug aus dem Memorienbuche des Mariengradenstifts, aus der 2. Hälfte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, Theodor Josef Lacomblet ed., “Archiv für die Geschichte Niederrheins”, 2 (1832–1870) [sic!], fasc. 1, p. 50: “XII. kal[endis] O[biit] Ricza regina Polanorum soror Hermanni secundi archiepiscopi Colon[ensis]. X solidos presentibus cum candelis et missis. de officio in Luppe. Item XXX. Denarios ad propinationem. Item .IIII. solidos presentibus de Merheim. Item ama vini presentibus”.

¹⁸⁷ Eduard Teichmann, *Das älteste Aachener Totenbuch*, “Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins”, 38 (1916), p. 69: “obiit Ricza regina, que contulit bona in Clotene”.

¹⁸⁸ Paul Heusgen, *Das älteste Memorienbuch des Kölner Gereonstiftes*, “Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins”, 13 (1931), p. 7: [XII. Kal. Apr.] “O[biit] (...) Rigeza regina”.

¹⁸⁹ *Das Memorienbuch und die Statuten des Domstifts zu Cöln aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert*, Theodor Josef Lacomblet ed., “Archiv für die Geschichte Niederrheins”, 2 (1832–1870) [sic!], fasc. 1, p. 12: “XII. kal[endis] O[biit] Rigza regina soror Herimanni archiepiscopi Coloniensis. que contulit ecclesie. in Unkele .LX. ligaturas lignorum (...) Item contulit decimam vini in Unkele ad luminaria ecclesie Coloniensis et Ibid. custos ponit .IIII. candelas”.

¹⁹⁰ This could have been the situation especially in the case of people uninterested in the Polish episode in the life of Rycheza. It is worth noting that the lead tablet which accompanied her burial in Cologne cathedral contained a very modest title “Richeza regina”, see E. Dąbrowska, *Groby członków dynastii piastowskiej*, pp. 172–173, a drawing of the lost tablet page 181, fig. 1.

¹⁹¹ *Rheinisches Urkundenbuch. Altere Urkunden bis 1100*, Erich Wisplinghoff ed., vol. 1: *Aachen—Deutz*, Bonn 1972 (=Publikationen der Gesellschaft für rheinische Geschichtskunde, vol. 57), nr 90, pp. 112–120, the quoted passage on pp. 113 (document b) and 114 (document a). Document b has what is undoubtedly a distorted version of the name of Poland which the copist confused with Bohemia which proves an ignorance of the details of Rycheza’s biography.

¹⁹² Gerard Labuda, *Mieszko II*, p. 138 considers that Rycheza used this title “with the explicit agreement of emperor Conrad” which however is not so obvious a conclusion from the cited text.

In this situation the lack of a mention of Mieszko II in Brauweiler could be ascribed to his conflict with Conrad II and the disfavour of the Church of the Reich associated with this. This did not however prevent his commemoration in Bamberg and Niederaltaich. In the case of rulers with a complicated history of collaboration with the Empire, a decisive role was played by his living relatives, a good example of this is the commemoration of Bolesław the Brave in the Lüneburg necrology. Since therefore despite the involvement of Rycheza in the creation of the abbey at Brauweiler there was no mention of her husband in the necrology, it would seem that Rycheza herself made no efforts to ensure that he was included. This is supported by the surviving documents, in return for her gifts she assured the commemoration of members of her family, but we find however no mention of her Piast relatives.¹⁹³

The lack of any connection between her foundations and the commemoration of the Piasts can be explained by an objection to utilising the property of the Ezzonids for assuring their salvation.¹⁹⁴ Less clear

¹⁹³ *Rheinisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, nr 95, pp. 135–137. In the forgery of a document of hers from 1056, in the opinion of its publisher based on a lost original, where there is reference to the donation of Rycheza to the abbey at Brauweiler of the property at Klotten, the intention is stated to be: “ob remedium anime eius [i.e. fratri mei beate memorie Ottonis—P.W.] et mee et parentum meorum in monasterio Bruwilarensi sepultorum”, *Rheinisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, nr 96, pp. 138–141 (the quoted fragment on page 139). In documents issued by the bishop of Würzburg in 1057 and 1058, the motive of Rycheza for the donation is given as concern for the salvation of her own soul “pro salute anime sue”, and obliging the bishop to provide interment in a place she would choose for herself; *Monumenta episcopatus wirzburgensis*, Monachii 1864 (= *Monumenta Boica*, vol. 37/collectio nova vol. 10), nr 67, pp. 25–28, quoted passage on pp. 26–27; Franz Josef Bendel, *Die Schenkungen der Königin Richiza von Polen an das Bistum Würzburg (1057 März 3 und 1058 Januar 29)*, “Historisches Jahrbuch”, 34 (1913), pp. 67–70, quoted passage on pp. 68–69.

¹⁹⁴ The close connection between the donation to ecclesiastical institutions family property and concern for the commemoration of the Ezzonids can also be observed in the case of the donations to the collegiate church of Sts Peter and Alexander in Aschaffenburg. Rycheza, “nobilis matrona”, did this with regard to the foundation once in this place a monastery by her “parentes”. By her own grant she wished to obtain not only prayers for the former founders but her own commemoration to the same degree, *Notae Aschaffenburgenses*, Harry Bresslau ed., [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 30, part 2, Lipsiae 1934, nr V, pp. 759–760. The doubts concerning the identification of the Rycheza mentioned in the sources with the wife of Mieszko II have been dispelled by Christian Lübke, *Ottonen, Rjurikiden, Piasten. Ergänzende Bemerkungen zum Verwandtenkreis Kunos “von Öhninge”*, “Jahrbuch für Geschichte Osteuropas”, Neue Folge, vol. 37 (1989), fasc. 1, pp. 16–18. It would be difficult to find a clearer expression of the feeling of permanent association between the deceased members of her family and the donor herself and a desire to strengthen it further.

however is the reason for the neglecting of the commemoration of Mieszko II, and especially Kazimierz the Restorer in Brauweiler itself. In the first case this could be due to monastic tradition, which perhaps under the influence of Rycheza herself,¹⁹⁵ maintained a rather negative view of her adopted country and its ruler, not to mention his ancestors. Though the burial of St Wojciech “apud Polanos” is mentioned, nothing is written on the role which the Polish ruler Bolesław the Brave played in this process, but that name is mistakenly given to the Czech ruler Bretislav, who translated the relics “ad sedem suam Bracham”.¹⁹⁶ We may consider that this version of events reached the abbey due to Rycheza or her milieu¹⁹⁷ and the mistake of the names of the rulers in this context becomes even more significant. In the narrative the wedding of Rycheza and Mieszko is justified by the Reich’s need for the peace which this union would ensure.¹⁹⁸ Ultimately, before the death of her husband, Ezzo’s daughter is said to have lived in separation from him due to the scheming of his concubine, finally she escaped in secret, unable to bear the barbarian customs of the Slavs and with her son Kazimierz she went to emperor Conrad.¹⁹⁹ In the same passage however the descendants of Kazimierz are portrayed differently, as his “magnificent descendants, who remain noble in wealth and power till today”.

The collective description of the fate of Kazimierz’s children does not seem to be an accident, if only because it refers to the same attributes which at the moment of the writing of the Braunweiler chronicle were so strongly stressed by Bolesław the Bold, strength of rule and generosity resulting from wealth. These were however stereotypical terms, evidence only of some general knowledge of the monks, though not of

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Jacek Banaszekiewicz, *Jak Ehrenfried Ezzo wygrał od Ottona III jego siostrę Matyldę*, [in:] *Aetas media, aetas moderna*, p. 377.

¹⁹⁶ Researchers assume that this mistake is due to the use of two groups of sources, Polish and Czech, concerning the fate of the Saint, M. Matla-Kozłowska, *Czy państwo Przemyślidów*, p. 137.

¹⁹⁷ Gerard Labuda has indicated the possibility of the monks receiving much information about the history of the queen in Poland through the wife of her trusted servant by the name of Dobrava, *Ibid.*, *Mieszko II*, p. 143.

¹⁹⁸ *Fundatio*, p. 168; *Actus*, pp. 132–133.

¹⁹⁹ *Fundatio*, p. 177; *Actus*, p. 137. An attempt was made to use the chronicler’s version for a reconstruction of history by H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, vol. 6, p. 70, footnote 111; D. Borawska, *Kryzys monarchii*, pp. 120–127. K. Jasiński (*Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, p. 117, footnote 56) however regarded this as doubtful, and we are inclined to agree with this.

any special interest in the fate of Rycheza's grandchildren. It does not seem likely that this could have been the result of Aron a monk from Brauweiler becoming the abbot of the Benedictine abbey at Tyniec near Cracow in the reign of Kazimierz the Restorer.²⁰⁰ The latter fact is only mentioned by a twelfth century forgery²⁰¹ and more frequently sources mention it as the abbot Aron came from the abbey of St Pantaleon in Cologne. The overshadowing in the mention of the members of Rycheza's family of Kazimierz himself in the tradition of the monastery of Brauweiler would be difficult to comprehend, had a monk from that abbey become bishop of the capital town of Poland. On the basis of the tradition embodied in the record in the foundation chronicle of the monastery, we may only presume that Kazimierz and his sons, especially Bolesław the Bold either maintained contacts with Brauweiler, or were known there through contacts of the abbey with Poland. It is not possible to say anything about the intensity of any such relations. Could therefore their names have been included in the original necrology of the monastery, today lost, and were omitted by the creator of the continuation of the book of the dead begun in 1476?

Although such a possibility cannot be totally excluded, it seems however very unlikely with regard to the contents of the chronicle maintained in the abbey. We are struck by its similarity to the contents of the fifteenth century necrology. Here also is found a mention of the death of the two founders—Ezzo and his wife, and their children, duke Otto and Queen Rycheza.²⁰² The record concerning the latter even reminds us of the form of the note in the necrology. From the commentary of the publisher it seems that the records were made almost contemporary with the events, while the hand which introduced the information about the date of death of Rycheza only added

²⁰⁰ Based on a mention in a document from Brauweiler edited about 1028 (today we only know a version from the beginning of the twelfth century, see *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter*, vol. 1: 313–1099, Friedrich Wilhelm Oediger ed., Düsseldorf 1978 (=Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, vol. 21; reprint Bonn 1954–1961), nr 734, p. 218, where there is further literature) this was suggested by other scholars including Aleksander Gięsztor, Josef Semmler, Brygida Kürbis; Gerard Labuda, *Mieszko II*, pp. 143, 204 (here earlier literature).

²⁰¹ Thus already Hermann Pabst, *Die Brauweiler Geschichtsquellen*, "Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde", 12 (1874), pp. 116–117, nr 4.

²⁰² *Annales Brunwilarenses*, Georg Heinrich Pertz ed., [in:] MGH SS, vol. 16, Monachium 1859, p. 725, where respectively: 1025 (death of Matylda), 1034 (death of "Herenfryd"—Ezzo Erenfryd), 1047 (death of Otto) and finally 1063: "Obiit Richeza regina".

that information and nothing else, but before that date and after it (until 1080), another hand added all the rest.²⁰³ The death of Rycheza therefore was deemed worthy of record by somebody other than the person who normally kept the annals, while the latter clearly did not pay much attention to the fate of the progeny of the queen. In the annals there is no mention whatsoever of the history of Kazimierz and his sons. Thus, even if the Piasts had maintained any relations with the Benedictines of Brauweiler, most probably they were never very close. One thing seems certain, in ensuring for herself a series of oratory foundations in Rhenish churches, Rycheza did not decide to found any for the commemoration of her husband and his relatives.

In this situation, her gesture after the death of her brother Otto takes on a symbolic significance. She placed on the altar all her ornaments and jewellery and took the veil and swore to remain “faithful to her [relatives]”.²⁰⁴ On the one hand this clearly emphasises Rycheza’s devotion to the commemoration of members of her own family, on the other the removal of the gold ornaments could have symbolized the resignation from the “royal past”.²⁰⁵ This would not have concerned the royal title, for she retained that, but associations with that lifestyle, and thus that circle of relatives. Thus in the symbolic sphere in the foundation chronicle the monk of Brauweiler showed after the death of the queen the motivation of her behaviour. Maybe this picture and form of commemoration of the family of Rycheza was decided by the monks who, although they possessed deeper knowledge about the family relationships among the Ezzonids, deliberately concentrated on preserving the memory of the children of their founding couple, Ezzo and Matylda, but not including in that context the commemoration of their spouses.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 724. The comments of Erich Wisplinghoff (*Die Benediktinerabtei Brauweiler*, Berlin/New York 1992 (=Germania Sacra, Neue Folge 29: Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Köln, vol. 5), p. 136) do not add much to the comment of G. Pertz.

²⁰⁴ *Brunvilarensis monasterii fundatorum actus*, p. 139; *Fundatio*, p. 181.

²⁰⁵ J. Rotondo-McCord, “*Locum sepulturae meae...elegi*”, p. 97 writes specifically of “her royal jewels and treasures”, which is an expression of the impression the author could have gained from reading the source, though is not a literal translation.

²⁰⁶ Of significance is here a passage (*Fundatio*, p. 160), in which the author indicates that from the marriage of the founders were born three sons and seven daughters: “quibus talem tantamque gloriam gratia divina contulit, ut memoriam eorum apud Deum et apud homines immortalem esse nulli dubium sit”. But even here there is no mention about a duty of commemorating Ezzonid spouses.

This lack of enthusiasm of the monks of Brauweiler for the commemoration of Rycheza's husband may have been decisive in the decision of her son Kazimierz the Restorer to establish a commemorative association with another abbey—St Emmeram in Regensburg.

Regensburg

The commemoration of the Piasts at St Emmeram in Regensburg was of an exceptional character. In the necrology of the monastery there the records concentrate around the family of Kazimierz the Restorer.²⁰⁷ This concerns records of the death of Kazimierz himself, his wife Maria Dobroniega, and two sons: Mieszko and Bolesław II.²⁰⁸ Comments accompanying these records of the dead indicate their link with Kazimierz, since however they were later erased, today their reading is unclear. Thus adjacent to the note about Mieszko, the reconstructed reading is "filius Gazmeri".²⁰⁹ Less attention has been paid to the interesting form of the record connected with the wife of Kazimierz, "Maria dux". This atypical phrase results from the erasure of the words following it, of which modern researchers see "?s..a..x".²¹⁰ The whole erased phrase, together with the fragmentarily preserved "dux", would be close in form to the annotation associated with Mieszko noted above and would have had the form "duxs Gazm ux", or in other words "ducis Gazmeri uxor". In favour of such a possibility is the erasure of the annotation to the name of Mieszko the son of Kazimierz and the deletion of a second note with the date of death of Kazimierz, entered under the date 2nd April: "Gazmer dux"²¹¹ (let us add that this was the date of the death of

²⁰⁷ It is a little surprising that there is a lack of a mention of the first Piasts here in the context of the assumption that Bishop Jordan had come from the Regensburg diocese, maybe from Regensburg itself, see J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko pierwszy*, pp. 130–131.

²⁰⁸ *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*, p. 205: "Gazmer dux" (19 III), "Maria duc[iissa]" (13 XII), "Misico [filius G...eri]" (28 I), "Polizlaus dux Sclaur[um]" (2 IV), and p. 220: "Gazmer dux" (with the editorial note that it was erased together with a broader part of the text); 222: "Polizlaus dux".

²⁰⁹ *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*, p. 215 (here the remark of the publishers that above the word "Misico" an addition "fili[us] g...ri" had been erased, and now was almost unreadable); see also *Necrologium monasterii sancti Emmerammi Ratisbonensis*, Franz Ludwig Baumann ed., [in:] MGH, *Necrologia*, vol. 3: *Dioceses Brixensis, Frisingensis, Ratisbonensis*, Franz Ludwig Baumann ed., Berlin 1905, p. 305 with the comment of the publisher that in the opinion of Sigurd Abel one can see here the almost totally erased addition "filius Gazmeri".

²¹⁰ *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*, p. 249, commentary of the publishers to the record concerning Maria.

²¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 222, see the commentary of the publishers to the note of the 2nd April.

Bolesław II). We can only suspect that an anonymous monk attempted to put the records into order and deleting “superfluous” records, perhaps some of them only partly legible or intelligible, regarded all the information concerning the family links of the Piasts as expendable. This editor of the records also removed from the manuscript other fragments of text concerning the origin of the deceased, though they were connected with geographical or ethnic origin.²¹²

The basic core of the necrology of the abbey of St Emmeram arose about 1045, in the years 1045–1155 records were made in it at the moment news arrived of the death of the people that were to be remembered.²¹³ In the group of people of interest here, the first to die was Kazimierz, in 1059, Mieszko died in 1065 and the last was Maria-Dobroniega in 1087. If in each case there was added to the name of the deceased the information of their relationship to Kazimierz, this was no accident. The memory of the Polish duke must have been kept alive. Indeed, almost 30 years after his death it would be emphasised that Maria was included in the necrology as the wife of Kazimierz. In this group the record concerning the death of Bolesław the Bold, described as a “prince of the Slavs” without any reference to his family origins has an exceptional character. At the beginning of the twentieth century the publisher of the manuscript even mistakenly identified him as some Czech ruler,²¹⁴ which as corrected by Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa.²¹⁵ It seems that we may seek the reasons for the exceptional character of this record either in the death of the ruler in Hungary (in which case the note gives the view of the inhabitants of that country), or in an attempt to create a new line of memory connected with the person of Bolesław the Bold and his services to the abbey. This would confirm the existence of a tradition of the maintenance by the Piasts of their commemoration in Regensburg, but with emphasis on concern for the nearest family of the ruler. It is difficult to assess whether the introduction of the second commemoration of Kazimierz the Restorer under the date of death of Bolesław the Bold was the result of some

²¹² See Eckehard Freise, *Der Codex I 2 2^o 8 der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg*, [in:] *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*, pp. 81–82, and particularly p. 84 on the removal of the comment concerning origin.

²¹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 71–80.

²¹⁴ *Necrologium monasterii sancti Emmerammi Ratisbonensis*, p. 428.

²¹⁵ Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Który Bolesław?*, [in:] *Prace z dziejów Polski feudalnej ofiarowane Romanowi Grodeckiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, Warszawa 1960, p. 83.

misunderstanding or confusion by the scribe of information about the death of “Bolesław, prince of the Slavs, [son] of Duke Kazimierz”.

Looking from this point of view at the discussion concerning the history of the Polish Church at that time, and especially the monastic movement, attention is drawn to the problem of the foundation of Benedictine abbeys by Kazimierz the Restorer and Bolesław the Bold. In these discussions the significance of Cologne in their genesis is strongly emphasised. The evidence of the Regensburg necrology inclines us to consider also the Bavarian influence. In his efforts to restore the structure of the Church, Kazimierz could easily have turned for help to the monks of Regensburg with whom there was associated a lively tradition of missionary activity in Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia.²¹⁶ There are also reasons to suggest that they might have played a role in the tenth century conversion of Poland.²¹⁷ Both the abbey of St Pantaleon in Cologne and St Emmeram were in the same circle of the reform of monastic life which was driven by impulses from the Lotharingian monastery of Gorze, though they remained independent of each other.²¹⁸ The abbeys of Regensburg were for many years also closely associated with the monastery on the Michelsberg in Bamberg—the same house that was so richly patronized by Mieszko II, Kazimierz’s father who in return became one of the confreres of the chapter there. In these relationships between both houses, St Emmeram (from where the Bamberg abbots came), had a decided priority. In addition, in the times of Kazimierz, the Michelsberg monastery had not yet fully undergone the process of monastic reform which had made St Pantaleon and St Emmerama famous.²¹⁹ If therefore Kazimierz had sought beyond Cologne for support for his efforts to rebuild the Polish Church he could learn of the activities of the monastery at Regensburg by the indirect means of the monks of the Michelsberg monastery already connected with his family.²²⁰

²¹⁶ See Paul Mai, *Regensburg und der Osten*, [in:] *Das mittelalterliche Regensburg im Zentrum Europas*, Edith Feistner ed., Regensburg 2006 (=Forum Mittelalter. Studien, vol. 1), pp. 238–239, and also 242, 247 (here the most important literature); and Václav Bok, *Zum Kult der regensburger Heiligen Emmeram und Erhard in den böhmischen Ländern*, [in:] *Das mittelalterliche Regensburg*, pp. 223–225.

²¹⁷ See J. Strzelczyk, *Mieszko pierwszy*, p. 125.

²¹⁸ Anne Wagner, *Gorze au XI^e siècle. Contribution à l’histoire du monachisme bénédictin dans l’Empire*, preface by Michel Parisse, [Turnhout] 1996, p. 227.

²¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 239.

²²⁰ Cz. Deptuła, *Niektóre aspekty*, pp. 40–41, drew attention to the links between the Polish Church and Bavaria especially from the times of Bolesław II, he did not mention Regensburg however in this context, but Bamberg.

The contacts between the abbey of St Emmeram and the Piasts broke off at a somewhat unexpected moment, when Judith of Swabia, somebody from the imperial family who had lived in Regensburg for many years arrived in Poland. In the necrology is a record noting her death “Queen Judith [died]”.²²¹ There is another note referring to her death in the necrology of the convent of Benedictine nuns here (the so-called Obermünster).²²² The death of the wife of Władysław Herman was also commemorated in the necrology of the monastery in Weltenburg, very closely associated with the family of Henry IV,²²³ where the content of the note itself clearly indicates the reason why it was found in the text: “Judith of Poland, sister of Henry, 4 emperor”.²²⁴ Equally the record in the necrology of the cathedral in Speyer was clearly connected with her being a member of the imperial family (“Queen Judith, daughter of empress Agnes”),²²⁵ and especially to the close kin of Henry III and Henry IV, especially commemorated in the necrology.²²⁶

²²¹ *Necrologium monasterii sancti Emmerammi Ratisbonensis*, p. 309: “Iudita regina”; *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*, pp. 169, 204: “Iudita reg[ina]”.

²²² *Necrologium monasterii superioris Ratisbonensis*, Franz Ludwig Baumann ed., [in:] MGH, *Necrologia*, vol. 3: *Dioceses Brixensis, Frisingensis, Ratisbonensis*, p. 338: “Iudita regina ob[iit]”.

²²³ Benedict Paringer, *Das alte Weltenburger Necrologium. Eine Studie zur Frühgeschichte der Abtei*, “Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Niederbayern”, 83 (1957), p. 50.

²²⁴ *Necrologium Weltenburgense*, Franz Ludwig Baumann ed., [in:] MGH, *Necrologia*, vol. 3: *Dioceses Brixensis, Frisingensis, Ratisbonensis*, p. 372: “Iudita [with a later addition: Maria] de Polonia, soror Heinrici imperatoris IV”. A somewhat different reading is given by the edition *Kalendarium necrologicum Weltenburgense*, [in:] Johannes Friedrich Boehmer, *Fontes rerum germanicarum*, vol. 4: *Heinricus de Diesenhofen und andere Geschichtsquellen Deutschlands im späteren Mittelalter*, published after the death of the author of the series Alfons Huber, Stuttgart 1868, reprinted Aalen 1969, p. 569: “Iudita Maria de Polonia, soror Heinrici imperatoris iiii”.

²²⁵ Wolfgang Metz, *Das älteste Nekrolog des Speyer Domstifts und die Todesdaten salischer Königskinder. Mit einem Exkurs: Das älteste Osnabrücker Domneurolog und die Zehnturkunden Heinrichs IV.*, “Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde”, 29 (1983), p. 201: “Juditha regina Agnetis imperatricis filia obiit”, on the older edition of Boehmer see *ibidem*, p. 192. It was the reading of the latter (*Kalendarium necrologicum canononicorum Spirensium*, [in:] J.F. Boehmer, *Fontes rerum germanicarum*, vol. 4, p. 315: “Iuditha regina Agnetis imperatricis filia ob[iit]”) that was used also by K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, pp. 173–174. Slight differences in the record were made in later versions, *Kalendarium necrologicum canononicorum Spirensium recentius*, [in:] J.F. Boehmer, *Fontes rerum germanicarum*, vol. 4, p. 319: “Iuditha regina imperatricis [Agnetis] filia”.

²²⁶ W. Metz, *Das älteste Nekrolog*, p. 194.

The situation regarding the Regensburg records is somewhat different. The monks entering her name into the necrology of the monastery of St Emmeram did not connect her with Poland, neither did they note her dynastic origins, but only refer to the highest honour she had obtained, as queen of Hungary. St Emmeram was beyond the area of close interest of both Henry III, as well as his successors,²²⁷ though the imperial family were frequent guests in the town. In seeking reasons for the presence of Judith in the Regensburg necrologies, let us recall that many years ago it was suggested that Judith spent the last years of her life in Regensburg.²²⁸ This has recently been questioned as it has been pointed out that it was in the years 1074–1088 that Judith was in Regensburg and was associated with the monastery of St Emmeram, in the period of the exile of her husband king Salomon of Hungary and then her widowship after his death.²²⁹ In the treasury of Cracow Cathedral is a beautiful liturgical book known as the “St Emmeram Evangelarium” which was written and illustrated in the Regensburg monastery in the final quarter of the twelfth century.²³⁰ Since Judith took this book with her to Poland,²³¹ it seems probable that it arose in the monastic scriptorium at her commission. It is also possible that her grant of properties as “die erberg gaistlich vns(e)r Judith” which she donated to the monastery of St Paul in the period 1100–1130 is evidence of her connections with the Benedictine monks

²²⁷ Christine Rädlinger-Prömper, *St. Emmeram in Regensburg. Struktur- und Funktionswandel eines bayerischen Klosters im früheren Mittelalter*, Kallmünz 1987 (=Thurn und Taxis-Studien, vol. 16), pp. 146–155, especially p. 155. See also the charters of foundations of the Reich’s rulers for the cloister, Leo Santifaller, *Zur Geschichte des ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchensystems*, second edition [first in 1953], Wien 1964 (=Österreichische Akademie des Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 229. Band, 1. Abhandlung), p. 93.

²²⁸ Gerard Labuda, *Uzupełnienia do genealogii Piastów, w szczególności śląskich*, “Sobótka”, 18 (1963), p. 4–5.

²²⁹ Mechthild Black-Veldtrup, *Kaiserin Agnes (1043–1077). Quellenkritische Studien*, Köln/Weimar/Wien 1995 (=Münstersche Historische Forschungen, vol. 7), p. 125, footnote 144, p. 296–299.

²³⁰ See Eckharda Freise, *Die Äbte und Konvent von St. Emmeram im Spiegel der Totenbuchführung des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*, pp. 100–101. In his opinion between 1084 and 1087, most probably in 1086 on the occasion of the stay of Emperor Henry IV in the town. Gerard Labuda, *Ewangeliarz emmeramski. Czas sporządzenia w Ratyźbonie—czas przeniesienia do Krakowa*, [in:] *Cultus et cognitio*, p. 319, dated the creation of the text to about 1100.

²³¹ In the context of the contacts of Judith with the abbey of St Emmeram see Mechthild Black-Veldtrup, *Kaiserin Agnes*, p. 296.

of the monastery of St Peter (the so-called Mittelmünster).²³² Maybe therefore before her death Judith left the Polish court and went to live in one of the Regensburg monasteries with which she had previously maintained contacts, died and was buried there? This is however pure hypothesis.²³³ For the topic under investigation here, it seems more important that the entry of notes concerning Judith in the Regensburg necrologies was not related to her connections with the Piast dynasty, but most probably with her personal relationships established with the monasteries there.

Ultimately therefore the connections between the monastery of St Emmeram in Regensburg and the Piasts prove the close contacts between this house and Kazimierz the Restorer. This relationship was maintained by him and his family for many years, maybe even stretching into the reign of his son, Bolesław II. We are surprised by the breaking off of this relationship after the marriage of Kazimierz's second son Władysław with Judith of Swabia, closely connected with the ecclesiastical milieu of Regensburg. The chronological connection between the breaking off of these relations and the creation by Herman and Bolesław Wrymouth of contacts with Bamberg may be evidence of a deliberate change in the interests of the Piasts in the construction of the memory of their family. Maria, Kazimierz's widow was still alive in the reign of Władysław Herman and news of her death in 1087 reached Regensburg probably not by accident but was specially communicated by clergy associated with the duchess. The Piasts, if they only wanted could therefore maintain ties with Regensburg. Instead, they declined to do so. The choice of Bamberg can probably be connected with the influence on the court of Władysław Herman of Judith of Swabia and her entourage. This would not have been an exceptional situation in the manner of the creation of family commemoration among the aristocracy of the Reich.

²³² *Die Traditionen, Urkunden und Urbare des Klosters St. Paul in Regensburg*, Johann Geier ed., München 1986 (=Quellen und Erörterungen zur Bayerischen Geschichte, Neue Folge, vol. 34), nr 42, pp. 41–42.

²³³ Especially since researchers have no certainty about the presence, let alone, the location, of burials of members of the royal families of the Reich in St Emmeram or among the Benedictine nuns in Obermünster, see Alois Schmid, *Die Herrschergräber in St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*, "Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters", 32 (1976), pp. 337–344 (on the burial of Hemma, wife of Louis the German, most probably in St Emmeram, thought the written sources say in Obermünster), 369 (summary).

Pegau

An interesting example of the effects of the family relationships of the founders on commemorative practices in monasteries is the commemoration of Świętosława (Swatawa), the daughter of Kazimierz the Restorer in the Saxon monastery of Pegau. She herself, as far as we know, had no particular contact with the monks here. She married the Czech king Vratislav II and their daughter Judith became the wife of a member of the Saxon elite, Graf Wiprecht II von Groitzsch.²³⁴ He was a trusted advisor of the Czech ruler for whom he was even able to obtain the crown from Henry IV. In return for this he received (1086) the hand of Judith. For us the most important fact is that in 1091 he founded the monastery in Pegau. Its personnel initially came from Schwarzach, and after the death of the first abbot the founder brought here in 1101 Windolf of Corvey.²³⁵ As in the case with monasteries connected with Niederaltaich we are therefore dealing with Benedictines connected with the monastic reform movement. The necrology kept by them referred not only to Judith and her husband, but also the death of “Queen Świętosława, the mother of our founder”.²³⁶ Though the year of Świętosława’s death is recorded also by Czech sources,²³⁷ it was only the monks of Pegau that recorded the day. The relationship between the monastery and the Piasts had an episodic character and the commemoration of the daughter of Kazimierz I was the limits of the interest of the monks here in the distant relations of their founder. It also seems highly improbable that they were even aware

²³⁴ See Cornelia Lawrenz, *Architektur und Herrschaftsanspruch. Die Baukunst Kaiser Lothars III. (1125–1137) und seiner Parteigänger. Ein Beitrag zur sächsischen Architektur des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 2003, pp. 175–176 on the family and its significance in Saxony.

²³⁵ The history of the founder and the beginnings of the monastery in Pegau against the background of the contemporary political situation are presented by Lutz Fenske, *Adelsopposition und kirchliche Reformbewegung im östlichen Sachsen. Entstehung und Wirkung des sächsischen Widerstandes gegen das salische Königtum während des Investiturstreits*, Göttingen 1977 (=Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, vol. 47), pp. 258–259, 265–272, here the earlier literature.

²³⁶ *Calendarium Pegaviense*, Johannes Burchardus Menckenius ed., [in:] Johannes Burchardus Menckenius, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, precipue Saxonicarum*, vol. 2, Lipsiae 1728, szp. 142, under the date 1 IX: “Zwatzlawa regina mater fundatrix nostre”.

²³⁷ Also *Monachi Sazaviensis Continuatio Cosmae*, Josef Emler ed., [in:] *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. 2, part 1, Praga 1874, p. 257 (“obiit Zvatava regina mater Sobelai ducis”) and *Annales Gradicensis-Opatovicenses*, Josef Emler ed., [in:] *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. 2, part 2, Praga 1875, p. 393 (“Zuatava regina obiit”).

that the Świętosława which they honoured was a Piast, and her daughter Judith was the granddaughter of Kazimierz and niece of Bolesław II and Władysław Herman.²³⁸

Quedlinburg and Gandersheim

The convent of canonesses at Quedlinburg, an imperial foundation that at the end of the tenth century took on significance as one of the main religious centres of the Reich and the commemoration of the imperial family of the Ottonians,²³⁹ was sporadically but closely connected with the Piasts. It was probably here that in 1023 Oda the last wife of Mieszko I was buried. A century later the superior in Quedlinburg and the imperial abbey at Gandersheim²⁴⁰ was Agnes, the daughter of Władysław I Herman.²⁴¹ We should also add that Rycheza, the wife of Mieszko II was a relative of Adeleide, the superior of the Quedlinburg house, and through her the traditions of the monastery could have been extended by the relationships with the Polish dynasty, if the latter were especially lively. On the other hand, both Oda and Agnes could

²³⁸ In the annals of the monastery is an extensive description of the activities of the founder in the Czech court, omitting totally however any mention of the queen, and of Judith only saying that the king presented her arrayed in fine clothing. Next she is presented as “coniux nobilissima, nomine Juditha, Vratizlai regis Boemorum filia”, *Annales Pegavienses*, pp. 241, 242, 245–246 (with the addition: “comitissa”).

²³⁹ Doris Bulach, *Quedlinburg als Gedächtnisort der Ottonen. Von der Stiftsgründung bis zur Gegenwart*, “Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft”, 48 (2000), fasc. 2, pp. 102–109; Gerlinda Schlenker, *Kaiserin und Reichsabtin—Macht und Einfluss von Adelheid und Mathilde von Quedlinburg*, [in:] *Auf den Spuren der Ottonen III. Protokoll des Kolloquiums am 22. Juni 2001 im Walbeck/Hettstedt*, Halle 2002 (=Beiträge zur Regional- und Landeskutlur Sachsen-Anhalts, fasc. 23), p. 13.

²⁴⁰ Which was shown already by L[udwig] Weiland, *Chronologie der älteren Aebtissinnen von Quedlinburg und Gandersheim*, “Zeitschrift des Harz-Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde”, 8 (1875), p. 487. The roots of the Gandersheim abbey reach back to the 840s and from its beginning was associated with the Liudolfings, but also after the extinction of its male line the abbey was supported by its heirs on the throne of the Reich, until the conflict between Henry V and Pope Calixtus II, see Gerd Althoff, *Gandersheim und Quedlinburg. Ottonische Fraunklöster als Herrschafts- und Überlieferungszentren*, “Frühmittelalterlicher Studien”, 25 (1991), pp. 123–144; Katrinette Bodarwé, *Sanctimoniales litteratae. Schriftlichkeit und Bildung in den ottonischen Frauenkommunitäten Gandersheim, Essen und Quedlinburg*, Münster 2004 (=Quellen und Studien. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für kirchrengeschichtliche Forschung des Bistums Essen, vol. 10), pp. 15–31; see also John W. Bernhard, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075*, Cambridge 1993 (=Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. Fourth Series), pp. 138–161.

²⁴¹ See K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, pp. 63, 197–198, where is also the earlier literature.

have taken steps to commemorate elements of the tradition of families (and in the latter case also the clan) within the monastery.

We cannot confirm this type of phenomenon through the written sources. An extensive resource of records concerning the Piasts is found in the “*Annales Quedlinburgenses*” written in the monastery until about 1030.²⁴² There is no mention in them of the husband of Oda or her children. All the records of the Piast family (that is concerning Boleslaw I and Mieszko II) were written from the perspective of the imperial court. If a century later Agnes (in the monastic records known as Agnes II) had brought from her home any detailed knowledge of the ancestors of her father, she did not take any steps to impose it on the development of the local monastic traditions, which were not wholly favourable to the Piasts.²⁴³ Even kinship with the superior of the house could not save Mieszko II from severe judgement,²⁴⁴ which his great granddaughter Agnes did not alter. We may doubt whether the latter felt any special association with the clan of her father. She had become the superior of two of the most honoured communities of canonesses in the Reich not through the social prestige of his family but through her relationship with the family of her mother, Judith of Swabia.²⁴⁵ Traditionally it was women from the royal family of the Reich which became the superiors of the monasteries at Quedlinburg and Gandersheim, and so it was this time. Agnes clearly exhibited her connections with her royal cousin Henry V, and supported him in the course of his conflict with the Papacy. As a result of this she was excommunicated together with him at the Synod of Rheims in 1119 and even lost her position in Gandersheim which was occupied by an opponent of the emperor.²⁴⁶ On her death in 1125 the weak links

²⁴² Cf. Martina Gise, *Einleitung*, [in:] *Die Annales Quedlinburgenses*, pp. 252–253.

²⁴³ *Die Annales Quedlinburgenses*, pp. 518, 522–524 (s. 522, lines 6–7: “tyrannus Bolizlavus”), 547–549, 551, 578–579.

²⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 579, and the attempted reconstruction of the record from 1030 *ibidem*, p. 364: “falsus christianus, homicida”.

²⁴⁵ It is no accident that in the list of abbesses, maybe created on the basis of oral tradition, she was remembered as “vruwe Agnes, des konnig Hinrikes susterdochter”, *Eberhards Reimchronik von Gandersheim*, Ludwig Weiland ed., [in:] *Sächsische Weltchronik. Eberhards Reimchronik von Gandersheim. Braunschweigische Reischronik. Chronik des Stiftes S. Simon und Judas zu Goslar. Holsteinische Reimchronik*, Ludwig Weiland ed., Hannover 1887 (=MGH, *Deutsche Chroniken*, vol. 2), p. 428.

²⁴⁶ See Walther Holtzmann, *Zur Geschichte des Inwestiturstreites (Englische Analekten II)*, “Neues Archiv des Gessellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde”, 50 (1915), pp. 301–302, 310–319; Caspar Ehlers, *Das Damenstift Gandersheim und die*

between Quedlinburg, Gandesheim and the Piasts were extinguished and this would last for the rest of the period of interest here.²⁴⁷

Zwiefalten

The mechanism of the formation of a tradition of family connections with a monastery in the twelfth century is revealed by the history of the relationship between Bolesław Wrymouth, his wife and children and the Benedictine abbey at Zwiefalten.²⁴⁸ In the necrology of that house written before the middle of the twelfth century in the record concerning the death of the Polish duke there is a note of the obligation to maintain a special commemorative liturgy in his memory. In the thirteenth century version there is a mention of the numerous gifts which together with his wife, he donated to Zwiefalten.²⁴⁹ Comparing this information however with that in both versions concerning his wife, Countess Salomea of Berg, we discern that it was her patronage which had a decisive influence of the creation of the relationship under analysis.²⁵⁰ From the chronicles of the patronage of the monastery written in 1135–1139 by Ortlieb of Zwiefalten we learn that it was only after the death of Bolesław that Salomea sent one of their daughters, Gertrude to the convent which functioned alongside the Benedictine monastery at Zwiefalten.²⁵¹ There is also an exceptional

Bischöfe von Hildesheim, “Die Diözese Hildesheim in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart”, 70 (2002), pp. 29–31.

²⁴⁷ For the biography of Agnes, see Hans Goetting, *Das Reichsunmittelbare Kanonissenstift Gandersheim*, pp. 302–303.

²⁴⁸ They were discussed by Szymon Wieczorek, *Zwiefalten a Polska w pierwszej połowie XII w.*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 103 (1996), nr 4, pp. 23–55.

²⁴⁹ *Necrologium Zwifaltense*, Franz Ludwig Baumann ed., [in:] MGH, *Necrologia Germaniae*, vol. 1: *Dioceses Augustensis, Constantiensis, Curiensis*, Berlin 1888, p. 263, the record of 28 October: “Bolezlaus dux Bolaniorum, 5 lumina cum caritate” comes from the oldest necrology written before 1150 with a thirteenth century continuation but an addition made probably on the basis of the chronicle of Ortlieb: “iste multa bona contulit nobis cum uxore Salome”, *ibidem*.

²⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 256–257, under the date of twenty-seventh August. In the eighteenth century necrology, besides the donations of economic character the significance of the presentation of relics was also emphasised, *ibidem*, p. 257, footnote 1.

²⁵¹ *Ortliebi de fundatione monasterii Zwivildensis libri II*, Otton Abel ed., [in:] MGH SS, vol. 10, Heinrich Georg Pertz ed., Hannover 1852, p. 91; *Ortliebi Chronicon*, [in:] *Die Zwiefalter Chroniken Ortliebs und Bertholds*, ed. and translated by Erich König, Karl Otto Müller, Stuttgart/Berlin 1941 (=Schwäbische Chroniken der Stauferzeit, vol. 2), p. 126: after the death of Bolesława “cuius uxor Salome (...) unam de filiabus suis nomine Gerdrudam perpetuo nobiscum mansuram cum magnis ad nos transmisit muneribus”.

piece of information about participation in the patronage of the abbey of an individual in the retinue of the royal family. This concerns as servant, a companion (“pedissequa”) of the duchess by the name of Bilihilt, who despite her name was described as a “certain woman from Poland”, who gave the monks, among other things, a silver cross set with precious stones, two chalices and a “banner” (not described in more detail) as well as many other gifts.²⁵² Her gesture indicates the strength of the efforts on the part of the duchess in her milieu to gain suitable support for the abbey.

Family tradition stood behind all of these efforts, though not that of the Piasts, but the family of Berg. Salomea’s father, Count Henry of Berg was a great patron of the monastery (and was the only member of the family who achieved the honour of being interred in the monastic chapter house alongside the actual founders of the abbey).²⁵³ His example was followed by his daughters: Richinza with her husband Władysław I, duke of Bohemia, Zofia with Otto, duke of Moravia and finally Salomea with Bolesław. Among them the Czech and Moravian couple invested more financial resources in the monastery than Salomea,²⁵⁴ but the latter sent her daughter there. The second of the chroniclers of Zwiefalten, the monk Berthold writing in his chronicle of the foundation of the house before the middle of the twelfth century, and thus just after the end of the period when Ortlieb was writing, scrupulously recorded the foundations of the countesses. He did not however mention the acts of their husbands, emphasising however at the beginning that it was they, only in collaboration with their husbands and friends who supported the abbey with “endless generosity”.²⁵⁵ In Berthold’s opinion they were not acting randomly, for “these three sisters pleasing to God met as one to enhance the glory of this place.”²⁵⁶

²⁵² *Bertholdi Chronicon*, [in:] *Die Zwiefalter Chroniken Ortliebs und Bertholds*, p. 178.

²⁵³ Reinhold Halder, *Zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte des alten Zwiefalter Münsters und Klosters*, [in:] *900 Jahre Benediktinerabtei Zwiefalten*, Hermann Josef Pretsch ed., Ulm 1990, second edition, p. 166.

²⁵⁴ See Rainer Joos, *Zwiefalten und Kloster Kladrau (Kladruba) in Böhmen*, [in:] *900 Jahre Benediktinerabtei Zwiefalten*, p. 50.

²⁵⁵ “Istae Deo dilectae sorores cum viris suis et amicis magna et infinita huic loco beneficia contulerunt”, *Bertholdi Chronicon*, p. 172.

²⁵⁶ *Bertholdi liber de constructione monasterii Zwivildensis*, p. 104; *Bertholdi Chronicon*, p. 176 (with slightly different punctuation, but without changing the meaning of the sentence).

Salomea remained in the memory of the monks of Zwiefalten mainly due to the gifts she gave them after the death of Bolesław, especially through the donation of relics—among them the hand of St Stephen described in detail in the “*Translatio manus sancti Stephani*” most probably written by Ortlieb.²⁵⁷ Until 1138 however it seems to have been Bolesław who dominated in acts of patronage towards the abbey. From the list compiled by Berthold we may determine that in addition to a chasuble, he gave the abbey also precious objects worth 70 marks of silver. Most of the costly gifts from the duchess however were given when, as a widow, she donated the relics mentioned above.²⁵⁸ We do not know whether it was at that time, or together with Gertrude, or later that she donated the resources necessary for the purchase of property mentioned in the monastic necrology. The record in the work of Berthold suggests however that this too happened after the death of Bolesław.

As a widow, Salomea deliberately maintained the association of her family with the abbey, but this was not fully successful. The presence of Gertrude in the convent could have influenced the maintenance of the memory of her parents among the monks; that she herself was not negligent of her commemorative obligations is evidenced by the mention concerning the death of her father and mother in the calendar of the “*Codex of Gertrude*” which in the opinion of scholars she took with her to Zwiefalten.²⁵⁹ If however we ascribe to Gertrude the initiative of inscribing the necrologies to this calendar, it is notable that they primarily concern her ancestors on her mother’s side, rather than her father’s.²⁶⁰ Salomea’s royal sons had less understanding of the need for commemoration in the abbey than her daughters. When during the famous meeting in Łęczyca in 1141 the future of Salomea’s second daughter Agnes (Agnieszka) was being discussed, her mother argued that she should be sent to Zwiefalten. It was with this in mind that she requested the presence of monks from the abbey, who obtained huge gifts, including the above-mentioned relics. Her sons Bolesław and

²⁵⁷ See Herrad Spilling, *Sanctarum reliquiarum pignera gloriosa. Quellen zur Geschichte des Reliquienschatzes der Benediktinerabtei Zwiefalten*, Bad Buchau 1992, pp. 9–11.

²⁵⁸ *Bertholdi liber de constructione monasterii Zwivildensis*, pp. 103–104; *Bertholdi Chronicon*, p. 174.

²⁵⁹ See above, pp. 76–77.

²⁶⁰ See S. Wiczorek, *Zwiefalten a Polska*, pp. 35–38.

Mieszko however decided to betroth Agnes to the duke of the Ruthenians. As a result of this, Salomea sent the monks back home.²⁶¹

Although the chronicler mentions the noble sons of their patron by name, he does not mention any gifts made to the monastery on their account. The lack of interest of Bolesław's sons in maintaining contacts with Zwiefalten is indirectly evidenced by the fact that none of them who survived their father is commemorated in the necrology of the house. Only the premature deaths of Leszek and Kazimierz (the elder) were recorded by the monks, presumably due to the efforts of their parents.²⁶² This does not mean that the memory of the family of the abbey's patron died out immediately after Salomea's death. In the first necrology, Kazimierz was referred to in general terms as a "lay person from Poland", but already in the thirteenth century necrology the correction "filius ducis" was made.²⁶³ Maybe again a certain role in this was played by Gertrude's presence in the convent, but this cannot be proven. It is however a fact that until her death in 1160, she was perceived as the "daughter of Duchess Salomea"—which is how her death was recorded in the house's necrology.²⁶⁴ Also while she was in the convent she still bore the title of duchess,²⁶⁵ which also may have played a role in maintaining a memory among her companions of her noble parents and their generosity towards the abbey.

In this case the will of the wife and mother who had come from the Reich turned out to be too weak a reason to maintain the relationship between the Piasts and the abbey that was connected with her own family.²⁶⁶ This example however should be regarded as important

²⁶¹ *Ortliebi de fundatione monasterii Zwivildensis*, pp. 91–92; *Ortliebi Chronicon*, p. 128.

²⁶² *Necrologium Zwifaltense*, p. 259: "Liztek l[aicus] Bolonie"; p. 263: "Kazimir[us] l[aicus] Bolonie".

²⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 263.

²⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 251: "Gerdrut (...) filia Salome ducisse".

²⁶⁵ "Gerdrut ducissa" mentioned among a group of other nuns from Zwiefalten, a record concerning most probably nuns who died in the second half of the twelfth century, *Notae Zwifaltenses*, Georg Waitz ed., [in:] MGH SS., vol. 24, Hannover 1879, p. 830.

²⁶⁶ On the fundamental significance of Salomea in the creation of links with the monastery, see S. Wiczorek, *Zwiefalten a Polska*, pp. 46–48, 53–54. Let us add that in the light of the hypothesis of Tomasz Jurek, "Agnes regina". *W poszukiwaniu żony Bolesława Szczodrego*, "Roczniki historyczne", 72 (2006), pp. 95–104, this relationship would have been closer than we have presented above. He shows that the "Queen Agnes" mentioned in the necrology of the monastery under the date of the fourteenth March is the anonymous wife of Bolesław the Bold. She would have died after 1115

for two reasons. Firstly with regard to the network of commemorative records from Bavarian monasteries concerning the family of Kazimierz the Restorer discussed above. They break off after the death of his widow like those at Zwiefalten—together with the deaths of first Salomea and then Gertrude. The relationships maintained with the abbeys in both cases had the character of a tradition—but a purely family one, limited to one or two generations. Secondly the example of Zwiefalten clearly shows how important an influence the traditions of the women (wives) in the Piast family could be on the creation of behaviour connected with patronage and the commemoration of members of the dynasty. We indicated this in the discussion above of the relationships between the dynasty with Bamberg and St Emmeram in Regensburg. This is however only part of a more complex question—the role of women as carriers of family tradition, a question to which we will return in the concluding remarks of both this chapter and the whole book.

The final example of the commemoration of the Piasts in the territories of the Reich is presented for two reasons. It demonstrates the possibility of the spread of commemorative liturgy for members of the dynasty independently of their will. On the other hand it also explains why they chose reformed monasteries such as St Emmeram in order to maintain the memories of themselves and their families.

The Monastery of St Blaise (Sankt Blasien/Schwarzwald)

A good example of both phenomena is provided by the record concerning Bolesław Wrymouth²⁶⁷ in the surviving fragment of the necrol-

and was included in the necrology as a result of the interest of the monks in matters concerning Poland. This thesis is based on two basic assumptions 1) at the time of the writing of the necrology, there was no queen in any of the other families associated with the abbey; 2) Jan Długosz gives the date of death of the wife of Bolesław the Bold as the eleventh March, very close to that given by the Zwiefalten necrology. Jurek regards this as reliable information obtained from a Polish necrology (*ibidem*, pp. 98–101). This hypothesis will undoubtedly be tested further in the future, but this lies outside the scope of the present work.

²⁶⁷ Hubert Houben, *Das Fragment des Necrologs von St. Blasien (Hs. Wien, ÖNB Cod. lat. 9, fol. I–IV). Facsimile, Einleitung und Register*, “Frühmittelalterliche Studien”, 14 (1980), pp. 282, 298, table VII: “Bolezlaus dux”, 20 th October. The mistaken date of twenty-eighth October is given in Boehmer’s edition, who supplements the text of the necrology with an addition giving the origin of the deceased and the year of his death, *Kalendarium necrologicum Sanblasiense*, [in:] Johannes Friedrich Boehmer,

ogy from the monastery of St Blaise situated in the Schwarzwald.²⁶⁸ This house has no documented links with the Piast family.²⁶⁹ Neither is there much one can say about the relationships of its rich patrons, the Zähringen family with Bolesław Wrymouth. Why then does this mention of him exist in this document?

From the last quarter of the eleventh century, the abbey was directly connected with the monastic reform which had its roots in the Piedmontese abbey of Fruttuaria.²⁷⁰ This reform had a deep effect on the lives of the Benedictines in Swabia. A confirmation of the unity of the movement as well as the significance of the abbey of St Blaise was the creation in 1083 of a community of prayer of three abbeys which were centres of this reform: Hirsau, St Blaise and All Saints in Schaffhausen. As a consequence St Blaise maintained a close association on the basis of commemoration with monastic houses which modelled themselves on the Benedictines of Hirsau.²⁷¹ At the same time, the

Fontes rerum germanicarum, vol. 4, p. 148: "October 28, v. kal. nov., Bolezlaus dux [Poloniae] 1137/8",

²⁶⁸ A concise account of the medieval history of the monastery together with a bibliography has been published by Hugo Ott, *St. Blasien*, [in:] *Germania Benedictina*, vol. 5: *Die Benediktinerklöster in Baden-Württemberg*, Franz Quarthal ed., Augsburg 1975, pp. 146–149, 155–156, on the manuscript of the necrology *ibidem*, p. 158.

²⁶⁹ A certain trace of interest in the history of the Polish dynasty might be the record in the "Chronicle" of Bernold of Constance (c. 1050–1100), in the opinion of some researchers a monk of St Blaise in the 1070s, later in All Saints in Schaffhausen and referring to the coronation of Bolesław the Bold (*Bernoldi Chronikon 1054–1100*, [in:] *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz*, Ian S. Robinson ed., Hannover 2003 (=MGH, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, n.s., vol. 14), p. 409: "Dux Bolenorum se in regem coronavit"). Its presence in the work of Bernold, an advocate of the Gregorian Reform (see *Einleitung*, [in:] *Die Chroniken Bertholds*, pp. 102, 104–107, 111–112), is however probably to a greater degree to be connected with political events in the Reich and the alliance of Bolesław II and the Papacy, rather than to traditions in the monastery associated with the Polish ruling family. This is especially the case since more recent research suggests that Bernold entered St Blaise only in the 1080s (*ibidem*, p. 110), and he concentrated his attention on the pro-Gregorian individuals involved (*ibidem*, p. 113) and Bolesław II was one of them.

²⁷⁰ See Hermann Jakobs, *Der Adel in der Klosterreform von St. Blasien*, Köln/Graz 1968 (=Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, vol. 16), pp. 39–42; H. Ott, *St. Blasien*, p. 147; Ursmar Engelmann, *Das kirchliche und monastische Leben*, [in:] *Das Tausendjährige St. Blasien. 200jähriges Domjubiläum*, Christel Römer ed., St. Blasien/Karlsruhe 1983, vol. 2: *Aufsätze*, pp. 36–37.

²⁷¹ On the multi-aspectual nature of the reform movement in Swabian monasteries and the connections of St Blaise with Hirsau in the light of the evidence of the necrologies, see Joachim Wollasch, *Muri und St. Blasien. Perspektiven schwäbischen Mönchtums in der Reform*, "Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters", 17 (1961), fasc. 2, pp. 438 and 440. The list of monasteries with which St Blais maintained a confraternity of prayer in the middle of the twelfth century is published by

Polish Benedictine house in Mogilno could have been connected with that reform.²⁷² Let us also remember that Salomea, Bolesław's widow supported the monks of Mogilno with especial generosity in the intention of the soul of her deceased husband.²⁷³ Nevertheless, it would be very difficult to prove the connections of St Blaise with Mogilno. It had closer links however with the monastery of Zwiefalten discussed above. The monks from the Schwartzwald were obliged to pray for the souls of members of that house,²⁷⁴ on the same basis as they were to do the same for the brothers from Hirsau. It seems possible then that in the course of exchanging lists of the dead for whom prayers were to be offered, the monks of Zwiefalten sent the names of their benefactors from the house of the Piasts.

Equally, one cannot exclude the possibility that a considerable influence on the introduction of the mention of Bolesław III was due to contacts between the monastery of St Blaise with Otto the bishop of Bamberg who was closely associated with that ruler. Otto was a supporter of the Hirsau reforms and introduced them into those monasteries which were under his power and funded by him.²⁷⁵ This included putting monks from St Blaise in the monastery at Ensdorf in 1121, while Drutwin from the Michelsberg in Bamberg where the memory of Bolesław's mission among the pagans was cultivated became its superior in 1136.²⁷⁶ Finally both St Blaise's and the Michelsberg monasteries were linked by confraternity due to them both belonging to the Hirsau community. Within such a framework, the monasteries evidently exchanged information on the death of members of their

H. Ott, *St. Blasien*, p. 149 (here Michelsberg, Zwiefalten). On the reform movement among the Benedictines centred on the abbey of St Blaise, see Monica Sinderhauf, *Die Reform von St. Blasien*, [in:] *Die Reformverbände und Kongregationen der Benediktiner im deutschen Sprachraum*, Ulrich Faust, Franz Quarthal eds, St. Ottilien 1999, pp. 126–133.

²⁷² For the state of research, see M. Derwich, *Monastycyzm benedyktyński*, pp. 187–189.

²⁷³ See P. Wiszewski, *Domus Boleslai*, pp. 479–481.

²⁷⁴ *Fragmenta necrologii et annales necrologici monasterii S. Blasii in Nigra Silva*, Franz Ludwig Baumann ed., [in:] MGH, *Necrologia Germaniae*, vol. 1, Berlin 1888, p. 327, facsimile H. Houben, *Das Fragment*, plate X.

²⁷⁵ See Hermann Jakobs, *Die Hirsauer. Ihre Ausbreitung und Rechtsstellung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreits*, Köln/Graz 1961 (=Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, vol. 4), pp. 140–145.

²⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 69.

convents.²⁷⁷ Was it therefore due to the monks from Bamberg that information of the death of Bolesław reached the Schwarzwald? This does not seem impossible, though the influence of Bamberg might have been for the Swabian monks an additional reason for introducing the name of the ruler to their necrology, in connection with the recognition of the historic links between Bolesław and bishop Otto I.²⁷⁸ In favour of the theory that the record was transferred from the records of the commemorations of the monks at Zwiefalten is the fact that in the necrology of St Blaise are mentions of other persons connected with that abbey. Among others, the founder of Zwiefalten, *comes* Kuno von Achalm-Wülflingen (ob. sixteenth October) is commemorated.²⁷⁹

Whether the commemoration of Bolesław made its way there from Bamberg or Zwiefalten, the most important fact for our studies is however that in neither case would it have resulted from the direct involvement of the ruler. It was mainly an effect of the regulation of the “politics of memory” within the Hirsau congregation. We cannot however deny that the ruler of Poland attempted to especially support those monasteries which were not only linked in some way with their family, but also those which guaranteed them a wider commemoration which also went beyond the actual monastery which was supported. Apart from St Blaise we can meet a similar phenomenon in the case of the Bohemian monastery of Ostrov.

The Benedictine abbey at Ostrov was founded by the Czech duke Boleslav II and his son Boleslav III who completed the work of its foundation (at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries) and settled

²⁷⁷ See Joachim Wollasch, *Mönchtum des Mittelalters zwischen Kirche und Welt*, München 1973 (=Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, vol. 7), p. 103; *Ibid.*, *Totengedanken und Traditionsbildung*, pp. 9–10.

²⁷⁸ Similarly in the last quarter of the eleventh century, the monk Bernold from the abbey of St Blaise made entries in his own personal calendar on the dates of the death of persons who had played an important role in the vision of history which he described. He later made use of some of them in the “Chronicle” which he wrote. Here were to be found notes on the death of members of the aristocracy connected with the Zwiefalten abbey, but they were introduced on account of the pious lifestyle of the deceased and not through copying records from the records connected with liturgical commemoration in that monastery, see Joachim Wollasch, *Der Kalendar Bernolds von St. Blasien*, [in:] *St. Blasien. Festschrift aus Anlaß des 200 jährigen Bestehens der Kloster- und Pfarrkirche*, Heinrich Heidegger, Hugo Ott eds, München/Zürich 1983, pp. 37, 41.

²⁷⁹ Hubert Houben, *St. Blasianer Handschriften des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ochsenhauser Klosterbibliothek*, München 1979 (=Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, vol. 30), p. 161.

it with monks from the monastery at Niederaltaich.²⁸⁰ In the necrology of the Czech house is found a commemorative text concerning the death of King Bolesław the Bold.²⁸¹ We do not have any information which would allow us to ascertain that there was a link between the Polish ruler and this monastery. It is more probable that this record was introduced to the necrology as a result of the use of the records of some other monastery involved with the reforms from Gorze with which the house at Niederaltaich was also closely associated.

Both examples show the process of the spreading of commemoration. Only however further investigations of the Later Medieval period with its fuller records would enable us to determine whether in reality hope in a wider spread of commemoration in the case of a reformed monastery played a role in the construction of the places of liturgical memory of the dynasty network.

3. THE ABBEY OF SAINT-GILLES

It was natural for this abbey in Provence to be associated with the family of Bolesław Wrymouth. After all, according to the story in the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymous, it was due to the intervention of the monks there that he was conceived. As we know Władysław Herman and Judith of Bohemia sent the monks rich gifts and in return they were to pray for the birth of an heir. Recalling the donations of Władysław for Bamberg, we may expect to learn that he obtained suitable privileges in return for his generosity. This was however not the case. The commemoration written into the necrology of the abbey included only Judith of Bohemia and Bolesław.²⁸² It was probably the

²⁸⁰ On the close association between the Benedictines of Niederaltaich with the abbey in Ostrov see Georg Stadtmüller in collaboration with Bonifaz Pfister, *Geschichte der Abtei Niederaltaich*, p. 96, and Václav Huňáček, *Ostrov zwischen Břevnov und Sázava*, [in:] *Boleslav II. Der tschechische Staat um das Jahr 1000*, Praha 2001 (=Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 2), pp. 463–480. According to fifteenth century Niederaltaich traditions, the first abbot of the house which was supposed to have been created in 1010 was the monk Lambert who came from the monastery of Niederaltaich, see *Auctarium Ekkehardi Altahense*, Heinrich Georg Pertz ed., [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 17, Hannover 1861, p. 363, SA 1010.

²⁸¹ Josef Emler, *Ein Necrologium des ehemaligen Klosters Ostrov*, “Sitzungsberichte der königlichen Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Prag”, 1878 (Prag 1879), p. 380.

²⁸² Pierre David, *La Pologne dans l’obituaire de Saint-Gilles en Languedoc au XII^e siècle*, “Revue des Études Slaves”, 19 (1939), pp. 220: “Judith”, 221: “dux Bolezlaus

latter who took care after the death of his father of the commemoration of his mother. In the list of miracles of St Gilles is a description of one that involves Sieciech, the cup-bearer of Bolesław Wrymouth.²⁸³ The monk who was recording it noted the wars conducted in Pomerania by the “famed Bolesław prince of Poland, whose generosity we have often experienced due to the honour in which—so they say—he holds St Gilles”.²⁸⁴ Bolesław undoubtedly therefore was involved in the support of the convent in Provence. There is no reason to doubt that in 1128 together with gifts he gave the abbey a special document confirming this, neither can we exclude the fact that he may have engaged in a pilgrimage to the monastery.²⁸⁵ At the same time, in the light of the above-mentioned miracle, there seems little doubt that in the times of Bolesław Wrymouth the cult of St Gilles and the custom of undergoing a pilgrimage to the abbey in the south of France was widespread in Poland.

For the Piasts, the association with the Saint-Gilles abbey had however a purely family character and was restricted to two generations: Herman and Judith and Bolesław III. After the latter’s death there are no further traces of a relationship between the Piasts and the monks of this house. Another house, that at Zwiefalten was to fulfil this kind of relationship with the dynasty, but this was equally intense but short-lived. In the case of both abbeys, the impetus to form an association came from outside. In the case of Saint-Gilles it was the advice of one of the bishops,²⁸⁶ while it was the tradition of the family of Salomea, the wife of Wrymouth which led to the support of the abbey at Zwiefalten by the Piasts. This however was not enough for these relationships to last permanently in the family tradition of the Piasts.

obiit”. The inference that in the necrology there was also a mention of an unnamed daughter of Herman who had been married to a Russian duke (*ibidem*, p. 222) has not been accepted by other scholars.

²⁸³ In the opinion of researchers a close relation of Sieciech the Elder, the former enemy of the duke, see Grażyna Klimecka, *Ród potomków Sieciecha w wiekach XII i XIII*, “Studia Źródłoznawcze”, 28 (1983), p. 56.

²⁸⁴ See *Miracula beati Egidii auctore Petro Guillelmo*, Georg Heinrich Pertz ed., [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 12, Stuttgart 1856, p. 320.

²⁸⁵ See Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Repertorium*, nr 27, pp. 33–34. For a review of the older literature, see K. Maleczyński, *Bolesław III Krzywousty*, p. 269, who rejects such a possibility. Nevertheless the coincidence between the date of the document (1128) and the date of the pilgrimage noted by Długosz (1129) is interesting.

²⁸⁶ See above, pp. 245–246.

4. A PIAST COMMEMORATIVE TRADITION?

This review of Piast foundations and the commemorative texts associated with them cannot be the basis for the drawing of definitive conclusions. An awareness of the gaps in the preserved evidential material as well as the relatively small number of detailed investigations of Piast commemoration cautions us to define the conclusions drawn as working hypotheses. There is not much we can say of the commemoration of rulers within their own country. We may add to the hypotheses concerning the confraternity of Bolesław the Brave with the hermits of Międzyrzecz another concerning a similar relationship between the ruler and the chapters of bishoprics which were created during his reign.²⁸⁷ Since he was a confrater in Magdeburg and knew this custom, it would have been natural if he had obtained this privilege also in his foundations. Although there is a lack of unequivocal evidence in the sources confirming this hypothesis, neither does it exist in the case of other Piast rulers. It seems, however, that in the case of the first Piasts, beginning from Mieszko I (Fulda), and Bolesław the Brave (Magdeburg) to Mieszko II (Bamberg), the tendency develops to become associated with institutions especially close to the ruling emperors, in close connection with current political realities. Kazimierz the Restorer seems to have modified this tendency, connecting it more closely with a single monastery, the abbey of St Emmeram in Regensburg. Though it is difficult to arrive at an equivocal answer on this topic, this might have been connected with a hope for support in the reconstruction of the Church in Poland. Due to his decision, the Piasts entered the wide circle of those mentioned in the prayers of the communities directly associated with Regensburg (Niederaltaich), or indirectly through the Niederaltaich convent (Ostrov, maybe Osiach). This was the result of the propagation by the latter monastery of the reform of monastic life which was centred on Gorze.²⁸⁸ Together with the death of Kazimierz's

²⁸⁷ Such a conclusion seems to be suggested also by M. Derwich, *Kanonicy świeccy*, pp. 240–241.

²⁸⁸ Even the opponents of the thesis of the close connections between the reformed monasteries accept that there were connections between them in the form of prayers for the deceased members of the community, A. Wagner, *Gorze au XI^e siècle*, pp. 258–259, 284–285. Prayer for the benefactors of the houses which were part of the congregation, and not only the monks within those monasteries forming a confraternity of prayer is confirmed by the necrology of the abbey at Gorze itself, unfortunately preserved in a very fragmentary form, see Michel Parisse, *Le nécrolog de Gorze. Contri-*

widow Maria Dobroniega, the links of the Piasts with Regensburg broke down, and (though the death of his wife was noted), the death of Władysław Herman went almost unobserved here.

The activities of Władysław Herman seem to relate to those of his great forebears, creating links with the Church institutions closely associated with the imperial court. The donations to the cathedral in Bamberg would be a good example of this. This did not have a direct link to the former bonds contracted by the confraternity of Mieszko II with the Benedictines of the Michelsberg monastery, however an indirect similarity existed: the activities of Władysław were intended to create closer relations with a Church institution which was important for the reigning emperor. The commemorative practices of the Piast wives were of a different character. They concentrated above all on the assurance of intercession on behalf of their nearest family, husbands and children, but not outside that circle (maybe Rycheza, certainly Salomea in Zwiefalten). In the case of Oda or Judith of Swabia, there was not even that effort made. If they were commemorated, it was due to their links with the families of their parents. There is not a lot we can say about the activities of the Piast women with regard to commemoration. The example of Regelinda, the wife of Margrave Herman, maybe also Gertrude, the daughter of Bolesław III, shows that they could have made the effort to commemorate their parents, especially their fathers. It is difficult however to draw firm conclusions from one or two examples and speak of the existence of a certain tradition of behaviour. One phenomenon however is not in doubt, the very close relationship between the Piasts and the Church of the Reich, or rather more probably the customs and behaviour concerning these Church institutions and functioning in the circles of the imperial court and highest circles of the aristocracy in the Reich. To this degree, one may justifiably speak of the existence of a certain tradition, though it should be remembered that an element in this might have been, in at least a few cases (Mieszko II, Władysław Herman), the influence of the rulers' wives.

What role did the tradition concerning ecclesiastical foundations and the attention paid to commemoration play among the Piasts? It

bution a l'histoire monastique, Nancy 1971 (=Annales de l'Est, Publiées par l'Université de Nancy II, Mémoire n° 40. Publications de l'Institut de Recherche régionale en Sciences sociales, humaines et économiques, n° 1), p. 49.

seems we have again here another case of a certain duality of situations. On the one hand the court as a centre of power presented in the public eye an association with a specific element of tradition, connected with a specific ancestor of the ruler who was related to a certain area of political behaviour (connections with Church of the Reich institutions close to the emperor) embodied by that forebear. On the other hand it was the situation of the self-awareness of the members of the dynasty themselves. The latter need not have been concerned about detailed knowledge of the past of the dynasty, firstly because that was cultivated by the Piast courtly milieu, and secondly because the Piasts themselves felt most closely associated with a narrower whole than the entire dynasty—their closest family (commemoration in St Emmeram, in Zwiefalten). A dynastic tradition is certainly present in the Piasts' commemorative behaviour, but only if it is directed towards society as a form of mass (in the case of Polish Church institutions) or elite (as far as the Reich Church is concerned) communication. For each specific ruler however of more importance was its more modest dimension— the family tradition. It seems that in the consciousness of the Piasts the broader phenomenon of “clan” and behavioral patterns connected with it was perceived only from the point of view created by the current shape of the family tradition. The clan and its tradition was recalled relatively rarely and only at the intersection of the two dimensions of life: social and family.

CONCLUSION

Half a century ago, Stanisław Kętrzyński characterised the Piast line thus: “it was a race of exceptional princes, of high standing, which was not exhausted physically or mentally by the series of eminent individuals it produced in the eleventh century, and which passed their characteristics and qualities to future generations”.¹ He thus placed emphasis not only on biological but also mental continuity within the line. What better to form the latter than the family tradition? When Bolesław III greeted Bishop Otto of Bamberg before the gates of Gniezno, did he repeat the behaviour of Bolesław I in the year 1000 known to him from stories about the past of the family and country and recorded for us in the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymus? Did these stories in turn transmit through their reiteration information about the real behaviour of Bolesław the Brave towards Emperor Otto? On the basis of the fragmentary analyses collected above, can we show a repetition of such information in the milieu of the Piasts, or among the Piasts themselves, concerning their gestures and images they once created? In order to be able to speak of a tradition, this is a phenomenon which must be repeated and at the same time serve to pass on values which on the one hand link the past of the family and country with the present, and on the other shapes the perception of both aspects of reality-in-time. Or are we dealing only with commemoration, memory of deceased ancestors, mutable and not a carrier of any message other than that which was defined by the liturgical needs of western Christianity? Did Bolesław III have an awareness of being “steeped in the familiar past” of his line and country, or did he draw from the treasury of cultural patterns of his contemporary world, only accidentally referring to their deeper historical (for example Indo-European) dimension? Did he in following one of these ways of seeing the world refer—deliberately or not—to the acts of his ancestors, or was he an innovator introducing a new pattern of relating to the past? We are unable to give an answer to any of these questions which could claim to be incontrovertible. Despite, however, the severe poverty of the evidence and the

¹ S. Kętrzyński, *Mieszko I*, p. 46.

clear gaps and discontinuities in our knowledge, we must formulate a few hypotheses concerning the “Piast tradition” with reference to the evidence from surviving communications.

We cannot exclude the possibility that there was already such a thing as a family tradition in the times of Mieszko I, but there is no possibility of reaching it through the surviving sources. Maybe this is a result of efforts by the newly-converted ruler to forget the connections with the pre-Christian forebears and the values they represented,² equally this may be a result of the breakdown of the continuity of memory of the past of the country or family which had been maintained earlier in the centres of the Polish Church as a result of the catastrophe of 1038–1039 (destruction of the state administrative system by the popular uprising and Czech invasion). However, the written sources which were created during the reign of Bolesław Wrymouth and his behaviour seem to clearly document the connections between the ruler himself and his ancestors, including the pagan ones. What therefore had changed in the intervening 150 years of Polish history? Did the picture of the dynastic tradition seen by us change due only to the growth of the number of sources?

The analyses presented above seem to show the functioning of the Piast tradition in Poland in two spheres. On the one hand the Piasts cultivated the family tradition for their own benefit. This was of no chronological depth, about 2–3 generations. In the reign of Bolesław I to perpetuate the values it contained, the court annals were begun. This tradition is visible in the commemoration of members of the family, in the iconographic traditions and also until the times of Bolesław III in the dynastic anthroponymy. Although it would be tempting to do so, it does not seem possible to enclose the narrative content which could have been connected with this in the concept “communicative memory”, everyday memory, in the sense defined by Jan Assmann. Despite the shallow time perspective, it referred to specific moments in time (the dates of rule and death of former rulers, their significant deeds), and is traceable by us both through behaviour which had significance both within the family/clan, as well as affecting, presumably sometimes as a result of a deliberate action, a wider group of recipients (commemorative foundations, the cult of saints, the emphasis placed

² See Arnold Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 1997, pp. 338–339.

on the retention of the memory of Bolesław the Brave as the ideal ruler among members of the dynasty and the Polish elite and the choice of names for the Piast children). The separation of the behaviour of rulers and members of their family in relation to tradition in terms of “everyday” and “private” or “public” manifestations seems impossible.

On the other hand, the needs of the milieu of the ruler—and also in the period of interest here,³ above all probably the people of the Church (knowing the linear traditions of Biblical time and trends in the culture of the West valuing the idea of the biological continuity of the family line reaching back into the past),⁴ formed the background to the creation of the concept of the dynastic tradition for the benefit of wider groups outside the dynasty.⁵ This tradition was moreover closely connected with the history of the whole country, and also reached

³ We are not referring here to the times before the reception of Christianity or even the period of the baptism of Poland by Mieszko I, when—as Jacek Banaszkiwicz has suggested based on analogies with the visions of other Germanic and Slavic people—opinions of the origins of the tribe and its unity may play a significant role, see *Ibid.*, *Origo et religio: versio germano-slavica, ou Des manières dont se construit l'identité communautaire dans le haut Moyen Âge: «vestiges modèles» et leur affabulation*, [in:] *Clovis. Histoire et mémoire*, Michel Rouche ed., vol. 2: *Le baptême de Clovis, son écho à travers l'histoire*, Paris 1997, pp. 316–321.

⁴ Let us emphasise once more that we do not exclude the influence of secular elements of the entourage of the ruler on this tradition, their maintenance and introduction at some moment into the syntheses known to us through the written sources. This seems very probable with regard to the role that the elite played in politics and the symbolic manifestations of Early Medieval rulers (B. Schneidmüller, *Zwischen Gott und den Getreuen*, pp. 212–217), we have not found however any clear indications of this in the period of interest to us in the written sources concerning Poland.

⁵ Georges Duby, *Structures de parenté et noblesse dans la France du Nord aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Hommes et structures*, pp. 282–283 drew attention to the fact that in the circle of the knighthood at the end of the twelfth century, memory of ancestors extended back to the middle of the eleventh century (the third generation), while in the families of people of castellan rank, it could extend back to about the year 1000 (seven generations). At the same time he showed that the results obtained from an analysis of the written sources in the case match the results of his studies on the reconstruction of families within knightly circles in the Mâconais region (*ibidem*, p. 282). These results however should be related to the owners of a memory reconstructed in this manner. While in the first case the author had at his disposal a record created by a member of the family/clan (s. 269–270), in the others he used accounts written down in the milieu of the aristocratic families (see *Ibid.*, *Remarques*, pp. 289, 294–296). Here however their creators could be referring to the same categories of source evidence that we use today as carriers of information about specific members of the aristocratic families, and in addition utilising related criteria (the holding of an allodium, use of an identical cognomen). Undoubtedly however Georges Duby's studies show the significance attached in the twelfth century by the elite of the aristocracy to possessing a suitably long line of ancestors—longer than that of the common knighthood and the members of the elite of lower standing.

deep into time. In it were rooted the practice of creating annals which united records confirming the impression of the continuity of the ruling dynasty,⁶ and at the same time events concerning the continuation of the history of the whole country. It was on the basis of this and local stories of the past, and also elements of narration emerging from the culture of the West of the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries that the narrative contained in the “Chronicle” of Gallus Anonymous could have developed.⁷ In it, the same values affirmed in the whole “Chronicle” created a vision of the community of the history of both the clan of the rulers as well as his subjects. If the beginnings of Polish annalistic tradition can be dated to the times of the marriage of Rycheza and Mieszko II and the birth and later the reign of Kazimierz the Restorer, they are coincident with the formation in the Reich of the concept of the state unrelated to the persons of individual rulers, a tradition of “regni” and “patriae” which are independent of the life of a specific ruler.⁸ In the same manner as in other regions of contemporary Europe, the “dynastic” trend in the Piast tradition could equally support the conviction in the lands ruled by them of the continuity of the “homeland” and “nation-tribe” of Poles due to their links with the continuity of the dynasty of their rulers.⁹ Investigators of the ethnic identity of peoples of that cultural circle emphasize the significant role played by narratives of the past of the families and clans of their leaders for the formation of the feeling of unity and separateness of the people they ruled.¹⁰ To a certain degree the activities in

⁶ Georges Duby drew attention to the fact that in the case of the families of French counts the beginnings of the cultivation of genealogical information in the milieu of the family coincides with the period of the rise of a relative independence of their rule within the kingdom of France, *Ibid.*, *Structures de parenté*, pp. 283–284.

⁷ It is worth here recalling the remarks of Norbert Kersken, *Mittelalterliche Nationalgeschichtsschreibung im östlichen Mitteleuropa*, p. 162, who emphasised that in Bohemia, Poland and Hungary, unlike the situation in the West where the first works presenting the history of the respective “nations” began with the beginnings of tribal communities, but with the beginnings of specific dynasties.

⁸ Helmut Beumann, *Zur Entwicklung transpersonaler Staatsvorstellungen*, [in:] *Das Königtum. Seine geistigen und rechtlichen Grundlagen. Mainauvorträge 1954*, Konstanz 1956 (=Vorträge und Forschungen vol. III), pp. 185–186, 189–193, 210–214.

⁹ Here it is especially worth referring to the example of the unsuccessful (because imposed in a later epoch) attempt in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to create a Bavarian identity as an independent political organization by the linking of its fate with the genealogical continuity of the ruling dynasty—the Wittelsbachs extending back to the sixth century, see J.-M. Moeglin, *Les ancêtres du prince*, pp. 46, 232–233.

¹⁰ Also in the case of such heterogeneous societies like the Normans settled in Normandy, Nick Webber, *The Evolution of Norman Identity, 911–1154*, Woodbridge

the field of ecclesiastical foundations of the Piast rulers and traditions concerning the spatial divisions of the area ruled could also have been related to this broader concept of the community of fates between the Poles and the Piasts.

This dual nature of the form of the maintenance of memory of the history of the dynasty—the memory of the family and the memory of its subject people—seems to have existed since the beginning of the rule of the Piasts, and maybe more accurately since about the year 1000. That is since the moment when the name of their area of rule was changed (from the “state of Mieszko”, the “state of Gniezno” to the term “Poland” related to local traditions from Great Poland), when a certain unity and a degree of identity of the societies living under Piast domination began to emerge.¹¹ A significant turning point in the introduction of a concept of the ruling family in a form characteristic of the culture of the Christian west was the reign of Bolesław the Brave. This is indicated not only by the phrase “domus Boleslai” used by Thietmar of Merseburg and taken from a story connected with the court and referring to people most closely connected with him and on whose behalf he acted. Of significance also was the especial emphasis placed by the ruler on the role of Gniezno as a permanent centre of the state, or the affirmation of Mieszko II as the only successor selected by him. The latter in turn, in the symbolic patterns of the iconography of the coins minted while his father was still alive emphasized his joint participation in the rule of his father. This does not mean that we can indicate the functioning in the milieu of Bolesław of the whole complex of meanings associated with the word “house” which would be ascribed to it in twelfth century narratives and the concepts of the organization of the lives of the elite (princely and royal houses as the equivalent of the dynasty).¹² At the most we may speak of a similarity

2005, pp. 6–7 (review of research), 25–27 (references to analyses of the works of Dudo of St Quentin and Wilhelm of Jumièges).

¹¹ See the polemic of Christian Lübke (“*Qui sint vel unde huc venerint*”—*Bemerkungen zur Herkunft der Namen von Polen und Lutizen*, [in:] *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen*, pp. 283–285, and conclusions on p. 288), with the views of Johannes Fried on the official of the name “Polonia” created in the milieu of Otto III for the country of Bolesław I at the time of the meeting in Gniezno in the year 1000. Lübke shows the roots of the word “Polonia, Polska” not only in Slavic toponymic practices, but also evidenced in the written sources before 1000 (the so-called “Bavarian Geographer” and the name “Lendizi” which it contains).

¹² For a handy series of references to investigations into the “houses” of the princes and kings of Germany with an emphasis on the significance of the “History of the Welfings” for this topic, see J. Laudage, “*Liudolfingisches Hausbewußtsein*”, pp. 29–33.

in behaviour related to the feeling of belonging to the ruling dynasty comparable to that which can be identified in the history of the Ottonian dynasty.¹³ This does not obscure from vision however traces of the division into two spheres mentioned above of the histories of the rulers and their people, still clearly present after the collapse of the first Piast state.

We may observe other cases of a division of the memory of the dynasty itself from that of the dynasty together with the people in the evidence concerning other ruling families. Already in the tenth century an Anglo-Saxon chronicler, belonging to the royal family, writing for his relatives a history of their people made a clear division between the distant past, known from the accounts of chroniclers from that which he remembered himself and learnt from his parents. Memory belonged to the family, but a broader picture of the past, the living memory of the people was a field cultivated by specialists, professional creators of the “collective memory”.¹⁴ It seems that those who were responsible for the preservation of knowledge of the past of the Poles were probably for the greater part clergymen, especially from the circles of the highest hierarchy of the Polish Church rather than persons from the circle of the Piast court.¹⁵ Here a moderate concern for the transmission of the basic values of importance for the members of the ruling family indicated above was regarded as sufficient.

The reign of Bolesław Wrymouth was of fundamental significance for formation of a fully “national” version of the dynastic tradition for

¹³ J. Laudage, “*Liudolfingisches Hausbewußtsein*”, pp. 56–57 draws attention to the position of the Ottonian tradition about the form and function of the royal family between the older vision from Carolingian times (the whole country as the “king’s house”) and the one which was later to develop in the twelfth century (the “house” in terms of a dynasty) future. Among the elements relating to the second trend are mentioned a permanent symbolic centre of the royal domain (Quedlinburg) and the character of rule which is not related to individuals, but connected with the dynasty and expressed by the designation of a single successor.

¹⁴ Sarah Foot, *Remembering, Forgetting and Inventing: Attitudes to the Past in England at the End of the First Viking Era*, “*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*”, series 6, 9 (1999), pp. 199–200.

¹⁵ An interesting analogy might be the remarks of Gerd Althoff, who negates a connection between the visions of the past of the Ottonians contained in the “*Lives of Queen Matylda*” which was created among the canonesses of Nordhausen and the circle of the court—emphasizing instead that they express ideas current in the convent and maybe above all among the authors of the text (Ibid., *Causa Scribendi und Darstellungsabsicht. Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde und andere Beispiele*, [in:] *Litterae medii aevi. Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*, Michael Borgolte, Herrad Spilling eds, Sigmaringen 1988, pp. 117–121).

the Poles. Certain pieces of evidence suggest the possibility of the first traces of this emerging as early as the reign of Bolesław II.¹⁶ It was, however, only under Bolesław III that we may detect that there was an amalgamation of both spheres of tradition, that of the family and that of the elites seeing the Piasts as a clan with a past of many generations. There are a number of factors which indicate the creation of a new quality in the transmission of memory concerning the Piasts in this period. These include the support of the ruler and his milieu for the creation of the second stage of the "Chronicle" of Gallus Anonymus and in the acceptance of the content it embodied. It is also clearly visible in the inclusion of indications of the especial guardianship of St Wojciech over the ruler both in the iconography of the duke's coins and seals and his practice of the exercise of rule; as well as the considerable expansion of the scope of annalistic records concerning the ruler, the meanings of which refer to the world of values present in the "Chronicle". This phenomenon seems to correspond very well to the general European trends of the changes which visions of the genealogical past of aristocratic clans were undergoing. The year 1000 is generally shown as marking the beginning of the process of domination of a "horizontal" perception which placed stress on the relationship between living members of the dynasty. With the passing of time, especially in the twelfth century, the vertical perspective begins to dominate, in which the depth of memory, the length of the line of ancestors linked with a given territory gains more significance. It is at this stage that the group of known members of the clan are supplemented by increasing numbers of fictional figures the further back in time one goes.¹⁷ In such a model, however, there is no attempt to define who is responsible for the reshaping process of the genealogical identity, whether this process had a linear character, and whether we can apply this model to the Piasts who were situated at the boundary between the aristocracy and royal families. It is however necessary to answer such questions even if we agree that the process we have discussed

¹⁶ Emphasis on the cult of St Wojciech, the hypothetical "Genealogy/catalogue of dukes".

¹⁷ See Francis Ingledew, *The Book of Troy and the Genealogical Construction of History: The Case of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia regum Britanniae*, "Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies", 69 (1994), pp. 674–675.

took place under the influence of wider social or economical changes, or political events.¹⁸

Maybe an answer to that question would be to turn attention to the dynamic character of the rise of a feeling of group identity. In the case of medieval nations developing from Early Medieval tribes and their unions, such an identity arose from the level of a territorial community or one created by the existence of a state, to later over a longer or shorter time-span seek an expression by symbolic means.¹⁹ The differentiation of the narratives of the history of the Piasts into the “family” and “state/nation” layers which interact with each other requires us to return to the question we posed at the beginning of the book; about whose tradition are we trying to learn? Who was in the group responsible for the transmission of the narratives creating the feeling of community of the Piasts and the Poles?²⁰ Were they the same people, members of the ruling dynasty, clergymen living in their court? Or should we be seeking different milieus responsible for these processes, not necessarily identical in each period? It is difficult to provide an unequivocal answer to these questions. Nevertheless observations of the two spheres, the written communications and the behaviour of the Piasts themselves leads us to the opinion that although there were relationships between both layers of the Piast tradition, they clearly differ from each other in terms of content, not only character. In the “state—clan” tradition, there was missing a series of elements known from that belonging to the family (emphasis on memory in the Reich, the tradition of name choosing open to external influence, traces of a family cult of saints). We think therefore that it is possible that the “state—clan” tradition was formed and functioned outside the closest milieu of the rulers, above all among the members of the hierarchy of the Polish Church seeking—especially after the crisis of the first Piast state—a common denominator for its subject people and the Church

¹⁸ In the case of the Normans in England the annexation of a new country led to the reference to a horizontal perception of genealogical links, which however together with the amalgamation into local histories led to the creation of genealogies including ancestors from the distant past, see. Eleanor Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power (840–1066)*, Berkeley 1988, pp. 100–104.

¹⁹ Cf. W. Pohl, *Identität und Widerspruch*, pp. 32–33.

²⁰ In the sense of “core of tradition” (“Traditionskern”), a term popularised by the investigations of Reinhard Wenskus, though it actually appeared in the 1920s, see Walter Pohl, *Conceptions of Ethnicity in Early Medieval Studies*, [in:] *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings*, Lester K. Little, Barbara H. Rosenwein eds Oxford 1998, pp. 16–17.

at the same time. The situation was different in the case of the family tradition of the Piasts, this could have been transmitted not only by clergymen, chaplains to the court, but also members of the family itself. As we saw above a huge role in the creation of the elements and form of expression of the family tradition of the Piasts was played by women, the mothers and wives of members of the dynasty who came from outside. Let us mention only Rycheza, who certainly had a decisive influence on Polish annalistic traditions; Judith of Swabia whose presence in Poland could have enlivened renewed contacts between the dynasty and Bamberg and the memory of the Piasts there also; Salomea, who linked the Piasts with the abbey in Zwiefalten, and through that also with other reformed Benedictine houses. Symbolic significance is also gained in this context by the fact that in Gallus' story of the recovery of his sight by the young Mieszko (which was to be an omen of the conversion of the country to Christianity), a decisive role was played by his unnamed mother. It was her witness the father trusted when he was hesitant whether to believe that his son had or had not recovered his sight. It was the report of the mother which decisive in the husband's vision of his own family, and thus in what manner those around it were to see it. The female story therefore had great effect and this was both in the case of within the narrative of the "Chronicle" as well as in the realities of the culture of Piast Poland of the eleventh century.

Can we learn of the existence among the Piasts of an awareness of some kind of connection with their ancestors? Did there exist some form of "self awareness of the Piast clan"? We may give affirmative answers to both questions, but to different degrees. The connection of the Piasts with their forebears is undoubted and visible in many aspects. In the time of the first three historical Piasts we can clearly detect the influence of the tradition of the family but not the clan. It seems there can be no doubt about the existence of a coherent pattern of behaviour within the closely defined group of the Piasts exercising power in the symbolic dimension, but also the commemorative one. After the collapse of the first state (1038–1039) we may perceive problems arising in maintaining that identity, and these are visible as a retreat from the earlier tendencies (new types of commemoration, marital strategies, cult of saints). Nevertheless some of the elements inherited from both Mieszkos and the first Bolesław survived (manner of writing about the family in the court annals, the choice of names, iconography).

An interesting phenomenon from this point of view is the relationship between the Piasts and Gniezno as the centre of their rule. The stronghold functioned alongside Poznan (the future necropolis of the rulers) as one of the centres of power during Mieszko's I reign (see the document "Dagome Iudex"). In the times of Bolesław I, its role was at first strengthened (beginning of the millennium) but later was weakened again (burial of the king in Poznan). After the crisis of the government of Mieszko II, there was a lengthy period (which started in the reign of Bolesław II) in which the rank of the archbishop and the centre of the cult of St Wojciech slowly regained their importance. It was in the reign of Bolesław III that Gniezno regained its former significance, it was then that the family traditions were written down which located the ascension of the Piast dynasty to power in Gniezno, indirectly evidencing the clergy connected with the seat of the archbishopric as the milieu that was responsible for the commemoration of the history of the dynasty and connecting it with this specific part of the geography of Poland.²¹ The recollection of the past has come full circle returning to the realities created by the document known from the register "Dagome Iudex" and in the process eliminating from the vision of the past of the ruling family elements other than those which were necessary for the depiction of the sacral dimension of Polish history.

We mentioned above that in the tradition recorded by the "Chronicle" of Thietmar of Merseburg, Bolesław the Brave is said to have been attentive towards the success of his "house". We may hypothesise that the collapse of the state after the death of Mieszko II forced the attempt to redefine the place of the ruling family in the society—and also the past—of the Poles. The final aim (actually only realized as we saw in the reign of Bolesław III) would have been the linking of both groups through a common vision of the past. It would be difficult to see this as a linear process. Hypothetical traces of this process come from the times of Bolesław II, though it was his father Kazimierz who attempted in many areas to create a new conception of approach to the past of his clan and country (continuing the maintenance of the court annals containing information of a wider scope referring to the

²¹ See Patrick J. Geary, *Land, Language and Memory in Europe, 700–1000*, "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society", series 6, 9 (1999), p. 172, who, referring to the example of the tradition of the Welfings, indicated the significance of the theme of "obtaining the land" not only in the history of the people but also in the shaping and strengthening of family memory.

ruling family and at the same time the history of the country). It must remain an open question whether the reign of Bolesław Wrymouth, which saw the final formation of the written canon of the dynastic tradition linking the two above mentioned trends saw the end of the existence of a family tradition which was accessible only to the closest relations of the ruler. This seems impossible, despite the influence that the official version of the history of the ancestors could have had on family life. Only further research can, however, bring an answer to this question.

Did these two versions of the traditions concerning the Piasts—the family one and the national—clan’s one—really differ so much? It seems that they did. The “national” version of the story of the Poles together with the Piasts placed stress on the independence of the country and its rulers, the role of God in the story of the dynasty and its subjects, the military and political dominance of the rulers and their warriors in the whole region, and finally the obligations of the Piasts due to God and the inhabitants of their territory as a result of them being rulers. It is a discourse of power, but its recipients and also owners are society, and it attaches high importance to all those values which were connected with exercising control over those around them. At the same time it refers to those means which strengthened the coherence of the group of recipients/owners, separating it from, or even elevating it above neighbouring societies. The “family” tradition placing stress on the biological continuity of the family and thus continuity of power within the family is strictly connected with inheritance and belonging to the family. In the expression and transmission of highly prized values, this trend of tradition drew widely on the methods supplied by neighbouring cultural circles, especially by the world of the highest aristocracy of the Reich. One might say that this was an intimate discourse, the owners of which remained a limited circle of people, and which rarely was expressed in monumental form, rather it referred to the hidden communication of memory and gesture. This would explain our difficulties in accessing them, if we agree that they existed at all.

Within the family tradition, understood as the transmission of specific values and patterns of behaviour connected with them which are an expression of their acceptance, there was not an *a priori* requirement for the utilisation of a rich narrative concerning deceased ancestors or living members of the family. All that was required was information about one or two generations and a few anecdotes connected with

them describing the most important functions fulfilled by the family member. Thus the existence among the first Piasts of a shallow time dimension comprising memories of a maximum of three generations of the clan did not conflict with the maintenance of a family tradition which was visible in their behaviour. The situation underwent change at a moment when memory of the members of the ruling dynasty became an element of collective identity for groups regarding themselves as Poles and seeking models in the persons of a ruler—leaders of both that group as well as the dynasty—acting as a witness to the continued existence of the group. In the end the feeling of continuity, the continued existence of society became linked with the continuation of the dynasty.²² This, though required the cultivation of the memory of all possible members of the ruling clan. At this moment the creation of the a new form of the dynastic tradition of the Piasts could have come about, one in which the previously loose threads of narrative both of the rulers and the society as a whole were linked together into a single story, based by churchmen on the chronological skeleton known to them from the annals and modelled by an awareness shaped to a great degree by the Bible. A story enriched in this manner, containing the most important values from the point of view of a ruler was accepted and adopted by the clan itself. The Piasts and their milieu could have for many decades lived according to a tradition which communicated values only important to them, but not necessarily derived from history. It was only the needs of a the consolidation of society that forced the enrichment of this communication with the tradition of deeds and the chronological dimension which enabled the propagation of a common tradition between clan and nation.²³ This required forms, both monumental as well as more modest ones,

²² This is not a universal phenomenon as is shown by the comparisons carried out by Bernd Schneidmüller (*Ordnung der Anfänge. Die Entstehung Deutschlands und Frankreichs in historischen Konstruktionen des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters*, [in:] *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen*, pp. 296–305) and concerning the formation in the full Middle Ages of an awareness of the beginnings of the Reich and the kingdom of France. In the case of the Reich, frequent changes of the dynasty led (despite the concept presented by Otto of Freising of the return of the Stauf family to the traditions of the Carolingians) to an emphasis on the continuity of the state independently of the family from which the king or emperor had come or an identity reaching back to tribal times. In France the continuity of the Capetian dynasty led to a reference to a genealogical vision of the history of the French and their beginnings rooted in the dynastic triad of Merovingians, Carolingians and Capetians between whom power passed.

²³ Cf. the remarks of František Graus, *K woprosu*, pp. 149–150.

which made them widely available, but always entering into interaction with a widely conceived group of recipients.

For many years genealogical investigations have been a lively and refreshing current in discussions on the Medieval past of Poland. From the twelfth century the great importance on the shaping of political life in Poland of the far-reaching family connections and the influence of the alliances or conflicts that resulted from them has been recognised. The importance of social groups of various types, based both on kinship, legal as well as linked by some form of symbolism has been stressed in world historiography as important for the functioning of Medieval society.²⁴ From that point of view, the dynastic tradition of the Piasts is striking for its “permeability”. In the period of interest here, we find in it almost no emphasis of the links through wives or relatives which join it to other ruling clans. The formation of a community of an elite, natural supporters of the Piasts in the exercise of power, is another aspect which is weakly visible. These elements which do appear are visible only in the times of Bolesław III (though on a modest scale and always dominated by the exceptional position of the ruler). The traditions of the Piasts until this time do not leave any room for doubt, it was they who were the centre of their world. Their authority and behaviour as individuals and as a family were factors which were sufficient to stabilize the position of the ruler. That value, the most important in the period of interest here, begins to lose its utility already in the times of Bolesław III, but it lasts for at least one century more. A reflection of this (though not necessarily of the real political situation) are the reported words of Henryk the Bearded (1165–1238) during a feast in Henryków, that in his country—duchy of Silesia—everything depended on him, “on my wish or my dislike”.

Seen from that perspective, the gesture of Bolesław III greeting Bishop Otto of Bamberg at the gates of Gniezno, and also the later organization of the stay of the missionary in the town had a great significance: apart from the contemporary dimensions of these events, on the strength of Wrymouth’s will they linked the ruler together with his people with the moral and political order of the world, with the historical mission which the Piasts and Poles were to fulfil.

²⁴ See at least Gerd Althoff, *Verwandschaft, Freundschaft, Klientel. Der schwierige Weg zum Ohr des Herrschers*, [in:] *Ibid., Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter. Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde*, Darmstadt 1997, pp. 186–187.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOURCES

- Ademari Cabannensis Cronicon*, publ. P. Bourgain, Turnhout 1999 (=Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, vol. 129; Ademari Cabannensis, Opera omnia, vol. 1).
- Album paleographicum*, publ. Stanisław Krzyżanowski, texts of documents prepared for print by Władysław Semkowicz, Zofia Budkowa, Cracow 1935.
- Annales Altahenses maiores*, publ. Edmund von Oefele, Hannover 1891 (=MGH, *Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum*, vol. 4).
- Annales Brunwilarenses*, publ. Georg Heinrich Pertz, [in:] MGH SS, vol. 16, Monachium 1859, pp. 724–728.
- Annales Gradicensis-Opatovicenses*, publ. Josef Emler, [in:] *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. 2, part 2, Pragae 1875, pp. 386–400.
- Annales Hildesheimenses*, publ. Georg Waitz, Hannover 1878 (=MGH *Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum*, vol. 8).
- Annales Magdeburgenses*, publ. Georg Heinrich Pertz, [in:] MGH SS, vol. 16, Stuttgart 1859, pp. 107–196.
- Annales Pegavienses et Bosovienses a. 1000–c. 1149*, publ. Heinrich Georg Pertz, [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 16, Stuttgart 1859, pp. 232–257.
- Annales Sangallenses Maiores*, publ. Ildefons von Arx, [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 1, Hannover 1826, pp. 73–85.
- Annalista Saxo*, publ. Georg Heinrich Waitz, [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 6, Stuttgart 1844, pp. 542–777.
- Gallus Anonymous [Anonim tzw. Gall], *Kronika polska*, transl. Roman Grodecki, preparation of translation, introduction and footnotes Marian Plezia, fifth edn., Wrocław 1982 (=Biblioteka Narodowa, Seria I, nr 59).
- Anonima tzw. Galla Kronika czyli Dzieje książąt i władców polskich/Galli Anonymi Cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Poloniae*, publ., introduction and commentary by Karol Maleczyński, Cracow 1952 (=Pomniki Dziejowe Polski/Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Seria II/Nova Series, vol. II).
- Auctarium Ekkehardi Altahense*, publ. Heinrich Georg Pertz, [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 17, Hannover 1861, pp. 360–365.
- Auszug aus dem Memorienbuche des Mariengradenstifts, aus der 2. Hälfte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, publ. Theodor Josef Lacomblet, “Archiv für die Geschichte Niederrheins”, 2 (1832–1870), fasc. 1, [sic!], pp. 49–56.
- Bendel Franz Josef, *Die Schenkungen der Königin Richiza von Polen an das Bistum Würzburg (1057 März 3 und 1058 Januar 29)*, “Historisches Jahrbuch”, 34 (1913), pp. 65–70.
- Bernoldi Chronikon 1054–1100*, [in:] publ. Ian S. Robinson, *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz*, Hannover 2003 (=MGH, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, n.s., vol. 14), pp. 383–542.
- Bertholdi Chronicon*, [in:] *Die Zwiefalter Chroniken Ortliebs und Bertholds*, publ. And transl. Into German by Erich König, Karl Otto Müller, Stuttgart/Berlin 1941 (=Schwäbische Chroniken der Stauferzeit, vol. 2), pp. 136–288.
- Bertholdi liber de constructione monasterii Zwivildensis*, publ. Otton Abel, [in:] MGH SS, vol. 10, publ. Heinrich Georg Pertz, Hannover 1852, pp. 93–124.
- Brunwilarensis monasterii fundatorum actus*, publ. Georg Waitz, [in:] MGH SS, vol. 14, Hannover 1883, pp. 121–146.

- Calendarium Pegaviense*, publ. Johannes Burchardus Menckenius, [in:] Johannes Burchardus Menckenius, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, precipue Saxonicarum*, vol. 2, Lipsiae 1728.
- Carmen de bello saxonico*, publ. Oswald Holder-Egger, [in:] *Carmen de bello saxonico. Accedit: Conquestio Heinrici IV. imperatoris*, publ. Oswald Holder-Egger, Hannover 1889 (=MGH SRG in usum scholarum, vol. 17), pp. 1–23.
- Catalogi episcoporum Cracoviensium*, publ. And commentary by Józef Szymański, Warszawa 1974 (MPH, n.s., vol. 10, fasc. 2).
- Chronica Poloniae Maioris*, publ. and commentary by Brygida Kürbis, Warszawa 1970 (=MPH, n.s., vol. 8).
- Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, publ. Bertold Bretholz, Berlin 1923 (=MGH, SRG, n.s., vol. 2).
- Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*, publ. Eckhard Freise, Dieter Geuenich, Joachim Wollasch, Hannover 1986 (=MGH, Libri Memoriales und Necrologia, n.s., vol. 3).
- Das Memorialbuch und die Statuten des Domstifts zu Cöln aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert*, publ. Theodor Josef Lacomblet, “Archiv für die Geschichte Niederrheins”, 2 (1832–1870) [sic!], fasc. 1, pp. 1–48.
- Das Necrolog des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg*, publ. Johannes Nospickel, Hannover 2004 (=MGH, Libri memoriales et necrologia, nova series, vol. 6).
- Das Necrologium des hildesheimischen St. Michaelisklosters Benediktiner-Ordens in Auszügen*, publ. and prepared by E.F. Mooyer, part 2, “Vaterländisches Archiv des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen”, 8 (1843), pp. 1–83.
- Dedicatio ecclesiae s. Petri Babenbergensis*, publ. Philip Jaffé, [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 17, Hannover 1861, pp. 635–636.
- Die Annales Quedlinburgenses*, publ. Martina Giese, Hannover 2004 (=MGH, Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, vol. 72).
- Die Fuldaer Totenannalen*, [in:] Karl Schmid ed., *Die Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter*, München 1978, vol. 1: *Grundlegung und Edition der fuldischen Gedenküberlieferung* (=Münstersche Mittelalter Schriften, vol. 8/1), pp. 271–364.
- Die lateinischen Dichter des deutschen Mittelalters. Die Ottonenzeit*, publ. Karl Strecker, Leipzig 1937 (=MGH, Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevii, vol. V/1).
- Die Neuedition der “Vita Adalberti”*, publ. Jürgen Hoffmann, [in:] Ibid., *Vita Adalberti. Früheste Textüberlieferungen der Lebensgeschichte Adalberts von Prag*, Essen 2005 (=Europäische Schriften der Adalbert-Stiftung Krefeld, vol. 2), pp. 125–159.
- Die Prüfeninger Vita Bischofs Ottos I. von Bamberg nach der Fassung des Großen Österreichischen Legendars*, publ. Jürgen Petersohn, Hannover 1999 (=MGH, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum, vol. 71).
- Die Regesten der Bischöfe und des Domkapitels von Augsburg*, vol. 1: *Von den Anfängen bis 1152*, prepared by Wilhelm Volkert, introduction by Friedrich Zoepfel, Augsburg 1985 (=Veröffentlichungen der Schwäbischen Forschungsgemeinschaft bei der Kommission für Bayerische Landesgeschichte, Reihe IIb, vol. 1).
- Die Regesten der Bischöfe und des Domkapitels von Bamberg*, prepared by Erich von Guttenberg, Würzburg 1963 (=Veröffentlichungen für fränkische Geschichte, VI. Reihe).
- Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter*, vol. 1: 313–1099, prepared by Friedrich Wilhelm Oediger, Düsseldorf 1978 (=Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, vol. 21; reprint of work published in Bonn 1954–1961).
- Die Totenbücher von Merseburg, Magdeburg und Lüneburg*, publ. Gerd Althoff, Joachim Wollasch, Hannover 1983 (=MGH, Libri memoriales et Necrologia, n.s., vol. 2).
- Die Traditionen, Urkunden und Urbare des Klosters St. Paul in Regensburg*, publ. Johann Geier, München 1986 (=Quellen und Erörterungen zur Bayerischen Geschichte, Neue Folge, vol. 34).

- Die Urkunden Heinrich II*, publ. Harry Breslau, Hermann Bloch, in collaboration with M. Meyer, Robert Holtzmann, [in:] *Die Urkunden Heinrichs II. und Arduins*, publ. Harry Breslau, Hannover 1900–1903 (=MGH, *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae/Die Urkunden der Deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, vol. 3), pp. 1–692.
- Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I. und Otto I.*, publ. Theodor Sickel, Hannover 1879–1884 (=MGH, *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae*, vol. 1, part 1).
- Eberhards Reimchronik von Gandersheim*, publ. Ludwig Weiland, [in:] *Sächsische Weltchronik. Eberhards Reimchronik von Gandersheim. Braunschweigische Reimchronik. Chronik des Stiftes S. Simon und Judas zu Goslar. Holsteinische Reimchronik*, publ. Ludwig Weiland, Hannover 1887 (=MGH, *Deutsche Chroniken*, vol. 2), pp. 385–429.
- Ebo von Michelsberg, *Das Leben des Bischofs und Bekenner Otto*, [in:] *Heiligenleben zur deutsch-slawischen Geschichte. Adalbert von Prag und Otto von Bamberg*, publ. Lorenz Weinrich, in collaboration with Jerzy Strzelczyk, Darmstadt 2005 (=Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe, vol. 23), pp. 192–271.
- Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis*, publ. Jan Wikarjak, introduction and commentary Kazimierz Liman, Warszawa 1969 (=MPH, n.s., vol. 7, part 2).
- Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni*, publ. Oswald Holger-Egger, Hannover/Leipzig 1911 (=MGH, SRG, vol. 25).
- Ekkehardi Uraugiensis chronica*, publ. Georg Waitz, [in:] Georg Heinrich Pertz ed., MGH, *Series Scriptores*, vol. 6, Stuttgart 1844, pp. 1–267.
- Emler Josef, *Ein Necrologium des ehemaligen Klosters Ostrov*, “Sitzungsberichte der königlichen Böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Prag”, 1878 (Prag 1879).
- Epistola Brunonis ad Henricum regem*, publ. Jadwiga Karwasińska, [in:] MPH, n.s., vol. 4, part 3, Warszawa 1973, pp. 85–106.
- Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, publ. Brygida Kürbis, [in:] Brygida Kürbis and collaborators eds, *Kodeks Matyldy. Księga obrzędów z kartami dedykacyjnymi*, Cracow 2000 (=Monumenta Sacra Polonorum, vol. 1), pp. 139–140.
- Ex Petri Damiani Vita Sancti Romualdi*, publ. Georg Waitz, [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 4, Hannover 1841, pp. 846–854.
- Fragmenta necrologii et annales necrologici monasterii S. Blasii in Nigra Silva*, publ. Franz Ludwig Baumann, [in:] MGH, *Necrologia Germaniae*, vol. 1, Berlin 1888, pp. 323–333.
- Frutolfi Chronica*, publ. and translated by Franz-Josef Schmale, Irene Schmale-Ott, [in:] *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die Anonyme Kasierchronik*, publ. and translated by Franz-Josef Schmale, Irene Schmale-Ott, Darmstadt 1972 (=Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 40), pp. 47–121.
- Fundatio monasterii Brunwilarensis*, publ. Hermann Pabst, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Die Brauweiler Geschichtsquellen*, “Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde”, 12 (1874), pp. 147–192.
- Gall Anonim, *Chronika i diejanija kniaziej ili prawitieliej polskich*, translated by L.M. Popow, [in:] *Slavanskie Chroniki*, publ. A.I. Cenkow, Sankt-Petersburg 1996, pp. 325–412.
- Galli Anonymi Chronicon*, publ. Ludwik Finkiel, Stanisław Kętrzyński, Leopoli 1899.
- Gerhardi miracula sancti Oudalrici episcopi Augustani*, publ. Georg Waitz, [in:] MGH SS, vol. 4, Hannover 1841, pp. 377–428.
- Gesta archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium*, publ. Guill. Schum, [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 14, Hannover 1883, pp. 361–486.
- Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, publ. L. Weiland, [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 23, Hannover 1874, pp. 73–123.
- Gesta Chunradi imperatoris*, publ. Harry Breslau [in:] *Die Werke Wipos*, publ. *Ibid.*, Hannover 1915 (=MGH SRG, vol. 61), pp. 1–62.

- Gesta Principum Polonorum/The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, translation and commentary Paul W. Knoll, Frank Schaer, forward Thomas N. Bisson, Budapest/New York 2003 (Central European Medieval Texts, vol. 3).
- Glanvell Victor Wolf von, *Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusededit*, vol. 1: *Die Kanonessammlung selbst*, Aalen 1967 (reprint of work published in Paderborn 1905).
- Górka Olgierd, *List Gwiberta z Gembloux (w. XII) do scholastyka Arnulfa*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 40 (1926), pp. 27–38.
- Helmolda Kronika Słowian*, translated by Józef Matuszewski, introduction and commentary by Jerzy Strzelczyk, Warszawa 1974.
- Helmoldi presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum*, publ. Bernhard Schmeidler, third edition, Hannover 1937 (=MGH, SRG in usum scholarum, vol. 32).
- Herbordi Dialogus de vita s. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis*, publ. Jan Wikarjak, introduction and commentary by Kazimierz Liman, Warszawa 1974 (=MPH, n.s., VII/3).
- Herimanni Augensis Chronicon*, publ. Georg Heinrich Pertz, [in:] MGH SS, vol. 5, Hannover 1844, pp. 67–133.
- Heusgen Paul, *Das älteste Memorienbuch des Kölner Gereonstiftes*, "Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins", 13 (1931), pp. 1–28.
- Houben Hubert, *Das Fragment des Necrologs von St. Blasien (Hs. Wien, ÖNB Cod. lat. 9, fol. I–IV). Facsimile, Einleitung und Register*, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien", 14 (1980), pp. 274–298.
- Houben Hubert, *St. Blasianer Handschriften des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ochsenhauser Klosterbibliothek*, München 1979 (=Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, vol. 30).
- Joannis Dlugossi Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, ks. 1–2, publ. Jan Dąbrowski, Warszawa 1964.
- Joannis Dlugossi Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, books 3–4, publ. by collaborators under the leadership of Marian Plezia, Warszawa 1970.
- Kalendarium necrologicum canonicorum Spirensium*, [in:] Johannes Friedrich Boehmer, *Fontes rerum germanicarum*, vol. 4: *Heinricus de Diessenhofen und andere Geschichtsquellen Deutschlands im späteren Mittelalter*, publ. after the death of the author of the series by Alfons Huber, Stuttgart 1868, reprint Aalen 1969, pp. 315–317.
- Kalendarium necrologicum canonicorum Spirensium recentius*, [in:] Johannes Friedrich Boehmer, *Fontes rerum germanicarum*, vol. 4: *Heinricus de Diessenhofen und andere Geschichtsquellen Deutschlands im späteren Mittelalter*, publ. after the death of the author of the series by Alfons Huber, Stuttgart 1868, reprint Aalen 1969, pp. 317–327.
- Kalendarium necrologicum Sanblasiense*, [in:] Johannes Friedrich Boehmer, *Fontes rerum germanicarum*, vol. 4: *Heinricus de Diessenhofen und andere Geschichtsquellen Deutschlands im späteren Mittelalter*, publ. after the death of the author of the series by Alfons Huber, Stuttgart 1868, reprint Aalen 1969, pp. 148–149.
- Kalendarium necrologicum Weltenburgense*, [in:] Johannes Friedrich Boehmer, *Fontes rerum germanicarum*, vol. 4: *Heinricus de Diessenhofen und andere Geschichtsquellen Deutschlands im späteren Mittelalter*, publ. after the death of the author of the series by Alfons Huber, Stuttgart 1868, reprint Aalen 1969, pp. 568–572.
- Kalendarz katedry krakowskiej*, publ. Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, [in:] *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz*, publ. eadem, Warszawa 1978 (=MPH, seria II/ n.s., vol. 5), pp. 107–213.
- Kodeks dyplomatyczny klasztoru tynieckiego*, part 1, publ. Wojciech Kętrzyński, Stanisław Smolka, Lwów 1875.
- Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, vol. 1, Poznań 1877.

- Kodeks Matyldy. Księga obrzędów z kartami dedykacyjnymi*, Brygida Kürbis and collaborators eds, Cracow 2000 (=Monumenta Sacra Polonorum, vol. 1).
- Kronika Polska*, publ. Ludwik Ćwikliński, [in:] MPH, vol. 3, Lwów 1878, pp. 578–656.
- Kronika książąt polskich*, publ. Zygmunt Węclewski, [in:] MPH, vol. 3, Lwów 1878, pp. 423–578.
- Kronika Thietmara*, introduction, translation and commentary by Marian Zygmunt Jedlicki, Poznań 1953 (=Biblioteka tekstów historycznych, vol. 3).
- Księga bracka i nekrolog opactwa Panny Marii w Lubiniu*, publ. Zbigniew Perzanowski, Warszawa 1976 (=NPH, n.s., vol. 9, part 2).
- Liber precum Gertrudae ducissae*, publ. Małgorzata H. Malewicz, Brygida Kürbis, [in:] *Modlitwy księżnej Gertrudy z Psalterza Egberta z kalendarzem*, publ. Małgorzata H. Malewicz, B. Kürbis, prepared by B. Kürbis, Cracow 2002 (=Monumenta Sacra Polonorum, vol. 2), pp. 119–170.
- Magistri Adami Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesie Pontificum*, publ. Bernhard Schmeidler, third edition, Hannover 1917 (=MGH, SRG in usum scholarum, vol. 2).
- Magistri Vincenti dicti Kadlubek Chronica Polonorum/Mistrza Wincentego zwanego Kadlubkiem Kronika Polska*, publ. Marian Plezia, Cracow 1994 (=MPH, NS, vol. 11).
- Metz Wolfgang, *Das älteste Nekrolog des Speyer Domstifts und die Todesdaten salischer Königskinder. Mit einem Exkurs: Das älteste Osnabrücker Domneko-log und die Zehnturkunden Heinrichs IV.*, "Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde", 29 (1983), pp. 193–208.
- Miracula beati Egidii auctore Petro Guillelmo*, publ. Georg Heinrich Pertz, [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 12, Stuttgart 1856, pp. 316–323.
- Monachi Sazaviensis Continuatio Cosmae*, publ. Josef Emler, [in:] *Fontes rerum Bohe-micarum*, vol. 2, part 1, Pragae 1874, pp. 238–269.
- Monumenta episcopatus wirzburgensis*, Monachii 1864 (=Monumenta Boica, vol. 37/ collectio nova vol. 10).
- Nadania Bolesławów Chrobrego i Krzywoustego*, publ. August Bielowski, [in:] MPH, vol. 1, publ. August Bielowski, Lwów 1864, pp. 516–520.
- Necrologium monasterii Altae Inferioris*, publ. Maximilian Fastlinger, [in:] MGH, *Necrologia Germaniae*, vol. 4: *Diocesis Pataviensis*, publ. Maximilian Fastlinger, Josef Sturm, Berlin 1920, pp. 27–72.
- Necrologium monasterii sancti Emmerammi Ratisbonensis*, publ. Franz Ludwig Baumann, [in:] MGH, *Necrologia*, vol. 3: *Dioceses Brixensis, Frisingensis, Ratisbonensis*, publ. Franz Ludwig Baumann, Berlin 1905, pp. 301–334.
- Necrologium monasterii superioris Ratisbonensis*, publ. Franz Ludwig Baumann, [in:] MGH, *Necrologia*, vol. 3: *Dioceses Brixensis, Frisingensis, Ratisbonensis*, publ. Franz Ludwig Baumann, Berlin 1905, pp. 334–349.
- Necrologium Weltenburgense*, publ. Franz Ludwig Baumann, [in:] MGH, *Necrologia*, vol. 3: *Dioceses Brixensis, Frisingensis, Ratisbonensis*, publ. Franz Ludwig Baumann, Berlin 1905, pp. 369–383.
- Necrologium Zwifaltense*, publ. Franz Ludwig Baumann, [in:] MGH, *Necrologia Germa-niae*, vol. 1: *Dioceses Augustensis, Constantiensis, Curiensis*, Berlin 1888, pp. 240–268.
- Nekrolog opactwa św. Wincentego we Wrocławiu*, publ. Karol Maleczyński, intro-duction and commentaries by Brygida Kürbis, Ryszard Walczak, Warszawa 1971 (=MPH, n.s., vol. 9, part 1).
- Notae Aschaffenburgenses*, publ. Harry Bresslau, [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 30, part 2, Lipsiae 1934, pp. 757–760.
- Notae Zwifaltenses*, publ. Georg Waitz, [in:] MGH SS., vol. 24, Hannover 1879, pp. 829–830.
- Ortliebi Chronicon*, [in:] *Die Zwiefalter Chroniken Ortliebs und Bertholds*, publ. and translated into German by Erich König, Karl Otto Müller, Stuttgart/Berlin 1941 (=Schwäbische Chroniken der Stauferzeit, vol. 2), pp. 2–135.

- Ortliebi de fundatione monasterii Zwivildensis libri II*, publ. Otton Abel, [in:] MGH SS, vol. 10, publ. Heinrich Georg Pertz, Hannover 1852, pp. 64–92.
- Otonis Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, [in:] *Otonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, publ. Georg Waitz, Hannoverae-Lipsiae 1912 (=MGH, SRG, vol. 46), pp. 1–161.
- Papsturkunden 896–1046*, publ. Harald Zimmermann, vol. 1: 896–996, Wien 1984 (=Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 174; Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission, vol. 3).
- Perlbaach Max, *Fragment eines Naumburger Anniversariums*, “Neue Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen”, 17 (1889), pp. 249–255.
- Polens Anfänge. Gallus Anonymus: Chronik und Taten der Herzöge und Fürsten von Polen*, translated, introduction and commentary by Josef Bujnoch, Graz/Wien/Köln 1978 (=Slavische Geschichtsschreiber, vol. 10).
- Regesta Imperii*, prepared by Johann Friedrich Böhrer, vol. II, part 3: *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Otto III. 980 (983)–1002*, prepared a second time by Mathilde Uhlirz, Graz/Köln 1956.
- Relacja Ibrahim ibn Jakuba z podróży do krajów słowiańskich w przekazie Al-Bekriego*, publ. Introduction and commentary Tadeusz Kowalski, Cracow 1946 (=MPH NS, vol. 1).
- Rheinisches Urkundenbuch. Altere Urkunden bis 1100*, Erich Wisplinghoff ed., vol. 1: *Aachen—Deutz*, Bonn 1972 (=Publikationen der Gesellschaft für rheinische Geschichtskunde, vol. 57).
- Rocznik dawny*, publ. Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa [in:] *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, [in:] *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz*, publ. eadem, Warszawa 1978 (=MPH, n.s., vol. 5), pp. 1–17.
- Rocznik kamieniecki*, publ. August Bielowski, [in:] MPH, vol. 2 Lwów 1872, pp. 776–778.
- Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, publ. Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa [in:] *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, [in:] *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz*, publ. eadem, Warszawa 1978 (=MPH, n.s., vol. 5).
- Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, publ. Brygida Kürbis, [in:] *Roczniki wielkopolskie*, Brygida Kürbis ed., with cooperation of Gerard Labuda, Jerzy Luciński, Ryszard Walczak, Warszawa 1962 (=MPH, n.s., vol. 6), pp. 21–78.
- Rocznik poznański I*, publ. Brygida Kürbis, [in:] *Roczniki wielkopolskie*, publ. Brygida Kürbis, with the collaboration of Gerard Labuda, Jerzy Luciński, Ryszard Walczak, Warszawa 1962 (=MPH, n.s., vol. 6), pp. 127–134.
- S. *Adalberti Pragensis episcopi et martyris vita altera auctore Brunoni Querfurtensi*, publ. Jadwiga Karwasińska, [in:] MPH, n.s., vol. IV, part 2, Warszawa 1969, pp. 1–69.
- S. *Adalberti Pragensis episcopi et martyris vita prior*, publ. Jadwiga Karwasińska, [in:] MPH, n.s., vol. IV, part 1, Warszawa 1962, pp. 1–84.
- S. *Otonis episcopi Babenbergensis Vita Prieflingensis*, publ. Jan Wikarjak, introduction and commentary by Kazimierz Liman, Warszawa 1966 (=MPH, n.s., vol. 7, part 1).
- Schweitzer Caspar Anton, *Vollständiger Auszug aus den vorzüglichsten Calendarien des ehemaligen Fürstenthums Bamberg*, “Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg”, 7 (1844), pp. 67–317.
- Spisy dawne skarba i biblioteki kapitulnej krakowskiej*, publ. August Bielowski, [in:] MPH, vol. 1, Lwów 1864, pp. 376–378.
- Teichmann Eduard, *Das älteste Aachener Totenbuch*, “Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins”, 38 (1916), pp. 1–213.
- Thietmar von Merseburg, *Chronik*, publ. and translated by Werner Trillmich, epilogue by Stefan Patzold, eighth edition, Darmstadt 2002 (=Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 9).
- Translatio Godehardi episcopi hildesheimensis*, publ. Heinrich Georg Pertz, [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 12, Stuttgart 1856, pp. 639–652.
- Vita et passio sancti Brunonis episcopi et martyris Querfordensis*, publ. Heinrich Kauffmann, [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 30, fasc. 3, Hiersemann 1926, pp. 1350–1367.

- Vita Heinrici IV. imperatoris*, publ. Wilhelm Eberhard, Hannover 1899 (=MGH SRG in usum scholarum, vol. 58).
- Vita sancti Stanislai cracoviensis episcopi (Vita maior)*, publ. Wojciech Kętrzyński, [in:] MPH, vol. 4, Lwów 1884, pp. 319–438.
- Vita quinque fratrum eremitarum [seu] Vita uel passio Benedicti et Iohannis sociorumque suorum auctore Brunone Quesrfurtensi*, publ. Jadwiga Karwasińska, [in:] MPH, n.s., vol. 4, part 3, Warszawa 1973, pp. 7–84.
- Vita sancti Adalberti episcopi*, publ. Georg Heinrich Pertz, [in:] MGH, SS, vol. 4, Hannover 1841, pp. 574–620.
- Wolfherii Vita Godehardi episcopi prior*, publ. Heinrich Georg Pertz, [in:] MGH SS, vol. 11, Stuttgart 1854, pp. 167–196.

REFERENCES

- Althoff Gerd, *Adels- und Königsfamilien im Spiegel ihrer Memorialüberlieferung. Studien zum Totengedanken der Billunger und Ottonen*, München 1984 (=Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, vol. 47).
- , *Anlässe zur schriftlichen Fixierung adligen Selbstverständnisses*, “Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins”, 134/N.F. 95 (1986): Karl Schmid ed., *Staufer—Welfen—Zähringer. Ihr Selbstverständnis und seine Ausdrucksformen*, pp. 34–46.
- , *Beobachtungen zu den Necrolog-Handschriften, ihrer Anlage und zu den eingetragenen Personen*, [in:] Gerd Althoff, Joachim Wollasch eds, *Die Totenbücher von Merseburg, Magdeburg und Lüneburg*, Hannover 1983 (=MGH, Libri memoriales et Necrologia, n.s., vol. 2), pp. XX–XXXVIII.
- , *Beratungen über die Gestaltung zeremonieller und ritueller Verfahren im Mittelalter*, [in:] Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger ed., *Vormoderne politische Verfahren*, Berlin 2001 (=Zeitschrift für historische Forschung, Beiheft 25), pp. 53–71.
- , *Causa Scribendi und Darstellungsabsicht. Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde und andere Beispiele*, [in:] Michael Borgolte, Herrad Spilling eds, *Litterae medii aevi. Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*, Sigmaringen 1988, pp. 116–133.
- , *Der König weint. Rituelle Tränen in öffentlicher Kommunikation*, [in:] Jan-Dirk Müller ed., *„Aufführung“ und „Schrift“ In Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Stuttgart-Weimar 1996 (=Germanistische Symposien. Berichtsbände, vol. 17), pp. 239–252.
- , *Gandersheim und Quedlinburg. Ottonische Fraunklöster als Herrschafts- und Überlieferungszentren*, “Frühmittelalterliche Studien”, 25 (1991), pp. 123–144.
- , *Symbolische Kommunikation zwischen Piasten und Ottonen*, [in:] Michael Borgolte ed., *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren. Die Berliner Tagung über den „Akt von Gnesen“*, Berlin 2002 (=Europa im Mittelalter, vol. 5), pp. 293–308.
- , *Verwandschaft, Freundschaft, Klientel. Der schwierige Weg zum Ohr des Herrschers*, [in:] Ibid., *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter. Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde*, Darmstadt 1997, pp. 185–198.
- Althoff Gerd, Siep Ludwig, *Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme vom Mittelalter bis zur französischen Revolution. Der neue Münsterer Sonderforschungsbereich 496*, “Frühmittelalterliche Studien”, 34 (2000), pp. 393–412.
- Andrałojć Małgorzata, Andrałojć Mirosław, *Bulla Bolesława księcia Polski/Eine Bulle von Fürst Bolesław von Polen*, Poznań 2006 (=PTPN, Wydział Historii i Nauk Społecznych, Prace Komisji Archeologicznej, vol. 24).
- , Andrałojć Mirosław, *O polskich bullach książęcych*, “Inne Oblicze Historii”, 1 (12) (2007), pp. 29–34.
- Angenendt Arnold, *Die große Zeit der Schwarzen Mönche. Zur Bedeutung von Stiftung und Gebet*, [in:] Petr Sommer ed., *Der heilige Prokop, Böhmen und Mitteleuropa. Internationales Symposium Benešov—Sázava, 24.–26. September 2003*, Praha 2005, pp. 27–34.

- , *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 1997.
- Assmann Aleida, Assmann Jan, *Schrift, Tradition und Kultur*, [in:] Wolfgang Raible ed., *Zwischen Festtag und Alltag. Zehn Beiträge zum Thema "Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit"*, Tübingen 1988 (=ScriptOralia 6), pp. 25–49.
- , Assmann Jan, *Schrift und Gedächtnis*, [in:] *Schrift und Gedächtnis. Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation*, München 1983 (=Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation I), pp. 265–284.
- Assmann Jan, *Ägypten. Eine Sinngeschichte*, München/Wien 1996.
- , *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München 1992.
- Bagge Sverre, *The Political Thought of The King's Mirror*, Odense 1987 (=Mediaeval Scandinavia Supplements, vol. 3).
- Bagi Daniel, *Die Darstellung der Zusammenkunft von Otto III. und Boleslaw dem Tapferen in Gnesen im Jahre 1000 beim Gallus Anonymus*, [in:] Ferenc Glatz ed., *Die ungarische Staatsbildung und Ostmitteleuropa. Studien und Vorträge*, Budapest 2002 (=Begegnungen. Schriftenreihe des Europa Institutes Budapest, vol. 15), pp. 177–188.
- , *Gallus Anonymus és Mayarország. A Geszta magyar adatai, forrásai, mintái, valamint a szerző történetiszemlélete a latin Kelet-Közép-Európa 12. század eleji latin nyelvű trténétirásának tükrében*, Budapest 2005.
- Balzer Oskar, *Genealogia Piastów*, second edn., introduction Jan Tęgowski, Cracow 2005.
- , *Skarbiec i archiwum koronne w dobie przedjagiellońskiej*, Lwów 1917 (=Prace naukowe wydawnictwa Towarzystwa dla popierania nauki polskiej, section 1, vol. 4).
- Banaszkiewicz Jacek, *Bolesław i Peredeślawa. Uwagi o uroczystości stanowienia władcy w związku z wiejskiem Chrobrego do Kijowa*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 97 (1990), nr 3–4, pp. 3–35.
- , "Die Mäusethurmsage"—*The Symbolism of Annihilation of an Evil Ruler*, "Acta Poloniae Historica", 51 (1985), pp. 5–32.
- , *Jak Ehrenfried Ezzo wygrał od Ottona III jego siostrę Matyldę*, [in:] Wojciech Fałkowski, Halina Manikowska, Antoni Mączak, Karol Modzelewski eds, *Aetas media, aetas moderna. Studia ofiarowane prof. Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w 70-tą rocznicę urodzin*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 375–386.
- , *Jedność porządku przestrzennego, społecznego i początków tradycji ludu (Uwagi o urzędzeniu wspólnoty plemiennie-państwowej u Słowian)*, "Przegląd Historyczny", 77 (1986), nr 4, pp. 445–466.
- , *Königliche Karrieren von Hirten, Gärtnern und Pflügern. Zu einem mittelalterlichen Erzählschema vom Erwerb der Königsherrschaft [die Sagen von Johannes Agnus, Přemysl, Ina, Wamba und Dagobert]*, "Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte", 33 (1982), pp. 265–286.
- , *Król i łaźnia. Bóg i łaźnia (Gall Anonim o Bolesławie Chrobrym. "Povest' vremennykh let" o stworzeniu Pierwszego Człowieka)*, [in:] Teresa Michałowska ed., *Wyobraźnia średniowieczna*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 205–222.
- , *Les lieux du pouvoir dans le haut Moyen Âge*, [in:] Michał Tymowski ed., *Les lieux du pouvoir au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne*, Warszawa 1995, pp. 11–28.
- , *Mieszko I i władcy jego epoki*, [in:] Jan M. Piskorski ed., *Civitas Schinesghe. Mieszko I i początki państwa polskiego*, Poznań/Gniezno 2004, pp. 89–110.
- , *Młodzieńcze gesta Bolesława Krzywoustego, czyli Jak zostaje się prawdziwym rycerzem i władcą*, [in:] Mariusz Markiewicz, Ryszard Skowron eds, *Theatrum ceremoniale na dworze książąt i królów polskich. Materiały konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Zamek Królewski na Wawelu i Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w dniach 23–25 marca 1998*, Cracow 1999, pp. 11–29.
- , *O pomysłach etymologiczno-historycznych p. Andrzeja Bienkowskiego, dotyczących imion postaci z podania dynastycznego Piastów*, "Onomastica", 37 (1992), pp. 262–271.

- , *Origo et religio: versio germano-slavica, ou Des manières dont se construit l'identité communautaire dans le haut Moyen Âge: « vestiges modèles » et leur affabulation*, [in:] Michel Rouche ed., *Clovis. Histoire et mémoire*, vol. 2: *Le baptême de Clovis, son écho à travers l'histoire*, Paris 1997, pp. 315–328.
- , *Otton III jedzie do Gniezna. O sprawie ceremonialnej wizyty cesarza w kraju i stolicy Polan*, [in:] Wojciech Dzieduszycki, Maciej Przybył eds, *Trakt cesarski. Itawa—Gniezno—Magdeburg*, Poznań 2002 (=Bibliotheca Fontes Archaeologici Poznanienses, vol. 11), pp. 277–315.
- , “*Podanie bohaterskie*” o Mieszku I zanotowane w *Kronice Galla Anonima (I,4)*, [in:] Tomasz Jasiński, Tomasz Jurek, Jan M. Piskorski eds, *Homines et societas. Czasy Piastów i Jagiellonów. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Antoniemu Gąsiorowskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin*, Poznań 1997 (=Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Wydział Historii i Nauk Społecznych, Prace Komisji Historycznej, vol. 55), pp. 35–45.
- , *Podanie o Piaście i Popielu. Studium porównawcze nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi tradycjami dynastycznymi*, Warszawa 1986.
- , *Tradycje dynastyczno-plemienne Słowiańszczyzny północnej*, [in:] Ziemie polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy, Henryk Samsonowicz ed., Cracow 2000, pp. 261–277.
- , *Trzy razy uczta*, [in:] Stefan K. Kuczyński ed., *Spółczesność Polski Średniowiecznej*, vol. 5, Warszawa 1992, pp. 95–108.
- , *Włócznia i chorągiew. O rycie otwierania bitwy w związku z cudem kampanii nakielskiej Bolesława Krzywoustego (Kadłubek, III, 14)*, “*Kwartalnik Historyczny*”, 94 (1987), nr 4, pp. 3–24.
- , *Złota ręka komesa Żelislawa (Gall, II, 25; Kadłubek, II, 24, 26)*, [in:] Jacek Banaszek ed., *Imagines potestatis. Rytuały, symbole i konteksty fabularne władzy zwierzchniej. Polska X–XV w. (z przykładem czeskim i ruskim)*, Warszawa 1994 (=Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia, vol. 1), pp. 228–248.
- Barański Marek, *Organizacja setno-dziesiętnicza w Polsce XI–XIII wieku*, “*Roczniki Historyczne*”, 45 (1979), pp. 1–48.
- Bardach Juliusz, *L'état polonais du haut Moyen Age*, “*Acta Poloniae Historica*”, 5 (1962), pp. 7–47.
- Bednarek Stefan, *Pojmowanie kultury i jej historii we współczesnych syntezach dziejów kultury polskiej*, Wrocław 1995.
- Benyskiewicz Krzysztof, *Mieszko Bolesławowic, 1069–1089. Źródła i tradycja historiograficzna*, Cracow 2005.
- Benz Karl Josef, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Bedeutung der Kirchweihe unter Teilnahme der deutschen Herrscher im hohen Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zum Studium des Verhältnisses zwischen weltlicher Macht und kirchlicher Wirklichkeit unter Otto III. und Heinrich II*, Kallmünz Opf. 1975 (=Regensburger Historische Forschungen, vol. 4).
- Bernhardt John W., *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075*, Cambridge 1993 (=Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. Fourth Series).
- Berschin Walter, *Über den Ruhm des heiligen Ulrich*, [in:] Manfred Weitlauff ed., *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg, 890–973. Seine Zeit—sein Leben—seine Verehrung. Festschrift aus Anlaß des tausendjährigen Jubiläums seiner Kanonisation im Jahre 993*, Wißenhorn 1993 (=Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte, vol. 26/27), pp. 179–196.
- Beuckers Klaus Gereon, *Die Ezzonen und ihre Stiftungen. Eine Untersuchung zur Stiftungstätigkeit im 11. Jahrhundert*, Münster/Hamburg 1993 (=LIT, Kunstgeschichte, vol. 42).
- Beumann Helmut, *Die Hagiographie “bewältigt”. Unterwerfung und Christianisierung der Sachsen durch Karl den Großen*, [in:] Jürgen Petersohn, Roderich Schmidt, eds *Ibid., Ausgewählte Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1966–1986. Festgabe zu seinem 75. Geburtstag*, Sigmaringen 1987, pp. 289–323.

- , *Die Historiographie des Mittelalters als Quelle für die Ideengeschichte des Königtums*, [in:] Max Kerner ed., *Ideologie und Herrschaft im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 1982 (=Wege der Forschung, vol. 530), pp. 140–183.
- , *Grab und Thron Karls des Großen zu Aachen*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Wissenschaft vom Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Köln/Wien 1972, pp. 347–376.
- , *Historiographische Konzeption und politische Ziele Widukinds von Corvey*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Wissenschaft vom Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Köln/Wien 1972, pp. 71–108.
- , *Zur Entwicklung transpersonaler Staatsvorstellungen*, [in:] *Das Königtum. Seine geistigen und rechtlichen Grundlagen. Mainauvorträge 1954*, Konstanz 1956 (=Vorträge und Forschungen vol. III), pp. 184–224.
- Bieniak Janusz, *Autor Rocznika dawnego*, [in:] *Kultura średniowieczna i staropolska. Studia ofiarowane Aleksandrowi Gieysztorowi w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*, Warszawa 1991, pp. 427–442.
- , *Państwo Mieclawa. Studium analityczne*, Warszawa 1963.
- , *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku (część II. Wróżda i zgoda)*, [in:] Stefan K. Kuczyński ed., *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1985, pp. 13–74.
- , *Polska elita polityczna XII wieku (część IV A. Dwa możnowładztwa—wobec jedności państwa) (I)*, [in:] Stefan K. Kuczyński ed., *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów*, vol. 10, Warszawa 2004, pp. 19–46.
- Birkenmajer Józef, *Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego (Próba ustalenia tekstu)*, [in:] *Munera philologica Ludovico Čwikliński oblata*, Poznań 1936, pp. 347–370.
- Bischof Franz Xaver, *Die Kanonisation Bischof Ulrichs auf der Lateransynode des Jahres 993*, [in:] Manfred Weitlauff ed., *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg, 890–973. Seine Zeit—sein Leben—seine Verehrung. Festschrift aus Anlaß des tausendjährigen Jubiläums seiner Kanonisation im Jahre 993*, Wißenhorn 1993 (=Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte, vol. 26/27), pp. 197–222.
- Bisson Thomas N., *On Not Eating Polish Bread in Vain: Resonance and Conjuncture in the “Deeds of the Princes of Poland” (1109–1113)*, “Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies”, 29 (1998), pp. 275–289.
- Black-Veldtrup Mechthild, *Kaiserin Agnes (1043–1077). Quellenkritische Studien*, Köln/Weimar/Wien 1995 (=Münstersche Historische Forschungen, vol. 7).
- Bláhová Marie, *Die Anfänge des böhmischen Staates in der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung*, [in:] Franz-Reiner Erkens, Hartmut Wolff eds, *Von sacerdotium und regnum. Geistliche und weltliche Gewalt im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. Festschrift für Egon Boshof zum 65. Geburtstag*, Köln/Weimar/Wien 2002, pp. 67–76.
- , *Funkce středověké historiografie se zřetelem k českým zemím*, [in:] Hana Pátková ed., *Česká beseda o německých i českých kronikách, pamětech a dalších vyprávěcích pramenach. Příspěvky z konference pořádané 9. listopadu 2001 v Ústí nad Labem*, Praha 2006, pp. 9–24.
- , *Vier Epitaphe aus den böhmischen mittelalterlichen Chroniken und Annalen*, [in:] Theo Kölzer, Franz-Albrecht Bohnschlagel, Christian Friedl, Goerg Vogeler eds, *De litteris, manuscriptis, inscriptionibus... Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Walter Koch*, Wien/Köln/Weimar 2007, pp. 271–278.
- Bodarwé Katrinette, *Sanctimoniales litteratae. Schriftlichkeit und Bildung in den ottonischen Frauenkommunitäten Gandersheim, Essen und Quedlinburg*, Münster 2004 (=Quellen und Studien. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für kirchengeschichtliche Forschung des Bistums Essen, vol. 10).
- Bogdanowicz Piotr, *Chrząst Polski*, “*Nasza Przeszłość*”, 23 (1966), pp. 7–64.
- , *Geneza aktu dyplomatycznego zwanego Dagome iudex*, “*Roczniki Historyczne*”, 25 (1959), pp. 9–33.
- , *Uwagi nad panowaniem Mieszka I. Przypuszczalna przyczyna sojuszu z cesarzką Teofano*, “*Roczniki Historyczne*”, 26 (1960), pp. 89–122.

- Bolz Bogdan, *Księga obrzędów dla króla Mieszka II (około 1025)*, Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek, C 91, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 28 (1983), pp. 163–172.
- Bok Václav, *Zum Kult der regensburger Heiligen Emmeram und Erhard in den böhmischen Ländern*, [in:] *Das mittelalterliche Regensburg im Zentrum Europas*, Edith Feistner ed., Regensburg 2006 (=Forum Mittelalter. Studien, vol. 1), pp. 223–233.
- Borawska Danuta, *Gallus Anonim czy Italus Anonim?*, "Przegląd Historyczny", 56 (1965), nr 1, pp. 111–119.
- , *Kryzys monarchii wczesnopiastowskiej w latach trzydziestych XI wieku*, Warszawa 1964.
- , *Margravia Miśni Ekkehard u Ludolfingowie*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 86 (1979), nr 4, pp. 933–949.
- , *O imię Dąbrówki*, [in:] Jerzy Dowiad, Aleksander Gieysztor, Janusz Tazbir, Stanisław Trawkowski eds, *Polska w świecie. Szkice z dziejów kultury polskiej*, Warszawa 1972, pp. 41–59.
- Borgolte Michael, *Mittelalterforschung und Postmoderne. Aspekte einer Herausforderung*, "Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft", 43 (1995), fasc. 7, pp. 615–627.
- , *Über Typologie und Chronologie des Königskanonikats um europäischen Mittelalter*, "Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters", 47 (1991), fasc. 1, pp. 19–44.
- Bouchard Constance B., *Family Structure and Family Consciousness among the Aristocracy in the Ninth to Eleventh Centuries*, "Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte", 14 (1986), pp. 639–658.
- Boyer Pascal, *Tradition as Truth and Communication. A cognitive description of traditional discourse*, Cambridge/New York/Port Chester/Melbourne/Sydney 1990 (=Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology, vol. 68).
- Braun Rainer, *Das Benediktinerkloster Michelsberg 1015–1525. Eine Untersuchung zur Gründung, Rechtsstellung und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Kulmbach 1978 (=Die Plessenburg: Schriften für Herimatsforschung und Kulturpflege in Ostfranken, vol. 39), vol. 1.
- Brückner Aleksander, *Historia a filologia*, "Przegląd Historyczny", 4 (1907), pp. 265–282.
- , *Pierwsza powieść historyczna*, "Przegląd Humanistyczny", 3 (1924), pp. 117–136.
- Buc Philippe, *Dangereux rituel. De l'histoire médiévale aux sciences sociales*, Paris 2003.
- , *Political Rituals and Political Imagination in the Medieval West from the Fourth Century to the Eleventh*, [in:] *The Medieval World*, Peter Linehan, Janet L. Nelson eds, London/New York 2001, pp. 189–213.
- , *Warum weniger die Handelnden selbst als eher die Chronisten das politische Ritual erzeugten—und warum es niemandem auf die wahre Geschichte ankam*, [in:] *Die Macht des Königs. Herrschaft im Europa vom Frühmittelalter bis in die Neuzeit*, Bernhard Jussen ed., München 2005, pp. 27–37.
- Bujnoch Josef, *Gallus Anonymus und Cosmas von Prag. Zwei Geschichtsschreiber und Zeitgenossen*, [in:] *Osteuropa in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Festschrift für Günther Stökl zum 60. Geburtstag*, Hans Lemberg, Peter Nitsche, Erwin Oberländer eds, Köln/Wien 1977, pp. 301–315.
- Buko Andrzej, *Archeologia Polski wczesnośredniowiecznej. Odkrycia—hipotezy—interpretacje*, Warszawa 2005.
- Bulach Doris, *Quedlinburg als Gedächtnisort der Ottonen. Von der Stiftsgründung bis zur Gegenwart*, "Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft", 48 (2000), z. 2, pp. 101–118.
- Carruthers Marry, *Boncompagno at the Cutting-edge of Rhetoric: Rhetorical "Memoria" and the Craft of Memory*, "The Journal of Medieval Latin. A Publication of the North American Association of Medieval Latin", 6 (1996), pp. 44–64.
- , *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge/New York/Port Chester/Melbourne/Sydney 1990 (=Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, vol. 10).

- Cetwiński Marek, *Jeszcze o fundacji opactwa benedyktynów w Lubiniu*, [in:] *Ibid., Śląski tygiel. Studia z dziejów polskiego średniowiecza*, Częstochowa 2001, pp. 102–113.
- , *Opieka nad biednymi i jej rola w sprawowaniu władzy w świetle średniowiecznych źródeł śląskich*, [in:] *Curatores pauperum. Źródła i tradycje kultury charytatywnej Europy Środkowej*, Antoni Barciak ed., Katowice 2004, pp. 31–38.
- Chłopocka Helena, *Wstęp* [to: Jan Kanapariusz, *Żywoł pierwszy*], [in:] *W kręgu żywotów św. Wojciecha*, Jan Andrzej Spieź ed., Cracow 1997, pp. 35–40.
- Chudziak Wojciech, *Geneza wczesnoromańskiej bazyliki z Kaldusa na Pomorzu Nadwiślańskim*, [in:] *Początki architektury monumentalnej w Polsce. Materiały z sesji naukowej, Gniezno, 20–21 listopada 2003 roku*, Tomasz Janiak, Dariusz Stryniak eds, Gniezno 2004, pp. 245–256.
- , *Wczesnośredniowieczna przestrzeń sakralna in Culmine na Pomorzu Nadwiślańskim*, Toruń 2003.
- , *Wyniki badań weryfikacyjnych i rozpoznawczych na ziemi chełmińskiej*, [in:] *Ziemia polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy*, Henryk Samsonowicz ed., Cracow 2000, pp. 85–100.
- Claude Dietrich, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Magdeburg bis in das 12. Jahrhundert, part 1: Die Geschichte der Erzbischöfe bis auf Ruotger (1124)*, Köln/Wien 1972.
- Coleman Janet, *Ancient and Medieval Memories. Studies in the reconstruction of the Past*, Cambridge/New York/Port Chester/Melbourne/Sydney 1992.
- Corbet Patrick, *Les saints ottoniens. Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autour de l'an Mil*, Sigmaringen 1986 (=Beihefte der Francia, vol. 15).
- Cywiński Piotr M.A., *Druga metropolia Bolesława Chrobrego a Brunon z Querfurtu*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 108 (2001), nr 4, pp. 3–15.
- Dalewski Zbigniew, *Ceremonia inauguracji władcy w Polsce*, [in:] *Imagines potestatis. Rytuały, symbole i konteksty fabularne władzy zwierzchniej. Polska X–XV w.*, Jacek Banaszkiwicz ed., Warszawa 1994 (=Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia, vol. 1), pp. 9–30.
- , *Die heilige Lanze und die polnischen Insignien*, [in:] *Europas Mitte um Jahr 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*, Alfried Wieczorek, Hans-Martin Hinz ed., Stuttgart 2000, vol. 2, pp. 907–911.
- , *Między Gnieznem a Poznaniem. O miejscach władzy w państwie pierwszych Piastów*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 98 (1991), nr 2, pp. 19–43.
- , *Pasowanie na rycerza książąt polskich we wcześniejszym średniowieczu: znaczenie ideowe i polityczne*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 104 (1997), nr 4, pp. 15–35.
- , *Rytuał i polityka. Opowieść Galla Anonima o konflikcie Bolesława Krzywoustego ze Zbigniewem*, Warszawa 2005.
- , *Vivat princeps in eternum! Sacrality of ducal power in Poland in the earlier Middle Ages*, [in:] *Monotheistic Kingship: the medieval variants*, Aziz al-Azmeh, János M. Bak eds, Budapest 2004, (CEU mediaevalia, vol. 7), pp. 215–230.
- , *Władza—przestrzeń—ceremoniał. Miejsce i uroczystość inauguracji władcy w Polsce średniowiecznej do końca XIV w.*, Warszawa 1996.
- David Pierre, *La Pologne dans l'obituaire de Saint-Gilles en Languedoc au XII^e siècle*, "Revue des Études Slaves", 19 (1939), pp. 217–226.
- Davies R.R., *The Peoples of Britain and Ireland, 1100–1400: IV. Language and Historical Mythology*, "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society", seria 6, 7 (1997), pp. 1–24.
- Dąbrowska Elżbieta, *Cluny a św. Wojciech. Relacja "Historiae libri quinque" Rudolfa Glabera o męczeństwie św. Wojciecha*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 110 (2003), nr 3, pp. 5–13.
- , *Groby członków dynastii piastowskiej we wczesnym średniowieczu. Stan badań*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 70 (2004), pp. 167–182.
- , *Miejsce uprzywilejowane grobu w opactwach reguły św. Benedykta we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Lapides viventes. Zaginiony Kraków wieków średnich. Księga*

- dedykowana Profesor Klementynie Żurowskiej, Jerzy Gadowski, Adam Malkiewicz, Teresa Rodzińska-Choraży, Andrzej Włodarek eds, Cracow 2005, pp. 355–371.
- Delimata Małgorzata, *Królowa Rycheza w opinii kronikarzy i w polskiej historiografii*, [in:] *Nihil superfluum esse. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, Jerzy Strzelczyk and Józef Dobosz eds, Poznań 2000 (=Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, 33), pp. 123–128.
- , *Żona Popiela oraz Rycheza i Agnieszka jako przykłady złych małżonek władców. Uwagi w świetle polskich kronik (do początku XVI stulecia)*, [in:] *Cognitionis gestorum. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza dedykowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Strzelczykowi*, Dariusz A. Sikorski, Andrzej M. Wyrwa eds, Poznań/Warszawa 2006, pp. 251–262.
- Demm Eberhardt, *Reformmönchtum und Slawenmission im 12. Jahrhundert. Wertsoziologisch-geistgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Viten Bischof Ottos von Bamberg*, Lübeck/Hamburg 1970.
- , *Zur Interpretation und Datierung des Ottoviten*, “Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte”, 39 (1976), fasc. 2, pp. 565–605.
- Deptuła Czesław, “Athleta Christi”—“Rex Poloniae” (*Z dziejów ideologii królestwa polskiego*), “Znak”, 26 (1974), nr 12 (246), pp. 1593–1604.
- , *Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski. Studium z historiozofii i hermeneutyki symboli dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego*, [second amended edition], Lublin 2000.
- , *Kościół plocki w XII wieku*, [in:] *Kościół plocki w XI–XX wieku. Jubileuszowa Księga Pamiątkowa 900-lecia Diecezji*, Jerzy Kłoczowski ed., Płock 1975 (=Studia Płockie, vol. 3), pp. 67–84.
- , *Mortui cantantes*, [in:] *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne* (Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, vol. 44), Danuta Zydorek ed., Poznań 2001, pp. 19–38.
- , *Niektóre aspekty stosunków Polski z cesarstwem w wieku XII*, [in:] *Polska w Europie. Studia historyczne*, Henryk Zins ed., Lublin 1968, pp. 35–92.
- Derwich Marek, *Benedyktynski klasztor św. Krzyża na Łysej Górze w średniowieczu*, Warszawa/Wrocław 1992.
- , *Fundacja lubińska na tle monastycyzmu benedyktynskiego w Polsce*, [in:] *Opactwo Benedyktynów w Lubiniu. Pierwsze wieki istnienia. Materiały z IV Sesji Lubińskiej z okazji 850-lecia konsekracji ołtarza NMP 14–15 października 1995 r.*, Zofia Kurnatowska ed., Poznań 1996, pp. 12–23.
- Derwich Marek, *Kanonicy świeccy, Bolesław Chrobry i Magdeburg. Ze studiów nad “zapomnianą” instytucją kościelną*, [in:] *Viae historicae. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Lechowi A. Tyszkiewiczowi w siedemdziesiąt rocznicę urodzin*, Mateusz Goliński, Stanisław Rosik eds, Wrocław 2001 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 2306, Historia 152), pp. 233–241.
- , *Les fondations de monastères bénédictins en Pologne jusqu’au début du XVI^e siècle*, [in:] *Moines et monastères dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin*, Jean-Loup Lemaitre, Michel Dmitriev, Pierre Gonneau eds, Genève 1996 (=École Pratique des Hautes Études, IV^e Section, Sciences historiques et philologiques V, Hautes Études Médiévales et Modernes, vol. 76), pp. 49–69.
- , *Mogilno i Gniezno. Z dziejów Kościoła w Polsce w drugiej połowie XI wieku*, [in:] *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne*, Danuta Zydorek ed., Poznań 2001 (=Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, vol. 44), pp. 38–47.
- , *Monarchia i możni a Kościół polski [Na marginesie monografii Józefa Dobosza, Monarchia i możni wobec Kościoła w Polsce do początku XIII wieku, (...) Poznań 2002 (...)]*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 68 (2002), pp. 195–205.
- , *Rola Tyńca w rozwoju monastycyzmu benedyktynskiego w Polsce*, [in:] *Benedyktyni tyńciewscy w średniowieczu. Materiały z sesji naukowej Wawel—Tyniec, 13–15 października 1994*, Klementyna Żurowska ed., Cracow 1995, pp. 99–120.
- , *Schlesische und polnische Klosterkultur*, [in:] *Das Reich und Polen. Parallelen, Interaktionen und Formen der Akkulturation im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, Ostfildern 2003 (=Vorträge und Forschungen, vol. 59), pp. 339–356.

- , *Studia nad początkami monastycyzmu na ziemiach polskich. Pierwsze opactwa i ich funkcje*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 107 (2000), nr 2, pp. 77–105.
- , *Średniowieczne mity genezy Polski*, "Znak", 25 (1973), nr 11/12 (233/234), pp. 1365–1403.
- , *Tyniecka zgoda i wyszogrodzka wróżda. O dwóch konfliktach wewnętrznych w Polsce średniowiecznej XII i XIII wieku*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 95 (1988), fasc. 2, pp. 3–24.
- Despland Michel, *Tradition*, [in:] *Historicizing "Tradition" in the Study of Religion*, Steven Engler, Gregory P. Grieve eds, Berlin/New York 2005 (=Religion and Society, vol. 43), pp. 19–32.
- Dębski A., *Bulla ołowiana księcia Bolesława III Krzywoustego* [in:] *Kraków w chrześcijańskiej Europie X–XIII w.*, exhibition catalogue, E. Firlet, E. Zaitz eds, Cracow 2006, poz. 45, p. 468.
- Dimitrij (Jarema) Patriarch, *Ikonopis zachidnoj Ukraini, XII–XV st.*, Lviv 2005.
- Drelicharz Wojciech, *Mittelalterliche Krakauer Annalistik*, "Quaestiones medii aevi novae", 8 (2003): *Intellectual Milieu*, pp. 231–288.
- Dobosz Józef, *Monarchia i możni wobec Kościoła w Polsce do początku XIII wieku*, Poznań 2002.
- , *Dokument Mieszka Starego dla kanoników regularnych w Trzemesznie (28 kwietnia 1145 roku)*, [in:] *Gniezno. Studia i materiały historyczne*, vol. 4, Gniezno 1995, pp. 87–106.
- Dowiat Jerzy, *Kształcenie umysłowe synów książęcych i możnowładczych w Polsce i niektórych krajach sąsiednich w X–XII w.*, [in:] *Polska w świecie. Szkice z dziejów kultury polskiej*, Jerzy Dowiat, Aleksander Gieysztor, Janusz Tazbir, Stanisław Trawkowski eds, Warszawa 1972, pp. 79–90.
- , *W sprawie dziedziczności słowiańskich imion osobowych*, [in:] *Słowianie w dziejach Europy. Studia historyczne ku uczczeniu 75 rocznicy i 50-lecia pracy naukowej Profesora Henryka Łowmiańskiego*, Poznań 1974 (=Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Wydział Filozoficzno-Historyczny, seria Historia, nr 58), pp. 56–61.
- Dragoun Michal, *Den všední, den sváteční a politika přemyslovských Čech*, "Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica", 4 (1995), pp. 47–67.
- Duby Georges, *La vulgarisation des modèles culturels dans la société féodale*, [in:] *Ibid., Hommes et structures du moyen âge. Recueil d'articles*, Paris 1973 (=Le savoir historique, vol. 1), pp. 299–308.
- , *Lignage, noblesse et chevalerie au XII^e siècle dans la région mâconnaise*, "Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations", 27 (1972), nr 4–5, pp. 803–823.
- , *Remarques sur la littérature généalogique en France aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, [in:] *Ibid., Hommes et structures du moyen âge. Recueil d'articles*, Paris 1973 (=Le savoir historique, vol. 1), pp. 287–298.
- , *Structures de parenté et noblesse dans la France du Nord aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, [in:] *Ibid., Hommes et structures du moyen âge. Recueil d'articles*, Paris 1973 (=Le savoir historique, vol. 1), pp. 267–285.
- Dulinicz Marek, *Forschungen zu den Herrschaftszentren des 10. bis 11. Jahrhunderts in Polen*, [in:] *Europa im 10. Jahrhundert. Archäologie einer Aufbruchzeit. Internationale Tagung in Vorbereitung der Ausstellung "Otto der Große, Magdeburg und Europa"*, Joachim Henning ed., Mainz am Rhein 2002, pp. 147–160.
- Dunbabin Jean, *Captivity and Imprisonment in Medieval Europe, 1000–1300*, Houndmills/Basingstoke 2002.
- , *The Maccabees as Exemplars in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, [in:] *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, Katherine Walsh, Diana Wood eds, Oxford/New York 1985 (=Studies in Church history, Subsidia, vol. 4), pp. 31–42.
- Dunin-Wąsowicz Teresa, *Die neuen Heiligenkulte in Mitteleuropa um das Jahr 1000*, [in:] *Europas Mitte um Jahr 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*, Alfried Wiczorek, Hans-Martin Hinz eds, Stuttgart 2000, vol. 2, pp. 834–838.

- , *Kulty świętych w Polsce X w.*, [in:] *Polska w świecie. Szkice z dziejów kultury polskiej*, Jerzy Dowiat, Aleksander Gieysztor, Janusz Tazbir, Stanisław Trawkowski eds, Warszawa 1972, pp. 61–77.
- , *Najstarsi polscy święci: Izaak, Mateusz, Krystyn*, [in:] *Kościół, kultura, społeczeństwo. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*, Stanisław Bylina, Ryszard Kiersnowski, Stefan K. Kuczyński, Henryk Samsonowicz, Józef Szymański, Hanna Zaremska eds, Warszawa 2000, pp. 35–47.
- , *Saint Gilles a Polska we wczesnym średniowieczu*, “Archeologia Polski”, 16 (1971), pp. 651–665.
- , *Wezwania św. Wojciecha w Europie Zachodniej około roku 1000*, [in:] *Święty Wojciech w polskiej tradycji historiograficznej. Antologia tekstów*, selection and preparation Gerard Labuda, Warszawa 1997, pp. 372–379 (original published in 1982).
- Dygo Marian, *Uczty Bolesława Chrobrego*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 112 (2005), nr 3, pp. 41–54.
- Ehlers Capar, *Das Damenstift Gandersheim und die Bischöfe von Hildesheim*, “Die Diözese Hildesheim in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart”, 70 (2002), pp. 1–31.
- Ehlers Joachim, *Historiographische Literatur*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Martin Kintzinger, Bernd Schneidmüller eds, Berlin 1996 (=Berliner Historische Studien, vol. 21), pp. 78–114.
- , *Schriftkultur, Ethnogenese und Nationsbildung in ottonischer Zeit*, “Frühmittelalterliche Studien”, 23 (1989), pp. 302–317.
- Ehrenfechter Ernst, *Die Annalen von Niederalteich. Eine Quellenuntersuchung*, Göttingen 1870.
- Engel Pál, *Die Gründung des christlichen Königreichs*, [in:] *Die ungarische Staatsbildung und Ostmitteleuropa. Studien und Vorträge*, Ferenc Glatz ed., Budapest 2002 (=Begegnungen. Schriftenreihe des Europa Institutes Budapest, vol. 15), pp. 49–74.
- Engelmann Ursmar, *Das kirchliche und monastische Leben*, [in:] *Das Tausendjährige St. Blasien. 200jähriges Domjubiläum*, Christel Römer ed., St. Blasien/Karlsruhe 1983, vol. 2: *Aufsätze*, pp. 33–55.
- Erdmann Carl, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, Darmstadt 1980 (reprint of the edition of 1935).
- Erkens Franz-Reiner, *Konrad II. (um 990–1039). Herrschaft und Reich des ersten Salierkaisers*, Regensburg 1998.
- Facinger Marion F., *A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France 987–1237*, “Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History”, seria 1, 5 (1968), pp. 1–48.
- Faussner Hans Constantin, *Kuno von Öhningen und seine Sippe in ottonisch-salischer Zeit*, “Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters”, 37 (1981), pp. 20–139.
- Fellenberg gen. Reinold Josef, *Die Verehrung des Heiligen Gotthard von Hildesheim in Kirche und Volk*, Bonn 1970 (=Rheinisches Archiv. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande an der Universität Bonn, vol. 74).
- Fenske Lutz, *Adelsoption und kirchliche Reformbewegung im östlichen Sachsen. Entstehung und Wirkung des sächsischen Widerstandes gegen das salische Königtum während des Investiturstreits*, Göttingen 1977 (=Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, vol. 47).
- Feyerabend Paul K., *Przeciw metodzie [Against Method]*, translated by Stefan Wiertelwski, scientific editing of translation Krystyna Zamiara, Wrocław 2001.
- Finck von Finckenstein Albrecht Graf, *Bischof und Reich. Untersuchungen zum Integrationsprozeß des ottonisch-frühsalischen Reiches (919–1056)*, Sigmaringen 1989 (=Studien zur Mediävistik, vol. 1).
- Firlt Janusz, Pianowski Zbigniew, *Z rozważań nad planem najstarszej katedry krakowskiej*, [in:] *Lapides viventes. Zaginiony Kraków wieków średnich. Księga dedykowana Profesor Klementynie Żurowskiej*, Jerzy Gadomski, Adam Małkiewicz, Teresa Rodzińska-Chorąży, Andrzej Włodarek eds, Cracow 2005, pp. 57–66.
- Fleckenstein Josef, *Godehard*, [in:] *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 4, München 1989, c. 1531–1532.

- , *Rex canonicus. Über Entstehung und Bedeutung des mittelalterlichen Königs-kanonikates*, [in:] *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm zu seinem Siebzigsten Geburtstag von Schülern und Freunden zugeeignet*, Peter Classen, Peter Scheibert eds, vol. 1, Wiesbaden 1964, pp. 57–71.
- Foot Sarah, *Remembering, Forgetting and Inventing: Attitudes to the Past in England at the End of the First Viking Era*, “Transactions of the Royal Historical Society”, seria 6, 9 (1999), pp. 185–200.
- Foucault Michel, *Słowa i rzeczy. Archeologia nauk humanistycznych*, translated by Tadeusz Komendant, Gdańsk 2006 (=Słowo—obraz—terytoria. Klasyka światowej humanistyki).
- Fraesdorff David, *Der Barbarische Norden. Vorstellungen und Fremdhheitskategorien bei Rimbart, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau*, Berlin 2005 (=Vorstellungen des Mittelalters, vol. 5).
- Freed John B., *The Counts of Falkenstein: Noble Self-Consciousness in Twelfth-Century Germany*, Philadelphia 1984 (=Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 74, part 6, 1984).
- Freise Eckehard, *Der Codex I 2 2° 8 der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg*, [in:] *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*, Eckhard Freise, Dieter Geuenich, Joachim Wollasch eds, Hannover 1986 (=MGH, Libri Memoriales und Necrologia, n.s., vol. 3), pp. 28–95.
- , *Die Äbte und Konvent von St. Emmeram im Spiegel der Totenbuchführung des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*, Eckhard Freise, Dieter Geuenich, Joachim Wollasch eds, Hannover 1986 (=MGH, Libri Memoriales und Necrologia, n.s., vol. 3), pp. 96–106.
- Fried Johannes, *Der hl. Adalbert und Gnesen*, “Archiv für mittelhheinische Kirchengeschichte”, 50, 1998, pp. 41–70.
- , *Der Schleier der Erinnerung. Grundzüge einer historischen Memorik*, München 2004.
- , *Der päpstliche Schutz für Laienfürsten. Die politische Geschichte des päpstlichen Schutzprivilegs für Laien (11.–13. Jh.)*, Heidelberg 1980 (=Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1980, 1. Abhandlung).
- , *Erinnerung und Vergessen. Die Gegenwart stiftet die Einheit der Vergangenheit*, “Historische Zeitschrift”, 273 (2001), pp. 561–593.
- , *Gnesen—Aachen—Rom. Otto III. und der Kult des hl. Adalbert. Beobachtungen zum älteren Adalbertsleben*, [in:] *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren. Die Berliner Tagung über den “Akt von Gnesen”*, Michael Borgolte ed., Berlin 2002 (=Europa im Mittelalter, vol. 5), pp. 235–279.
- , *Kaiserin Thephanu und das Reich*, [in:] *Köln. Stadt und Bistum in Kirche und Reich des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Odilo Engels zum 65. Geburtstag*, Hanna Vollrath, Stefan Weinfurter eds, Köln/Weimar/Wien 1993 (=Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, vol. 39), pp. 139–185.
- , *Ottón III i Bolesław Chrobry. Miniatura dedykacyjna z “Ewangeliarza” z Akwizgranu, zjazd gnieźnieński a królestwa polskie i węgierskie. Analiza ikonograficzna i wnioski historyczne*, translated by Elżbieta Kaźmierczak and Witold Leder, Warszawa 2000.
- , *The Veil of Memory. Anthropological Problems When Considering the Past*, translated by Jane Rafferty, London 1998 (=German Historical Institute London. The 1997 Annual Lecture).
- , *Über den Universalismus der Freiheit im Mittelalter*, “Historische Zeitschrift”, 240 (1985), pp. 313–361.
- , *Wissenschaft und Phantasie. Das Beispiel der Geschichte*, “Jahrbuch des Historischen Kollegs”, 1996, pp. 23–47.
- Fuhrmann Horst, *“Wilkommen und Abschied”. Über Begrüßungs- und Abschiedsrituale im Mittelalter*, [in:] *Mittelalter. Annäherung an eine fremde Zeit*, Wilfried Hart-

- mann ed., Regensburg 1993 (=Schriftenreihe Universität Regensburg, NF, vol. 19), pp. 111–139.
- Gansiniec Ryszard, *Nagrobek Bolesława Chrobrego*, "Przegląd Zachodni", 7 (1951), nr 7/8, pp. 359–537.
- Garber Jörn, *Trojaner—Römer—Franken—Deutsche. "Nationale" Abstammungstheorien im Vorfeld der Nationalstaatsbildung*, [in:] *Nation und Literatur im Europa der Früheren Neuzeit. Akten des I. Internationalen Osnabrücker Kongresses zur Kulturgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit*, Klaus Garber ed., Tübingen 1989, pp. 108–162.
- Gąsiorowski Antoni, *Najstarsze polskie pochówki monarsze w świetle źródeł pisanych*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 55/56 (1989/1990), pp. 85–93.
- , *Tyniecki dokument*, [in:] *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol. 6, Wrocław 1977, pp. 239–241.
- Geary Patrick J., *Exchange and Interaction between the Living and the Dead in Early Medieval Society*, [in:] *Ibid., Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca/London 1994, pp. 77–92.
- , *Land, Language and Memory in Europe, 700–1000*, "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society", seria 6, 9 (1999), pp. 169–184.
- Gedäke Nora, *Zeugnisse bildlicher Darstellung der Nachkommenschaft Heinrichs I.*, Berlin-New York 1992 (=Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung/Institut für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster, vol. 22).
- Giese Wolfgang, *Der Stamm der Sachsen und das Reich in ottonischer und salischer Zeit. Studien zum Einfluß des Sachsenstammes auf die politische Geschichte des deutschen Reiches im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert und zu ihrer Stellung im Reichsgefüge mit einem Ausblick auf das 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1979.
- Gieysztor Aleksander, *Bamberg i Polska w XI i XII wieku*, "Studia Źródloznawcze", 15 (1971), pp. 71–83.
- , *Drzwi gnieźnieńskie jako wyraz polskiej świadomości narodowościowej XII wieku*, [in:] *Drzwi gnieźnieńskie*, Michał Walicki ed., vol. 1, Wrocław 1956, pp. 1–19.
- , *La chrétienté et le pouvoir princier en Europe du Centre-Est des origines jusqu'à la fin du XII^e siècle*, [in:] *La cristianità dei secoli XI e XII in Occidente: coscienza e strutture di una società. Atti della ottava Settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 30 giugno–5 luglio 1980*, Milano 1983, pp. 123–145.
- , *O kilku biskupach polskich XI wieku*, [in:] *Europa—Słowiańszczyzna—Polska. Studia ku uczczeniu profesora Kazimierza Tymienieckiego*, Juliusz Bardach, Aleksander Gieysztor, Brygida Kürbisówna, Gerard Labuda, Henryk Łowmiański eds, Poznań 1970 (=Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Prace Wydziału Filozoficzno-Historycznego, seria Historia nr 36), pp. 311–326.
- , *Sanctus et gloriosissimus martyr Christi Adalbertus: un état et une église missionnaires aux alentours de l'an Mille*, [in:] *La conversione al Cristianesimo nell'Europa dell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto 1967 (=Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 14), pp. 611–647.
- Ginter Tomasz, *Wątki hagiograficzne św. Wojciecha w ikonografii Drzwi gnieźnieńskich*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 108 (2001), nr 4, pp. 17–46.
- Görich Knut, *Ein Erzbisum in Prag oder in Gnesen?*, "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung. Länder und Völker im östlichen Mitteleuropa", 40 (1991), pp. 10–27.
- Goetz Werner, *Translatio imperii. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Tübingen 1958.
- Gołębniak Andrzej, *Aktualny stan wiedzy o genezie i rozwoju wczesnośredniowiecznego zespołu osadniczego w Płocku*, [in:] *Stan i potrzeby badań nad wczesnym średniowieczem w Polsce—15 lat później*, Wojciech Chudziak, Sławomir Moździoch eds, Toruń/Wrocław/Warszawa 2006, pp. 399–415.
- , *Początki Płocka w świetle ostatnich prac weryfikacyjnych i nowych odkryć archeologicznych*, [in:] *Osadnictwo i architektura ziem polskich w dobie Zjazdu Gnieźnieńskiego*, Andrzej Buko, Zbigniew Świechowski eds, Poznań 2000, pp. 167–177.

- Goody Jack, *The Theft of History*, Cambridge 2006.
- Górecki Janusz, *Gród na Ostrowie Lednickim na tle wybranych ośrodków grodowych pierwszej monarchii piastowskiej*, Poznań 2001.
- Górska-Gołaska Krystyna, *Kult Pięciu Braci Męczenników w Kazimierzu Biskupim i rozwój towarzyszącej mu legendy*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 61 (1995), pp. 111–140.
- Górski Karol, *La naissance des états et le "roi-saint". Problème de l'idéologie féodale*, [in:] *L'Europe aux IX^e–XI^e siècles. Aux origines des Etats nationaux*, Varsovie 1968, pp. 425–432.
- Grabski Andrzej Feliks, *Polska wobec idei wypraw krzyżowych na przełomie XI i XII wieku*. "Duch krzyżowy" Anonima Galla, "Zapiski Historyczne", 26 (1961), fasc. 4, pp. 37–64.
- , *Z zagadnień genezy polskiej wspólnoty narodowościowej*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego", Nauki humanistyczno—społeczne, Ser. 1, fasc. 12 (1960): *Historia*, pp. 39–61.
- Grasmück Ernst Ludwig, "Cura animarum". *Zur Praxis der Seelsorge in der Zeit Bischof Ottos von Bamberg*, "Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg", 125 (1989): *Bischof Otto I. von Bamberg. Reformator—Apostel der Pommern—Heiliger (1139 gestorben, 1189 heiliggesprochen)*, pp. 115–146.
- Graus František, *Der Heilige als Schlachtenhelfer—zur Nationalisierung einer Wundererzählung in der mittelalterlichen Chronistik*, [in:] *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann zum 65. Geburtstag*, Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke, Reinhard Wenskus eds, Sigmaringen 1977, pp. 330–348.
- , *K voprosu o proishozhdenii kniažeskoj (korolewskoj) vlasti v Chekhii*, "Voprosy Istorii", 1959, nr 4, pp. 138–155.
- , *Littérature et mentalité médiévales: le roi et le peuple*, "Historica. Les sciences historiques en Tschéchoslovaquie", 16 (1969), pp. 5–79.
- , *St. Adalbert und St. Wenzel. Zur Funktion der mittelalterlichen Heiligenverehrung in Böhmen*, [in:] *Europa Slavica—Europa Orientalis. Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70. Geburtstag*, Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, Klaus Zernack eds, Berlin 1980 (=Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen, Reihe 1, Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens, vol. 100), pp. 205–231.
- , *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger. Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit*, Praha 1965.
- Grenz Rudolf, *Das Opfer des menschlichen Hauptes bei den Westslawen in Ost- und Mitteleuropa*, "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung. Länder und Völker im östlichen Mitteleuropa", 12 (1963), pp. 531–554.
- Grieve Gregory P., Weiss Richard, *Illuminating the Half-Life of tradition: Legitimation, Agency, and Counter-Hegemonies*, [in:] *Historicizing "Tradition" in the Study of Religion*, Steven Engler, Gregory P. Grieve eds, Berlin/New York 2005 (=Religion and Society, vol. 43), pp. 1–15.
- Grodecki Roman, *Zbigniew książę Polski*, [in:] *Studja staropolskie. Księga ku czci Aleksandra Brücknera*, Cracow 1928, pp. 71–105.
- Gronowska Anna, "Enfances Guillaume", "Enfances Vivien", "Enfances Renier"... *Młodzieńcze dokonania wielkich bohaterów starofrancuskiej epiki rycerskiej*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 42 (2004), pp. 37–64.
- Groten Manfred, *Von der Gebetsverbrüderung zum Königskanonikat. Zu Vorgeschichte und Entwicklung der Königskanonikate an den Dom- und Stiftskirchen des deutschen Reiches*, "Historisches Jahrbuch", 103 (1983), 2. Halbband, pp. 1–34.
- Grudziński Tadeusz, *Ze studiów nad kroniką Galla. Rozbiór krytyczny pierwszej księgi*, part 1, "Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu", 17 (1951), fasc. 3–4, pp. 69–113.
- , *Ze studiów nad Kroniką Galla. Rozbiór krytyczny pierwszej księgi. Dokończenie*, "Zapiski Historyczne", 23 (1957), fasc. 1–3, pp. 7–58.
- Grzesik Ryszard, *Obraz stosunków polsko-węgierskich w czasach piastowskich w rocznikach polskich*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 41 (2003), pp. 1–18.

- Guenée Bernard, *Les généalogies entre l'histoire et la politique: la fierté d'être Capétien en France, au Moyen Age*, "Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations", 33 (1978), nr 3, pp. 450–477.
- Gurevich Aaron Ja., *On Heroes, Things, Gods and Laughter in Germanic Poetry*, "Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History", 5 (serii 1: 15) (1982), pp. 105–172.
- Guriewicz Aron, *Kultura i społeczeństwo średniowiecznej Europy. Exempla XIII wieku*, trans. Zdzisław Dobrzyński, Warszawa 1997.
- Guth Klaus, *Kreuzzug, Heidenfahrt, Missionsreise. Die Pommern-Mission Bischof Ottos I. von Bamberg im Horizont der Kreuzzugsbewegung des 11./12. Jahrhunderts*, "Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg", 125 (1989): *Bischof Otto I. von Bamberg. Reformen—Apostel der Pommern—Heiliger (1139 gestorben, 1189 heiliggesprochen)*, pp. 147–158.
- Györfy György, *Polnisch-ungarische Beziehungen zur Zeit der Formierung beider Staaten*, "Südostforschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Kultur und Landeskunde Südosteuropas", 47 (1988), pp. 1–16.
- , *Święty Stefan I król Węgier i jego dzieło*, translated by Tomasz Kapturkiewicz, Warszawa 2003.
- Halbwachs Maurice, *La mémoire collective*, second enlarged and corrected edition, Paris 1968 (=Bibliothèque de Sociologie Contemporaine).
- Halder Reinhold, *Zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte des alten Zwiefalter Münsters und Klosters*, [in:] *900 Jahre Benediktinerabtei Zwiefalten*, Hermann Josef Pretsch ed., Ulm 1990, ed. 2, pp. 141–215.
- Hallinger Kassius, *Gorze-Kluny. Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, vol. 1, Rome 1950, (=Studia Anselmiana, vol. 22).
- Hardt Matthias, *Verkehrs- und siedlungsgeschichtliche Bemerkungen zur reise Ottos III. nach Gnesen*, [in:] *Trakt cesarski. Iława—Gniezno—Magdeburg* (Bibliotheca Fontes Archaeologici Poznanienses, vol. 11), Wojciech Dzieduszycki, Maciej Przybył eds, Poznań 2002, pp. 385–408.
- Haubrichs Wolfgang, *Identität und Name. Akkulturationsvorgänge in Namen und die Traditionsgesellschaften des frühen Mittelalters*, [in:] *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen. Von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters*, Walter Pohl ed., Wien 2004 (=Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften, vol. 322, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 8), pp. 85–105.
- Heck Roman, *Z recepcji "Kroniki Pulkawy" w polskiej historiografii średniowiecznej*, [in:] *Słowianie w dziejach Europy. Studia historyczne ku uczczeniu 75 rocznicy i 50-lecia pracy naukowej Profesora Henryka Łowmiańskiego*, Poznań 1974 (=Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Wydział Filozoficzno-Historyczny, seria Historia, nr 58), pp. 139–148.
- Hehl Ernst-Dieter, *Nachbildung der Heiligen Lanze*, [in:] *Kaiser Heinrich II. 1002–1024. Begleitsband zur Bayerischen Landesausstellung 2002, Bamberg, 9. Juli bis 20. Oktober 2002*, Josef Kirmeier, Bernd Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter, Evamaria Brockhoff, eds, Augsburg 2002, pp. 177–178.
- Hermann Oliver, *Lothar III. und sein Wirkungsbereich. Räumliche Bezüge königlichen Handelns im hochmittelalterlichen Reich (1125–1137)*, Bochum 2000 (=Europa in der Geschichte. Schriften zur Entwicklung des modernen Europa, vol. 3).
- Hertel Jacek, *Imiennictwo dynastii piastowskiej we wczesniejszym średniowieczu*, Toruń 1980.
- Hlawitschka Eduard, *Königin Richenza von Polen—Enkelin Herzog Konrads von Schwaben, nicht Kaiser Ottos II.?*, [in:] *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, Lutz Fenske, Werner Rösener, Thomas Zotz eds, Sigmaringen 1984, pp. 221–244.
- Hlebionek Marcin, *Czwarta pieczęć, "Inne Oblicza Historii"*, 11 (2006), pp. 41–52.
- , *Jeszcze o metalowych pieczęciach książąt polskich, "Inne Oblicze Historii"*, 1 (12) (2007), pp. 22–28.

- Hoffmann Jürgen, *Vita Adalberti. Früheste Textüberlieferungen der Lebensgeschichte Adalberts von Prag*, Essen 2005 (=Europäische Schriften der Adalbert-Stiftung Krefeld, vol. 2).
- Hochholzer Elmar, *Die Lothringische ("Gorzer") Reform*, [in:] *Die Reformverbände und Kongregationen der Benediktiner im deutschen Sprachraum*, Ulrich Faust, Franz Quarthal eds, St. Ottilien 1999, pp. 43–87.
- , *Paläographische Beobachtungen*, [in:] *Das Necrolog des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg*, Johannes Nospickel ed., Hannover 2004 (=MGH, Libri memoriales et necrologia, nova series, vol. 6), pp. 21–50.
- Holdsworth Christopher, 'An Atrier Aristocracy': *The Saints at War*, "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society", seria 6, 7 (1997), pp. 103–122.
- Holtzmann Walther, *Zur Geschichte des Investiturstreites (Englische Analekten II)*, "Neues Archiv des Gessellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde", 50 (1915), pp. 246–319.
- Homza Martin, *Mulieres suadentes. Presviedčajúce ženy*, Bratislava 2002.
- , *The Role of Saint Ludmila, Doubravka, Saint Olga and Adelaide in the Conversions of Their Countries (The Problem of "Mulieres Suadentes", Persuading Women)*, [in:] *Early Christianity in Central and East Europe*, Przemysław Urbańczyk ed., Warszawa 1997, pp. 187–202.
- Houts Elizabeth M.C. van, *Gender and Authority of Oral Witnesses in Europe*, "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society", seria 6, 9 (1999), pp. 201–220.
- Huber Alexander, *Die Originalurkunden des Bamberger Domkapitels aus dem 11. und 12. Jahrhundert: ihre Schrift und ihre Schreiber. Ein paläographisch-diplomatischer Beitrag zur Bamberger Bistumsgeschichte*, "Bericht Historischer Verein für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg", 117 (1981): *Zum 150-Jahres-Jubiläum (zweiter Teilband)*, pp. 27–39, il. 4.
- Huňáček Václav, *Ostrov zwischen Břevnow und Sázava*, [in:] *Boleslav II. Der tschechische Staat um das Jahr 1000*, Praha 2001 (=Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 2), pp. 463–480.
- Illisch Peter, *Polnische Otto-Adelheid-Pfennige*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne", 34 (1990), fasc. 3–4 / "Polish Numismatic News" 5, pp. 160–163.
- , *Regensburg- und Otto-Adelheid-Imitationen aus Polen?*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne", 38 (1994), fasc. 1–2, pp. 65–70.
- , *Suchodolski Stanisław, Eine Erweiterung der Münzserien Bolesław Chrobry's*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne", 47 (2003), fasc. 1/ "Polish Numismatic News" 7, pp. 97–103.
- Ingledew Francis, *The Book of Troy and the Genealogical Construction of History: The Case of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia regum Britanniae*, "Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies", 69 (1994), pp. 665–704.
- Jaeger C. Stephan, *The Origins of Courtliness. Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courty Ideas, 939–1210*, Philadelphia 1985.
- Jakobi Franz-Josef, *Die geistlichen und weltlichen Magnaten in den Fuldaer Totenannalen*, [in:] *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter*, Karl Schmid ed., München 1978, vol. 2: *Untersuchungen* (=Münstersche Mittelalter Schriften, vol. 8/2.2), pp. 792–887.
- Jakobs Hermann, *Der Adel in der Klosterreform von St. Blasien*, Köln/Graz 1968 (=Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, vol. 16).
- , *Die Hirsauer. Ihre Ausbreitung und Rechtsstellung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreits*, Köln/Graz 1961 (=Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, vol. 4).
- Janiak Tomasz, *Problematyka wczesnych faz kościoła katedralnego w Gnieźnie*, [in:] *Początki architektury monumentalnej w Polsce. Materiały z sesji naukowej, Gniezno, 20–21 listopada 2003 roku*, Tomasz Janiak, Dariusz Stryniak eds, Gniezno 2004, pp. 85–130.
- , *Stan i potrzeby badań nad wczesnośredniowieczną architekturą sakralną w Polsce w perspektywie ostatnich 15 lat*, [in:] *Stan i potrzeby badań nad wczesnym*

- średniowieczem w Polsce—15 lat później*, Wojciech Chudziak, Sławomir Moździoch eds, Toruń/Wrocław/Warszawa 2006, pp. 83–122.
- Jasiński Kazimierz, *Dokument Władysława Hermana dla katedry bąberskiej*, "Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu", 23 (1969), pp. 49–50.
- , *Przydomek Bolesława Krzywoustego*, "Genealogia. Studia i materiały historyczne", 6 (1995), pp. 137–146.
- , [Review:] Eduard Hlawitschka, *Königin Richeza von Polen...*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 53 (1987), pp. 183–184.
- , [Review:] Henryk Koniarski, *Jan Kwak, Małżeństwa królów polskich i książąt panujących z rodu Piastów w świetle statystyki*, "Zeszyty Naukowe WSP w Opolu", 6 (1967), pp. 3–56, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 14 (1969), pp. 232–233.
- , *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, Warszawa 1993.
- , *Polski podręcznik genealogii*. Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*. Instytut Historii PAN. *Nauki pomocnicze historii (...)* Warszawa 1959 (...), "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 6 (1961), pp. 151–159.
- Jasiński Tomasz, *Czy Gall Anonim to Monachus Littorensis?*, "Kwartlanik Historyczny", 112 (2005), nr 3, pp. 69–89.
- , *Niemieckie dziejopisarstwo X wieku i początki annalistyki polskiej*, "Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej", 2 (2004), pp. 37–45 (German language version: *Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung des 10. Jahrhunderts und die Anfänge der polnischen Annalistik*, ibidem, pp. 187–196).
- , *Początki polskiej annalistyki*, [in:] *Nihil superfluum esse. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, Jerzy Strzelczyk and Józef Dobosz eds, Poznań 2000 (=Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, 33), pp. 129–146.
- , "Rocznik obcy" w "Roczniku kapituły krakowskiej", [in:] *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne*, Danuta Zydorek ed., Poznań 2001 (=Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, vol. 44), pp. 217–224.
- , *Rocznik poznański. Ze studiów nad annalistyką polską i czeską*, [in:] *Aetas media, aetas moderna. Studia ofiarowane prof. H. Samsonowiczowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Wojciech Fałkowski, Halina Manikowska, Antoni Mączak, Karol Modzelewski eds, Warszawa 2000, pp. 664–672.
- , *Rola Rocznika augijskiego w rozwoju annalistyki polskiej i niemieckiej*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 69 (2003), pp. 71–78.
- , *Rozwój średniowiecznej prozy rytmicznej a pochodzenie i wykształcenie Galla Anonima*, [in:] *Cognitioni gestorum. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza dedykowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Strzelczykowi*, Dariusz A. Sikorski, Andrzej M. Wyrwa eds, Poznań/Warszawa 2006, pp. 185–193.
- , *Tytułatura Bolesława Chrobrego na zjeździe gnieźnieńskim*, [in:] *Memoriae amici et magistri. Studia historyczne poświęcone pamięci prof. Wacława Korty (1919–1999)*, Marek Derwich ed., Wrocław 2001, pp. 23–31.
- , *Zagadnienie autorstwa Rocznika obcego. Przyczynek do dziejów historiografii niemieckiej X stulecia*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 68 (2002), pp. 7–25.
- Joos Rainer, *Zwiefalten und Kloster Kladrau (Kladruby) in Böhmen*, [in:] *900 Jahre Benediktinerabtei Zwiefalten*, Hermann Josef Pretsch ed., Ulm 1990, ed. 2, pp. 49–60.
- Jung Christel, *L'abbaye de Niederaltaich, centre de réforme monastique au X^e et XI^e siècle. Thèse de doctorat de troisième cycle, préparée sous la direction de Monsieur le Professeur Pierre Riche*, Paris/Nanterre 1988.
- Jurek Tomasz, "Agnes regina". *W poszukiwaniu żony Bolesława Szczodrego*, "Roczniki historyczne", 72 (2006), pp. 95–104.
- , *Losy arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego w XI wieku*, [in:] *1000 lat Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej*, Jerzy Strzelczyk, Janusz Górny eds, Gniezno 2000 (=Bibliotheca Millennium), pp. 49–72.
- , *Rycczyn biskupi. Studium z dziejów Kościoła polskiego w XI wieku*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 60 (1994), pp. 21–66.

- Kalinowski Lech, *Najstarsze inwentarze skarbcza katedry krakowskiej jako źródło do dziejów sztuki w Polsce*, [in:] *Cultus et cognitio. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*, Stefan K. Kuczyński, Tadeusz Lalik, Tadeusz Rosłanowski, Henryk Samsonowicz, Stanisław Trawkowski, Tadeusz Wasilewski eds, Warszawa 1976, pp. 217–231.
- Kangas Sini, “*Militia Christi*” meets the Prince of Babylon. *The Crusader conception of encountering the enemy*, [in:] *Frontiers in the Middle Ages. Proceedings of the Third European Congress of medieval Studies (Jyväskylä, 10–14 June 2003)*, ed. O. Merisalo, in collaboration with P. Paht, Louvain-La-Neuve 2006 (=Fédération Internationale des Instituts d’Études Médiévales, Textets et Études du Moyen Âge, vol. 35), pp. 107–119.
- Karpf Ernst, *Herrscherlegitimation und Reichsbegriff in der ottonischen Geschichtsschreibung des 10. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1985 (=Historische Forschungen, vol. 10).
- Karwasińska Jadwiga, *Państwo polskie w przekazach hagiograficznych XI i XII wieku*, [in:] *Początki państwa polskiego. Księga tysiąclecia*, Kazimierz Tymieniecki, Gerard Labuda, Henryk Łowmiański eds, Poznań 1962, vol. 2: *Spółczesność i kultura*, pp. 233–244.
- , *Studia krytyczne nad żywotami św. Wojciecha, biskupa praskiego (III. Redakcja Vita I)*, [in:] eadem, *Święty Wojciech. Wybór pism*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 127–155.
- , *Świadek czasów Chrobrego—Brunon z Kwerfurtu*, [in:] *Polska w świecie. Szkice z dziejów kultury polskiej*, Jerzy Dowiat, Aleksander Gieysztor, Janusz Tazbir, Stanisław Trawkowski eds, Warszawa 1972, pp. 91–105.
- , *W sprawie interpretacji terminu Wladislawia*, “*Roczniki Historyczne*”, 4 (1928), fasc. 2, pp. 120–128.
- Keller Hagen, *Kloster Einsiedeln im ottonischen Schwaben*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1964 (=Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte, vol. 13).
- Kellner Beate, *Ursprung und Kontinuität. Studien zum genealogischen Wissen im Mittelalter*, München 2004.
- Kersken Norbert, *Geschichtsschreibung im Europa der “nationes”. Nationalgeschichtliche Gesamtdarstellungen im Mittelalter*, Köln/Weimar/Wien 1995 (=Münstersche Historische Forschungen, vol. 8).
- , *Mittelalterliche Nationalgeschichtsschreibung im östlichen Mitteleuropa*, “*Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica*”, 4 (1995), pp. 147–170.
- Kęłbowski Janusz, *Pomnik króla Bolesława Chrobrego—nagrobek czy relikwiarz?*, [in:] *Symbolae historiae artium. Studia z historii sztuki Lechowi Kalinowskiemu dedykowane*, Jerzy Gądomski, Adam Małkiewicz, Mieczysław Porębski, Anna Różycka-Bryzek, Klementyna Żurowska eds, Warszawa 1986, pp. 257–265.
- Kędziński Adam, *Czy istnieją monety Zbigniewa, syna Władysława Hermana*, “*Wiadomości Numizmatyczne*”, 49 (2005), fasc. 1, pp. 23–38.
- Kętrzyński Stanisław, *Dagome iudex*, “*Przegląd Historyczny*”, 41 (1950), pp. 133–151.
- , *Gall-Anonim i jego kronika*, “*Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*”, Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny, seria II, 12 (37) (1898), pp. 40–88.
- , *Karol Wielki i Bolesław Chrobry*, “*Przegląd Historyczny*”, 36 (1946), pp. 19–25.
- , *Kazimierz Odnowiciel*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Polska X–XI wieku*, postscript by Aleksander Gieysztor, Warszawa 1961, pp. 353–592.
- , *O imionach piastowskich do końca XI w.*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Polska X–XI wieku*, postscript by Aleksander Gieysztor, Warszawa 1961, pp. 593–675.
- Kętrzyński Wojciech, *Niektóre uwagi o autorze i tekście najdawniejszej kroniki polskiej*, “*Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*”, Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny, seria II, 28 (53) (1910), pp. 54–69.
- Kiersnowski Ryszard, *O brakteatach z czasów Bolesława Krzywoustego i roli kultu świętego Wojciecha w Polsce*, [in:] *Święty Wojciech w polskiej tradycji historiograficznej. Antologia tekstów*, selection and preparation by Gerard Labuda, Warszawa 1997, pp. 312–331 (original published in 1959).
- Klanczay Gábor, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, translated by Éva Pálmai, Cambridge 2002.

- , “*Rex iustus*”. *Le saint fondateur de la royauté chrétienne*, “Cahiers d’études hongroises”, 8 (1996): 896. *Les Magyars s’installent au coeur de l’Europe/La musique hongroise au XX^e siècle*, pp. 34–58.
- Kleinschmidt Harald, *Fighting for Status. Principles of Warfare in Medieval Europe*, “*Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica*”, 7 (2000), pp. 35–53.
- Klewitz Hans-Walter, *Namengebung und Sippenbewußtsein in den deutschen Königsfamilien des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts. Grundfragen historischer Genealogie*, “*Archiv für Urkundenforschung*”, 18 (1944), pp. 23–37.
- Klimecka Grażyna, *Ród potomków Sieciecha w wiekach XII i XIII*, “*Studia Zródłoznawcze*”, 28 (1983), pp. 51–68.
- Klueting Edeltraud, *Die karolingischen Bistumsgründungen und Bistumsgrenzen in Sachsen*, [in:] *Bistümer und Bistumsgrenzen vom Frühen Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, Edeltraud Klueting, Harm Klueting, Hans-Joachim Schmidt eds, Rom/Freiburg/Wien 2006 (=Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte, Supplementband 58), pp. 64–80.
- Kluge Bernd, *Münze und Geld um 1000*, [in:] *Europas Mitte um Jahr 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*, Alfried Wieczorek, Hans-Martin Hinz eds, Stuttgart 2000, vol. 1, pp. 188–194.
- Kluger Helmuth, “*Propter claritatem generis*”. *Genealogisches zur Familie der Ezzonen*, [in:] *Köln. Stadt und Bistum in Kirche und Reich des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Odilo Engels zum 65. Geburtstag*, Hanna Vollrath, Stefan Weinfurter eds, Köln/Weimar/Wien 1993 (=Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, vol. 39), pp. 223–258.
- Kóčka-Krenz Hanna, *Stan badań nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi palatiami*, [in:] *Stan i potrzeby badań nad wczesnym średniowieczem w Polsce—15 lat później*, Wojciech Chudziak, Sławomir Moździoch eds, Toruń/Wrocław/Warszawa 2006, pp. 51–61.
- , *Zespół pałacowo-sakralny na grodzie poznańskim*, [in:] *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Poznań, listopad 2000*, Szczepny Skibiński ed., Poznań 2001, pp. 287–296.
- Körntgen Ludger, *Starke Frauen: Edgith—Adelheid—Theophanu*, [in:] *Otto der Grosse, Magdeburg und Europa*, Matthias Puhle ed., vol. 1: *Essays*, Mainz am Rhein 2001, pp. 119–132.
- Korta Waclaw, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad annalistyką śląską do końca XV wieku*, [in:] “*Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*”, 23 (1964), pp. 51–95.
- Korta Waclaw, *Średniowieczna annalistyka śląska*, Wrocław 1966 (=Prace Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego, seria II, nr 113).
- Kortüm Hans-Henning, “*Advena sum apud te et peregrinus*”. *Fremdheit als Strukturelement mittelalterlicher “conditio humana”*, [in:] *Exil, Fremdheit und Ausgrenzung in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Andreas Biher, Sven Limbeck, Paul Gerhard Schmidt eds, Würzburg 2000 (=Identitäten und Alteritäten, vol. 4), pp. 115–135.
- Kotliar N.F., “*Otczina*” *Jaroslavicziej (rodowaja pamiat’ w lietopisi)*, “*Driewniejszije Gosudarstwa Wostocznoj Ewropy*”, 2001, pp. 113–120.
- Kovács László, *Die hielige Lanze Ungarns*, [in:] *Europas Mitte um Jahr 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*, Alfried Wieczorek, Hans-Martin Hinz eds, Stuttgart 2000, pp. 902–903.
- Kowalczyk Elżbieta, *Elementy geograficzne państwa Bolesława Chrobrego*, “*Kwartalnik Historyczny*”, 107 (2000), nr 2, pp. 41–76.
- , *Krzywousty—szaka fizyczna czy moralna?*, “*Kwartalnik Historyczny*”, 101 (1994), nr 1, pp. 3–14.
- Kowalczyk-Heyman Elżbieta, *Zbigniew i Bolesław—czytanie Anonima zwanego Gallem*, [in:] *Causa creandi. O pragmatyce źródła historycznego*, Stanisław Rosik, Przemysław Wiszewski eds, (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 2783, seria Historia, vol. 171), Wrocław 2005, pp. 257–265.
- Kowalski Marek Daniel, *Uposażenie krakowskiej kapituły katedralnej w średniowieczu*, Cracow 2000.

- Kozłowska-Budkowa Zofia, *Który Bolesław?*, [in:] *Prace z dziejów Polski feudalnej ofiarowane Romanowi Grodeckiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, Warszawa 1960, pp. 81–89.
- , *Repertorium polskich dokumentów doby piastowskiej*, fasc. 1, Cracow 1939.
- , *W dziewięćsetlecie śmierci Bolesława Szczodrego. Zapiski z nekrologów i grób królewski*, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*”, 28 (1983), pp. 183–185.
- Kras Robert Jan, *Dzieła Sallustiusza w warsztacie Anonima zw. Gallem*, “*Roczniki Humanistyczne*”, 50 (2002), fasc. 2: *Historia*, pp. 5–33
- Krawiec Adam, *Człowiek średniowieczny wobec niezwykłości: przykład Thietmara z Merseburga*, [in:] *Cognitioni gestorum. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza dedykowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Strzelczykowi*, Dariusz A. Sikorski, Andrzej M. Wyrwa eds, Poznań/Warszawa 2006, pp. 231–249.
- Krapiec Marek, *Krysztofiak Teresa, Potwierdzenie plemiennej genezy grodu w Gieczu*, “*Wielkopolskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne*”, 6 (2003), pp. 32–51.
- Kreuzer Georg, *Die “Vita sancti Oudalrici episcopi Augustani” des Augsburger Dompropstes Gerhard. Eine literarkritische Untersuchung*, [in:] *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg, 890–973. Seine Zeit—sein Leben—seine Verehrung. Festschrift aus Anlaß des tausendjährigen Jubiläums seiner Kanonisation im Jahre 993*, Manfred Weitlauff ed., Wißenhorn 1993 (=Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte, vol. 26/27), pp. 169–177.
- Krysztofiak Teresa, *Nowoodkryte reliktury architektury romańskiej w Gieczu*, [in:] *Osadnictwo i architektura ziem polskich w dobie Zjazdu Gnieźnieńskiego*, Andrzej Buko, Zbigniew Świechowski eds, Poznań 2000, pp. 75–84.
- , *Palatium w Gieczu—archeologiczne podstawy datowania reliktywów*, [in:] *Lapides viventes. Zaginiony Kraków wieków średnich. Księga dedykowana Profesor Klementynie Źurowskiej*, Jerzy Gadomski, Adam Małkiewicz, Teresa Rodzińska-Chorąży, Andrzej Włodarek eds, Cracow 2005, pp. 293–309.
- Kuczyński Stefan K., *O polskim mieczu koronacyjnym. Na marginesie artykułu Mariana Gumowskiego, Szczerbiec, polski miecz koronacyjny*, “*Małopolskie studia historyczne*”, 2 (1959), nr 2–3, pp. 5–18, “*Przegląd Historyczny*”, 52 (1961), pp. 562–577.
- Kuder Ulrich, *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg in der mittelalterlichen Buchmalerei*, [in:] *Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg, 890–973. Seine Zeit—sein Leben—seine Verehrung. Festschrift aus Anlaß des tausendjährigen Jubiläums seiner Kanonisation im Jahre 993*, Manfred Weitlauff ed., Wißenhorn 1993 (=Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte, vol. 26/27), pp. 413–482.
- Kürbis Brygida, *Dagome iudex—studium krytyczne*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii*, vol. 2: *O świadectwach do dziejów kultury Polski średniowiecznej*, Poznań 2001, pp. 9–87.
- , *Die Gertrudianischen Gebete im Psalterium Egberti. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Frömmigkeit im 11. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Europa Slavica—Europa Orientalis. Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70. Geburtstag*, Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, Klaus Zernack eds, Berlin 1980 (=Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen, Reihe 1, Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens, vol. 100), pp. 248–261.
- , *Epistola Mathildis Suevae*, [in:] *Kodeks Matyldy. Księga obrzędów z kartami dedykacyjnymi*, Brygida Kürbis and collaborators eds, Cracow 2000 (=Monumenta Sacra Polonorum, vol. 1), pp. 49–83.
- , *Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego. Analiza literacka i historyczna*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii*, vol. 2: *O świadectwach do dziejów kultury Polski średniowiecznej*, Poznań 2001, pp. 243–282.
- , *Gertruda—historia jej życia*, [in:] *Na progach historii*, vol. 2: *O świadectwach do dziejów kultury Polski średniowiecznej*, Poznań 2001, pp. 283–298.
- , *Inskrypcja nagrobna w katedrze gnieźnieńskiej z początku XI wieku*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii*, vol. 2: *O świadectwach do dziejów kultury Polski średniowiecznej*, Poznań 2001, pp. 307–321.
- , *Jak czytać najstarsze teksty o św. Stanisławie*, “*Znak*”, 31 (1979), fasc. 4–5 (298–299), pp. 319–343.

- , *Kształtowanie się pojęć geograficznych o Słowiańszczyźnie w polskich kronikach przeddługoszkowych*, "Slavia Antiqua", 4 (1953), pp. 252–282.
- , *L'historiographie médiévale en Pologne*, "Acta Poloniae Historica", 6 (1962), pp. 7–34.
- , *Modlitwy księżnej Gertrudy z Psalterium Egberti. Przyczynek do dziejów kultury dworu panującego w Polsce i na Rusi*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii. Prace wybrane*, Poznań 1994, pp. 250–258.
- , *O życiu religijnym w Polsce X–XII wieku*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii. Prace wybrane*, Poznań 1994, pp. 374–416.
- , *Opracowanie*, [in:] *Modlitwy księżnej Gertrudy z Psalterza Egberta z kalendarzem*, Małgorzata H. Malewicz, B. Kürbis eds, prepared by B. Kürbis, Cracow 2002 (=Monumenta Sacra Polonorum, vol. 2), pp. 6–94.
- , *Pisarze i czytelnicy w Polsce XII i XIII wieku*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii. Prace wybrane*, Poznań 1994, pp. 83–108.
- , *Purpurae passionis aureus finis. Brun z Kwerfurtu i Pięciu Braci Męczenników*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii* vol. 2: *O świadectwach do dziejów kultury Polski średniowiecznej*, Poznań 2001, pp. 163–180.
- , *Rękopis*, [in:] *Kodeks Matyldy. Księga obrzędów z kartami dedykacyjnymi*, Brygida Kürbis and collaborators eds, Cracow 2000 (=Monumenta Sacra Polonorum, vol. 1), pp. 9–34.
- , *Sacrum i profanum. Dwie wizje władzy w polskim średniowieczu*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii. Prace wybrane*, Poznań 1994, pp. 176–206.
- , *Studia nad Kodeksem Matyldy. Sekwencja "Ad celebres rex cęlice"*, [in:] eadem, *Na progach historii. Prace wybrane*, Poznań 1994, pp. 299–318.
- , *Tezy o proveniencji kodeksu Matyldy*, [in:] *Kodeks Matyldy. Księga obrzędów z kartami dedykacyjnymi*, Brygida Kürbis and collaborators eds, Cracow 2000 (=Monumenta Sacra Polonorum, vol. 1), pp. 128–132.
- , *Więź najstarszego dziejopisarstwa polskiego z państwem*, [in:] *Początki państwa polskiego. Księga tysiąclecia*, Kazimierz Tymieniecki, Gerard Labuda, Henryk Łowmiański eds, Poznań 1962, vol. 2: *Spółczesność i kultura*, pp. 217–232.
- Kurnatowscy Zofia and Stanisław, *Piastowskie "urządzenie" kresów północno-zachodnich państwa*, [in:] *Świat Słowian wczesnego średniowiecza*, Marek Dworaczek, Anna B. Kowalska, Sławomir Moździoch, Marian Rębkowski eds, Szczecin/Wrocław 2006, pp. 91–99.
- Kurnatowska Zofia, *Archeologiczne świadectwa o najstarszych grobowcach w katedrze poznańskiej*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 55/56 (1989/1990), pp. 71–84.
- , *Poznań w czasach Mieszka I*, [in:] *Civitas Schinesghe. Mieszko I i początki państwa polskiego*, Jan M. Piskorski ed., Poznań/Gniezno 2004, pp. 71–88.
- , *Tworzenie się państwa gnieźnieńskiego w kontekście europejskim*, [in:] *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Poznań, listopad 2000*, Szczęśny Skibiński ed., Poznań 2001, pp. 89–102.
- , *Wielkopolska w X wieku i formowanie się państwa polskiego*, [in:] *Ziemie polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy*, Henryk Samsonowicz ed., Cracow 2000, pp. 99–117.
- Kurnatowska Zofia, Kara Michał, *Początki architektury sakralnej na grodzie poznańskim w świetle nowych ustaleń archeologicznych*, [in:] *Początki architektury monumentalnej w Polsce. Materiały z sesji naukowej, Gniezno, 20–21 listopada 2003 roku*, Tomasz Janiak, Dariusz Stryniak eds, Gniezno 2004, pp. 47–70.
- Kurtyka Janusz, *Szlachta sandomierska—szlachta europejska [Kilka uwag na marginesie pracy Jana Wroniszewskiego, Szlachta ziemi sandomierskiej w średniowieczu (...)]* *Poznań—Wrocław 2001 (...)*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 68 (2002), pp. 209–228.
- Labuda Gerard, *Akt Dagome iudex—pierwsza "konkordatowa" umowa między Polską a Stolicą Apostolską z czasów papieża Jana XV (985–996)*, "Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej", 25 (2001), pp. 17–24.

- , *Aspekty polityczne i kościelne tzw. "zjazdu gnieźnieńskiego" w roku 1000*, [in:] *Ziemia polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy*, Henryk Samsonowicz ed., Cracow 2000, pp. 17–32.
- , *Bazoar w Kronice Anonima Galla. Próba identyfikacji*, "Studia Historyczne", 12 (1969), fasc. 2, pp. 161–170.
- , *Budownictwo sakralne Gniezna i Poznania na przełomie X/XI wieku w świetle źródeł pisanych*, [in:] *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Poznań, listopad 2000*, Szczepny Skibiński ed., Poznań 2001, pp. 267–284.
- , *Die Gründung der Metropolitanorganisation der polnischen Kirche auf der Synode in Gnesen am 9. und 10. März 1000*, "Acta Poloniae Historica", 84 (2001), pp. 5–30.
- , *Droga życiowa Radzima—Gaudentego do arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego*, [in:] *O rzeczach minionych. Scripta rerum historicarum Annae Rutkowska-Płachcińska obłata*, Marta Młynarska-Kaletynowa, Jerzy Kruppé eds, Warszawa 2006 (=Studia i materiały z historii kultury materialnej, vol. 71), pp. 179–190.
- , *Ewangeliarz emmeramski. Czas sporządzenia w Ratyźbonie—czas przeniesienia do Krakowa*, [in:] *Cultus et cognitio. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*, Stefan K. Kuczyński, Tadeusz Lalik, Tadeusz Rosłanowski, Henryk Samsonowicz, Stanisław Trawkowski, Tadeusz Wasilewski eds, Warszawa 1976, pp. 313–322.
- , *Gdzie pisano najdawniejsze roczniki polskie?*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 23 (1957), pp. 79–97.
- , *Główne linie rozwoju rocznikarstwa polskiego w wiekach średnich*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 78 (1971), pp. 804–837.
- , *Historia kultury historią cywilizacji*, Poznań 1993 (=Wykłady inauguracyjne, nr 13).
- , *Historia kultury jako historia twórczych innowacji*, "Nauka Polska. Czasopismo poświęcone rozwojowi nauki w Polsce", 1991, nr 5–6, pp. 13–37.
- , *Ibrahim ibn Jakub. Najstarsza relacja o Polsce w nowym wydaniu*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 16 (1947), pp. 100–183.
- , *Jeden czy dwa roczniki niemieckie u podstaw polskiego rocznikarstwa?*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 39 (2002), pp. 7–27.
- , *Kraków biskupi przed rokiem 1000. Przyczynek do dyskusji nad dziejami misji metodiańskiej w Polsce*, "Studia Historyczne", 27 (1984), fasc. 3, pp. 371–412.
- , *Kto był założycielem biskupstwa płockiego?*, "Notatki Płockie", 1989, nr 1, pp. 9–11.
- , *Mieszko II król Polski (1025–1034). Czasy przełomu w dziejach państwa polskiego*, Cracow 1992 (=Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego).
- , *O katalogach biskupów krakowskich przez Długoszem*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 27 (1983), pp. 83–96.
- , *Polskie wczesne średniowiecze w historiografii lat 1937–1987*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 94 (1987), nr 1, pp. 23–64.
- , [Review:] *Czesław Deptuła, Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski...*, Lublin 1990, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 34 (1993), pp. 114–116.
- , [Review:] *Wacław Korta, Średniowieczna annalistyka śląska...*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 13 (1968), pp. 180–181.
- , *Rocznik poznański*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 2 (1958), pp. 97–112.
- , *Rzekome drugie imię Mieszka I. w Kronice Anonima Galla*, [in:] *Munera philologica et historica Mariano Plezia obłata*, Jan Safarewicz, Kazimierz Rymut, Krystyna Weysenhoff-Brożkova, Jerzy Wyrozumski eds, Wrocław/Warszawa/Cracow 1988, pp. 95–107.
- , *Stan dyskusji nad dokumentem "Dagome iudex" i państwem "Schinesghe"*, [in:] *Civitas Schinesghe cum pertinentiis*, Wojciech Chudziak ed., Toruń 2003, pp. 9–17.
- , *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, vol. 2, Poznań 1988 (=Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, Seria Historia nr 140).

- , *Szkice historyczne XI wieku. Klasztor Benedyktynów w Tyńcu*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Szkice historyczne X–XI wieku. Z dziejów organizacji Kościoła w Polsce we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Poznań 2004, pp. 241–303.
- , *Szkice historyczne XI wieku. Najstarsze klasztory w Polsce*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Szkice historyczne X–XI wieku. Z dziejów organizacji Kościoła w Polsce we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Poznań 2004, pp. 183–239.
- , *Szkice historyczne XI wieku. Klasztor Benedyktynów w Tyńcu*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Szkice historyczne X–XI wieku. Z dziejów organizacji Kościoła w Polsce we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Poznań 2004, pp. 241–303.
- , *Św. Wojciech w działaniu, w tradycji i w legendzie*, [in:] *Święty Wojciech w polskiej tradycji historiograficznej. Antologia tekstów, selection and preparation by Gerard Labuda*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 397–426 (original published in 1992).
- , *Św. Stanisław, biskup krakowski, patron Polski. Śladami zabójstwa—męczeństwa—kanonizacji*, Poznań 2000 (=Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, 39).
- , *Święty Wojciech, biskup—męczennik. Patron Polski, Czech i Węgier*, Wrocław 2004 (=Monografie Fundacji na rzecz Nauki Polskiej).
- , *Tworzenie się państw narodowych w Europie średniowiecznej*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 100 (1993), nr 4, pp. 27–48.
- , *Uwięzienie polskich insygniów koronacyjnych do Niemiec w 1031 r.*, [in:] *Kultura średniowieczna i staropolska. Studia ofiarowane Aleksandrowi Gieysztorowi w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*, Warszawa 1991, pp. 217–229.
- , *Uzupełnienia do genealogii Piastów, w szczególności śląskich*, “Sobótka”, 18 (1963), nr 1, pp. 1–13.
- , *W sprawie autorstwa i miejsca napisania “Żywotu pierwszego” Świętego Wojciecha*, “Studia Źródłoznawcze”, 42 (2004), pp. 118–130.
- , *Zagadka drugiej metropolii w Polsce za czasów Bolesława Chrobrego*, “Nasza Przeszość”, 62 (1984), pp. 7–25.
- , *Ze stosunków polsko-węgierskich w drugiej połowie X wieku*, [in:] *Europa—Słowiańszczyzna—Polska. Studia ku uczczeniu profesora Kazimierza Tymienieckiego*, Juliusz Bardach, Aleksander Gieysztor, Brygida Kürbisówna, Gerard Labuda, Henryk Łowmiański eds, Poznań 1970 (=Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Prace Wydziału Filozoficzno-Historycznego, seria Historia nr 36), pp. 71–88.
- , *Zjazd i synod gnieźnieński roku 1000 w nowym oświetleniu historiograficznym*, [in:] *Cognitioni gestorum. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza dedykowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Strzelcykowi*, Dariusz A. Sikorski, Andrzej M. Wyrwa eds, Poznań/Warszawa 2006, pp. 163–184.
- , *Zjazd i synod gnieźnieński w roku 1000*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 107 (2000), nr 2, pp. 107–122.
- , *Znaczenie prawne i polityczne dokumentu Dagome iudex*, “Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza”, 13 (1979), fasc. 1, pp. 83–100.
- , *Znaczenie prawno-polityczne dokumentu “Dagome iudex”*, “Nasza Przeszość”, 4 (1948), pp. 33–60.
- , *Źródła historiograficzne kroniki Anonima Galla*, “Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk”, 19 (1955) [printed: 1957], nr 1 (44), pp. 21–22.
- , *Żywoty św. Wojciecha*, [in:] *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. 7, part 1: Y-Z, Wrocław 1982, pp. 325–326.
- Laudage Johannes, “*Liudolfingisches Hausbewußtsein*”. *Zu den Hintergründen eines Kölner Hoftages*, [in:] *Köln. Stadt und Bistum in Kirche und Reich des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Odilo Engels zum 65. Geburtstag*, Hanna Vollrath, Stefan Weinfurter eds, Köln/Weimar/Wien 1993 (=Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, vol. 39), pp. 23–59.
- Lawrenz Cornelia, *Architektur und Herrschaftsanspruch. Die Baukunst Kaiser Lothars III. (1125–1137) und seiner Parteigänger. Ein Beitrag zur sächsischen Architektur des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 2003.

- Le Jan Régine, *Continuity and Change in the Tenth-Century Nobility*, [in:] *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe. Concepts, Origins, Transformations*, Anne J. Duggan ed., Woodbridge 2000, pp. 53–68.
- Leciejewicz Lech, *Legendy etnogenetyczne w świecie słowiańskim*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Opera selecta. Z dziejów kultury średniowiecznej Polski i Europy*, Marian Rębkowski, Sławomir Moździoch eds, Wrocław 2006 (=Collectio archeologica, historica et ethnologica, vol. 1), pp. 95–109.
- Lepsius Carl Peter, *Geschichte der Bischöfe des Hochstifts Naumburg vor der Reformation. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Osterlandes*, part 1, Naumburg 1846.
- Leśniewska Dorota, *Kodeks Gertrudy. Stan i perspektywy badań*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 61 (1995), pp. 143–168.
- Lewald Ursula, *Die Ezzonen. Das Schicksal eines rheinischen Fürstengeschlechtes*, "Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter", 43 (1979), pp. 120–168.
- Leyser Karl, *Herrschaft und Konflikt. König und Adel im ottonischen Sachsen*, translated by Karen Freifrau Schenck zu Schweinsberg, Göttingen 1984 (=Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, vol. 76).
- , *The German Aristocracy from the Ninth to the Early Twelfth Century: A Historical and Cultural Sketch*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours. 900–1250*, London 1982 (=The Hambledon Press, History Series vol. 12), pp. 161–189.
- Liman Kazimierz, *Dialog Herborda. Ze studiów historycznoliterackich nad biografią łacińską XII wieku*, Poznań 1975 (=Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, seria Filologia Klasyczna, nr 6).
- Lippelt Helmut, *Thietmar von Merseburg—Reichsbischof und Chronist*, Köln 1973.
- Looshorn Johann, *Die Geschichte des Bisthums Bamberg*, vol. 1: *Gründung und I. Jahrhundert des Bisthums Bamberg oder Die heiligen Kasier Heinrich und Kunigunda*, Bamberg 1967 (reprint of the edition of 1886).
- Lübke Christian, *Das "junge Europa" in der Krise: Gentilreligiöse Herausforderungen im 1000*, "Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung", 50 (2001), fasc. 4, pp. 475–496.
- , *Ottonen, Rjurikiden, Piasten. Ergänzende Bemerkungen zum Verwandtenkreis Kunos "von Öhninge"*, "Jahrbuch für Geschichte Osteuropas", Neue Folge, vol. 37 (1989), fasc. 1, pp. 1–20.
- , *"Qui sint vel unde huc venerint"—Bemerkungen zur Herkunft der Namen von Polen und Lutizen*, [in:] *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen. Von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters*, Walter Pohl ed., Wien 2004 (=Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften, vol. 322, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 8), pp. 279–288.
- , *Regesten zur Geschichte der Slaven an Elbe und Oder (vom Jahr 900 an)*, part 2: *Regesten 900–983*, Berlin 1985 (=Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen, Reihe I, Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens, vol. 133); part 3: *Regesten 983–1013*, Berlin 1986 (=Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen, Reihe I, Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens, vol. 134).
- Ludat Herbert, *Piasten und Ottonen*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *An Elbe und Oder um das Jahr 1000. Skizzen zur Politik des Ottonenreiches und der slavischen Mächte in Mitteleuropa*, Köln/Wien 1971, pp. 67–92.
- Łowmiański Henryk, *Bolesław Chrobry w Krakowie w końcu X wieku*, "Małopolskie Studia Historyczne", 4 (1961), fasc. 3–4, pp. 3–12.
- , *Dynastia Piastów we wczesnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Początki państwa polskiego. Księga tysiąclecia*, Kazimierz Tymieniecki, Gerard Labuda, Henryk Łowmiański eds, Poznań 1962, vol. 1: *Organizacja polityczna*, pp. 111–162.
- , *Początki Polski. Polityczne i społeczne procesy kształtowania się narodu do początku wieku XIV*, vol. 6, part 1, Warszawa 1985.
- Mai Paul, *Regensburg und der Osten*, [in:] *Das mittelalterliche Regensburg im Zentrum Europas*, Edith Feistner ed., Regensburg 2006 (=Forum Mittelalter. Studien, vol. 1), pp. 235–247.

- Maleczyński Karol, *Bolesław III Krzywousty*, prepared by Waclaw Korta, Wrocław/Warszawa/Cracow Gdańsk 1975.
- , *Ze studiów nad organizacją państwa polskiego w XI i XII wieku*, "Sobótka", 23 (1968), nr 3, pp. 349–370.
- Malewicz Małgorzata H., *Rękopis Getrudy Piastówny, najwcześniejszy zabytek piśmiennictwa polskiego*, "Materiały do Historii Filozofii Średniowiecznej w Polsce", 5 (16) (1972), pp. 23–70.
- Manteuffel Tadeusz, *Jeszcze w sprawie regestu Dagome iudex*, [in:] *Europa—Słowiańszczyzna—Polska. Studia ku uczczeniu profesora Kazimierza Tymienieckiego*, Juliusz Bardach, Aleksander Gieysztor, Brygida Kürbisówna, Gerard Labuda, Henryk Łowmiański eds, Poznań 1970 (=Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Prace Wydziału Filozoficzno-Historycznego, seria Historia nr 36), pp. 305–309.
- Martschukat Jürgen, Patzold Steffen, *Geschichtswissenschaft und "performative turn": Eine Einführung in Fragestellungen, Konzepte und Literatur*, [in:] *Geschichtswissenschaft und "performative turn". Ritual, Inszenierung und Performanz vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*, Jürgen Martschukat, Steffen Patzold eds, Köln/Weimar/Wien 2003 (=Norm und Struktur. Studien zum sozialen Wandel im Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, vol. 19), pp. 1–32.
- Matla-Kozłowska Marzena, *Czy państwo Przemysłidów u schyłku X wieku "zasługiwało" na arcybiskupstwo? Na marginesie dyskusji o planach ufundowania arcybiskupstwa św. Wojciecha w Pradze*, [in:] *Cognitioni gestorum. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza dedykowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Strzelczykowi*, Dariusz A. Sikorski, Andrzej M. Wyrwa eds, Poznań/Warszawa 2006, pp. 131–147.
- McKitterick Rosamond, *Constructing the Past in the Early Middle Ages: The Case of the Royal Frankish Annals*, "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society", seria 6, 7 (1997), pp. 101–129.
- Meyer Ulrich, *Soziales Handeln im Zeichen des "Houses". Zur Ökonomik in der Spätantike und im früheren Mittelalter*, Göttingen 1998 (=Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, vol. 140).
- Meysztowicz Walerian, *Manuscriptum Gertrudae filiae Mesconis II regis Poloniae*, Romae 1955 (=Antemurale 2).
- Michałowska Teresa, *Ego Gertruda. Studium historycznoliterackie*, Warszawa 2001.
- Michałowski Roman, *Bolesław Chrobry bratem kanoników magdeburgskich. Próba nowego spojrzenia*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 112 (2005), nr 3, pp. 55–68.
- , *Ideologia monarchiczna Piastów wcześniejszego okresu*, [in:] *Imagines potestatis. Rytuály, symbole i konteksty fabularne władzy zwierzchniej. Polska X–XV w. (z przykładem czeskim i ruskim)*, Jacek Banaszkiewicz ed., Warszawa 1994 (=Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia, vol. 1), pp. 185–204.
- , *Kościół św. Mikołaja we wczesnopiastowskich ośrodkach rezydencjonalnych*, [in:] *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, vol. 4, Stefan K. Kuczyński ed., Warszawa 1994, pp. 63–74.
- , *Początki arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego*, [in:] *1000 lat Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej*, Jerzy Strzelczyk, Janusz Górny eds, Gniezno 2000 (=Bibliotheca Millennium), pp. 27–48.
- , *Prądy religijne w imperium ottońskim i ich polityczne implikacje*, [in:] *Szczęśny Skibiński ed., Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Poznań, listopad 2000*, Poznań 2001, pp. 51–63.
- , *Princeps fundator. Studium z dziejów kultury politycznej w Polsce X–XIII wieku*, Warszawa 1989.
- , *"Restauratio Poloniae" w ideologii dynastycznej Galla Anonima*, "Przegląd Historyczny", 76 (1985), fasc. 3, pp. 457–480.
- , *The Nine-week Lent in Boleslaus the Brave's Poland. A Study of the First Piast's Religious Policy*, "Acta Poloniae Historica", 89 (2004), pp. 5–50.
- , *Translacja Pięciu Braci Polskich do Gniezna. Przyczynek do dziejów kultu relikwii w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej*, [in:] *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze*

- dawnej Europy, Halina Manikowska, Hanna Zaremska eds, Warszawa 1995 (=Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia, vol. 2), pp. 173–184.
- , *Zjazd gnieźnieński. Religijne przesłanki powstania arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego*, Wrocław 2005 (=Monografia Fundacji Nauki Polskiej).
- Mielnikowa Je.A., *Istoriczeskaja pamiat' w ustnoj i pisiennej tradiciiach (Powieść wriemiennych liet, i "Saga ob Inglingach")*, "Driewniejszije Gosudarstwa Wostocznoj Ewropy", 2001, pp. 48–92.
- Młynarska-Kaletynowa Marta, *O kulcie św. Gotarda w Polsce XII i XIII w.*, [in:] *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, Stefan K. Kuczyński ed., vol. 6, Warszawa 1994, pp. 75–90.
- , *Św. Paweł na grodzie kaliskim*, [in:] *Kościół, kultura, społeczeństwo. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*, Stanisław Bylina, Ryszard Kiersnowski, Stefan K. Kuczyński, Henryk Samsonowicz, Józef Szymański, Hanna Zaremska eds, Warszawa 2000, pp. 77–85.
- Modzelewski Karol, *Barbarzyńska Europa*, Warszawa 2004.
- , *Comites, principes, nobiles. Struktura klasy panującej w świetle terminologii Anonima Galla*, [in:] *Cultus et cognitio. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*, Stefan K. Kuczyński, Tadeusz Lalik, Tadeusz Roslanowski, Henryk Samsonowicz, Stanisław Trawkowski, Tadeusz Wasilewski eds, Warszawa 1976, pp. 403–312.
- Moeglin Jean-Marie, *Les ancêtres du prince. Propagande politique et naissance d'une histoire nationale en Bavière au Moyen Age (1180–1500)*, Genève 1985 (=École Pratique des Hautes Études, IVe Section, Sciences historiques et philologiques, V, Hautes Études Médiévales et Modernes, 54).
- , [Review:] *Geschichtswissenschaft und "performative turn". Ritual, Iszenierung und Performanz vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit, ... Weimar 2003 (...)*, "Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte", 33 (2006), fasc. 1: *Mittelalter/Moyen Age*, pp. 182–184.
- Morawski Zbigniew, "Sedes translata". *Łęczyca na początku XII wieku*, [in:] *Aetas media—aetas moderna. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Wojciech Fałkowski, Halina Manikowska, Antoni Mączak, Karol Modzelewski eds, Warszawa 2000, pp. 286–298.
- Mosingiewicz Krzysztof, *Imię jako źródło w badaniach genealogicznych*, [in:] *Genealogia. Problemy metodyczne w badaniach nad polskim społeczeństwem średniowiecznym na tle porównawczym*, Jacek Hertel ed., Toruń 1982, pp. 72–97.
- Mrozowicz Wojciech, *Bogu czy ludziom? O motywach twórczości dziejopisarskiej*, [in:] *Causa creandi. O pragmatyce źródła historycznego (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis No 2783, Historia CLXXI)*, Stanisław Rosik, Przemysław Wiszewski eds, Wrocław 2005, pp. 91–101.
- , *Średniowieczne roczniki śląskie (u progu prac nad nowym wydaniem)*, [in:] *Przełomy w historii. Pamiętnik XVI-ego Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich, Wrocław 15–18 września 1988 roku*, vol. 2, part 1, Toruń 2000, pp. 109–116.
- , "Zdarzenia godne pamięci". *Uwagi źródłoznawcze w związku z odnalezieniem nowego przekazu*, [in:] *O rzeczach minionych. Scripta rerum historicarum Annae Rutkowska-Plachcińska oblata*, Marta Młynarska-Kaletynowa, Jerzy Kruppé, eds, Warszawa 2006 (=Studia i materiały z historii kultury materialnej, vol. 71), pp. 199–210.
- Mrozowski Przemysław, *Gest władcy w ikonografii polskiego średniowiecza*, [in:] *Imagines potestatis. Rytuały, symbole i konteksty fabularne władzy zwierzchniej. Polska X–XV w. (z przykładem czeskim i ruskim)*, Jacek Banaszekiewicz ed., Warszawa 1994 (=Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia, vol. 1), pp. 59–74.
- Müller-Mertens Eckhard, *Regnum Teutonicum. Aufkommen und Verbreitung der deutschen Reichs- und Königsauffassung im früheren Mittelalter*, Wien/Köln/Graz 1970 (=Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte, vol. 15).

- Myśliwski Grzegorz, *Feudalizm—“rewolucja feudalna”—kryzysy władzy w Polsce XI-początku XII w. Punkt widzenia mediewistyki anglojęzycznej*, “Przegląd Historyczny”, 93 (2002), nr 1, pp. 73–102.
- Nadolski Andrzej, *Szczerbiec (próba analizy bronioznawczej)*, “Acta Archeologica Lodiensia”, 17 (1968), pp. 105–124.
- Nelson Janet L., *Warum es so viele Versionen von der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Großen gibt*, [in:] *Die Macht des Königs. Herrschaft im Europa vom Frühmittelalter bis in die Neuzeit*, Bernhard Jussen ed., München 2005, pp. 38–54.
- Nora Pierre, *L'ère de la commémoration*, [in:] *Les lieux de mémoire*, Pierre Nora ed., vol. 3: *Les France*, part 3: *De l'archive à l'emblème*, Paris 1992, pp. 997–1012.
- , *Présentation*, [in:] *Les lieux de mémoire*, Pierre Nora ed., vol. 1: *La République*, Paris 1984, pp. VII–XIII.
- Nospickel Johannes, *Das Michalsberger Nekrolog*, [in:] *Das Necrolog des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg*, Johannes Nospickel ed., Hannover 2004 (=MGH, Libri memoriales et necrologia, nova series, vol. 6), pp. 51–183.
- Nowacki Józef, *Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 1: *Kościół katedralny w Poznaniu. Studium historyczne*, Poznań 1959.
- Nowakowski Tomasz, *Idee areng dokumentów książąt polskich do połowy XIII wieku*, Bydgoszcz 1999.
- Oexle Otto Gerhard, *Die Gegenwart der Toten*, [in:] Herman Braet, Werner Verbeke eds, *Death in the Middle Ages*, Leuven 1983 (=Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series I, Studia IX), pp. 19–77.
- , *Die Überlieferung der fuldischen Totenannalen*, [in:] Karl Schmid ed., *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter*, München 1978, vol. 2: *Untersuchungen* (=Münstersche Mittelalter Schriften, vol. 8/2.2), pp. 447–504.
- , *Geschichtswissenschaft in einer sich ständig veränderten Welt*, [in:] *Wissenschaften 2001. Diagnosen und Prognosen*, Göttingen 2001, pp. 89–116.
- , *Haus und Ökonomie im früheren Mittelalter*, [in:] *Person und Gemeinschaft im Mittelalter. Karl Schmid zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*, Gerd Althoff, Dieter Geuenich, Otto Gerhard Oexle, Joachim Wollasch eds, Sigmaringen 1988, pp. 101–122.
- , *Individuen und Gruppen in der lotharingischen Gesellschaft des 10. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *L'abbaye de Gorze au X^e siècle*, Michel Parisse, Otto Gerhard Oexle eds, Nancy 1993 (=Collection “Lorraine”), pp. 105–139.
- , *Welfische Memoria. Zugleich ein Beitrag über adlige Hausüberlieferung und die Kriterien ihrer Erforschung*, [in:] *Die Welfen und ihr Braunschweiger Hof im hohen Mittelalter*, Bernd Schneidmüller ed., Wiesbaden 1995 (=Wolfenbüttler Mittelalter-Studien, vol. 7), pp. 61–94.
- Ohst Martin, *Pflichtbeichte. Untersuchungen zum Bußwesen im Hohen und Späten Mittelalter*, Tübingen 1995 (=Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, vol. 89).
- Olczak Jerzy, *Zagadnienie witraży w tzw. II kościele przedromańskim na Ostrowie Lednickim*, [in:] *Świat Słowian wczesnego średniowiecza*, Marek Dworaczek, Anna B. Kowalska, Sławomir Moździoch, Marian Rębkowski eds, Szczecin/Wrocław 2006, pp. 277–290.
- Ott Hugo, *St. Blasien*, [in:] Franz Quarthal ed., *Germania Benedictina*, vol. 5: *Die Benediktinerklöster in Baden-Württemberg*, Augsburg 1975, pp. 146–160.
- Pabst Hermann, *Die Brauweiler Geschichtsquellen*, “Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde”, 12 (1874), pp. 80–200.
- Pacuski Kazimierz, *Początki benedyktyńskiego opactwa św. Wojciecha na grodzie płockim*, [in:] *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej*, Stefan K. Kuczyński ed., vol. 5, Warszawa 1992, pp. 135–152.
- Paringer Benedict, *Das alte Weltenburger Necrologium. Eine Studie zur Frühgeschichte der Abtei*, “Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Niederbayern”, 83 (1957), pp. 39–59.

- Parisse Michel, *La conscience chrétienne des nobles aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, [in:] *La cristianità dei secoli XI e XII in Occidente: coscienza e strutture di una società. Atti della ottava Settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 30 giugno–5 luglio 1980*, Milano 1983, pp. 259–280.
- , *Le nécrolog de Gorze. Contribution a l'histoire monastique*, Nancy 1971 (=Annales de l'Est, Publiées par l'Université de Nancy II, Mémoire n° 40. Publications de l'Institut de Recherche régionale en Sciences sociales, humaines et économiques, n° 1).
- Path Helmut, *Das St. Michaeliskloster von 1376 in Lüneburg. Ein Ausgrabungsbericht*, Lüneburg 1980.
- Patzte Hans, *Christenvolk und "Territorien"*, [in:] *La cristianità dei secoli XI e XII in Occidente: coscienza e strutture di una società. Atti della ottava Settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 30 giugno–5 luglio 1980*, Milano 1983, pp. 146–212.
- Perlbach Max, *W sprawie Listu Matyldy do Mieszka II* [Answer to the review of Stanisław Zakrzewski], "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 30 (1916), pp. 432–433.
- Perzanowski Zbigniew, *Rękopisy Księgi brackiej i Nekrologu opactwa lubińskiego*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 21 (1976), pp. 79–83.
- Petersohn Jürgen, *Apostolus Pomeranorum. Studien zur Geschichte und Bedeutung des Apostelepithetons Bischof Ottos I. von Bamberg*, "Historisches Jahrbuch", 86 (1966), pp. 257–294.
- , *Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Ausgabe der Viten Ottos von Bamberg, 2. Herbords Dialog*, "Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters", 33 (1977), pp. 546–559.
- , *Der südliche Ostseeraum im kirchlich-politischen Kräftespiel des Reichs, Polens und Dänemarks vom 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert. Mission—Kirchenorganisation—Kultpolitik*, Köln/Wien 1979.
- , *Otto von Bamberg und seine Biographen. Grundformen und Entwicklung des Ottobildes im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, "Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte", 43 (1980), pp. 3–27.
- , *Probleme der Otto-Viten und ihrer Interpretation. Bemerkungen im Anschluß an eine Neuerscheinung*, "Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters", 27 (1971), pp. 314–372.
- , *Zur Biographie Herbords von Michelsberg*, "Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung", 34/35 (1977): *Festschrift für Gerhard Pfeiffer*, pp. 397–416.
- Petkov Kirył, *The Kiss of Peace. Ritual, Self and Society in the High and Late Medieval West*, Leiden/Boston 2003 (=Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions Medieval and Modern Peoples, vol. 17).
- Pianowski Zbigniew, "Który Bolesław?"—*problem początku architektury monumentalnej w Małopolsce*, [in:] *Początki architektury monumentalnej w Polsce. Materiały z sesji naukowej, Gniezno, 20–21 listopada 2003 roku*, Tomasz Janiak, Dariusz Stryniak eds, Gniezno 2004, pp. 257–282.
- , "Sedes regni principales". *Wawel i inne rezydencje piastowskie do połowy XIII w. na tle europejskim*, Cracow 1994 (=Politechnia Krakowska im. Tadeusza Kościuszki, Seria Architektura, Monografia 178).
- Pianowski Zbigniew, Proksa Michał, *Przedromańskie palatium i rotunda na Wzgórzu Zamkowym w Przemyślu w świetle badań archeologiczno-architektonicznych do roku 2002*, Przemyśl 2003.
- Piech Zenon, *Ikonoграфия pieczęci Piastów*, Cracow 1993.
- Pietrusiński Jerzy, *Epistola Mathildis Suevae. O zaginionej miniaturze*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze", 26 (1981), pp. 53–72.
- Pietrusiński Jerzy, *Krakowska katedra romańska fundacji króla Bolesława II Szczerdrego*, [in:] *Katedra krakowska w średniowieczu. Materiały z sesji Oddziału Krakowskiego Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Kraków, kwiecień 1994*, Cracow 1996, pp. 43–105.
- Piniński Jerzy, *Trzeci egzemplarz monety Bolesława Chrobrego z przedstawieniem strzały*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne", 46 (2002), fasc. 1, pp. 51–58.

- Plassmann Alheydis, *Origo gentis. Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen*, Berlin 2006 (=Orbis mediaevalis. Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters, vol. 7).
- , “*Tellus Normannica*” und “*dux Dacorum*” bei Dudo von St-Quentin: Land und Herrscher als Integrationsfaktor für die Normandie, [in:] *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen. Von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters*, Walter Pohl ed., Wien 2004 (=Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften, vol. 322, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 8), pp. 233–251.
- , “*Amicitia*” a sprawa polska. Uwagi o stosunku Piastów do Cesarstwa w X i na początku XI wieku, [in:] *Ad fontes. O naturze źródła historycznego*, Stanisław Rosik, Przemysław Wiszewski eds, Wrocław 2004 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis No 2675, Historia 170), pp. 49–58.
- , Bolesław Chrobry konfratrem eremitów św. Romualda w Międzyrzeczu, “*Kwartalnik Historyczny*”, 103 (1996), nr 1, pp. 3–22.
- , Gorliwość neofitów. Religijność osobista Przemyślidów i Piastów w X i na początku XI wieku, [in:] *Przemyślidzi i Piastowie—twórcy i gospodarze średniowiecznych monarchii. Materiały z konferencji naukowej. Gniezno 5–7 maja 2004 roku*, Józef Dobosz ed., Poznań 2006, pp. 93–99.
- , *Mieszko I i jego państwo w opisie Ibrahima ibn Jakuba a archetyp “dzikiej Północy”*, [in:] *Mundus hominis—cywilizacja, kultura, natura. Wokół interdyscyplinarności badań historycznych*, Stanisław Rosik, Przemysław Wiszewski eds, Wrocław 2007 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis No 2966, seria Historia 175), pp. 209–220.
- , *Otto III. und das Problem der Ostmission. Einige Bemerkungen über die politische und ideologische Grundlage eines Stiftes für Eremiten in Polen*, [in:] *Der heilige Prokop, Böhmen und Mitteleuropa. Internationales Symposium Benešov—Sázava, 24–26. September 2003*, Petr Sommer ed., Praha 2005, pp. 79–92.
- , *Początek rządów Bolesława Chrobrego*, [in:] *Viae historicae. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Lechowi A. Tyszkiewiczowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin* (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 2306, Historia 152), Mateusz Goliński, Stanisław Rosik eds, Wrocław 2001, pp. 217–232.
- Plezia Marian, *Dookoła sprawy świętego Stanisława. Studium źródłoznawcze*, Cracow 2003 (corrected version of a monograph published in “*Analecta Cracoviensia*”, 11 (1979)).
- , *Kronika Galla na tle historiografii XII wieku*, Cracow 1947 (=Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego, Seria II, vol. 46 (71), nr 3).
- , *Nowe studia nad Gallem-Anonimem*, [in:] *Mente et litteris. O kulturze i społeczeństwie wieków średnich*, Halina Chłopocka ed., Poznań 1984 (=Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, seria Historia, nr 117), pp. 111–120.
- , *Pasja z Tegernsee* [introduction], [in:] *Średniowieczne żywoty i cuda patronów Polski*, translated by Janina Pleziowa, prepared and introduction Marian Plezia, Warszawa 1987, pp. 23–28.
- , [Review:] *Św. Wojciecha, biskupa i męczennika żywot pierwszy* ed. Jadwiga Karwasińska, Warszawa 1962, “*Studia Źródłoznawcze*”, 12 (1967), p. 183.
- Płoch Józef, “*Sertum aureum*” ofiarowane klasztorowi lubińskiemu przez komesa Żeliszawa, [in:] *Polska w świecie. Szkice z dziejów kultury polskiej*, Jerzy Dowiat, Aleksander Gieysztor, Janusz Tazbir, Stanisław Trawkowski eds, Warszawa 1972, pp. 125–136.
- Pohl Walter, *Conceptions of Ethnicity in Early Medieval Studies*, [in:] *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings*, Lester K. Little, Barbara H. Rosenwein eds, Oxford 1998, pp. 15–24.
- , *Identität und Widerspruch: Gedanken zu einer Sinngeschichte des Frühmittelalters*, [in:] *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen. Von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters*,

- Walter Pohl ed., Wien 2004 (=Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften, vol. 322, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 8), pp. 23–35.
- Pohorecki Feliks, *Rytmika kroniki Galla-anonima*, Cracow 1930.
- Polak Wojciech, *Czas w najstarszej polskiej kronice*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego", 39 (1996), nr 3–4, pp. 47–72.
- , "Gesta" *Gallowe a kultura oralna*, [in:] Barbara Trelińska ed., *Tekst źródła. Krytyka, interpretacja*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 65–76.
- , *Uwagi w sprawie rocznikarskiego źródła "Kroniki" Galla Anonima*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne", 47 (2000), fasc. 2, pp. 447–460.
- Polek Krzysztof, *Kraków i Małopolska w czasie najazdu Brzetysława I na Polskę*, "Studia Historyczne", 29 (1986), fasc. 4, pp. 495–508.
- Pomian Krzysztof, *Historia kultury, historia semioforów*, [in:] Ibid., *Historia. Nauka wobec pamięci*, Lublin 2006.
- Poppe Andrzej, *Gertruda-Olisawa, regina Russorum. Materiały do życiorysu*, [in:] *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne*, Danuta Zydorek ed., Poznań 2001 (=Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, vol. 44), pp. 575–591.
- , *O zarożeniu kulta swiatych Borysa i Gleba*, "Russia Mediaevalis", 8 (1995), nr 1, pp. 56–67.
- Potkowski Edward, *Kobiety a książka w średniowieczu (wybrane problemy)*, [in:] Ibid., *Książka i pismo w średniowieczu. Studia z dziejów kultury piśmiennej i komunikacji społecznej*, Pułtusk 2006, pp. 312–341.
- Powierski Jan, *Kryzys rządów Bolesława Śmiałego. Polityka i jej odzwierciedlenie w literaturze średniowiecznej*, Gdańsk 1992.
- Prinke Rafał T., *Świętosława, Sygryda, Gunhilda. Tożsamość córki Mieszka i jej skandynawskie związki*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 70 (2004), pp. 81–110.
- Prinz Friedrich, *Hagiographie als Kultpropaganda: Die Rolle der Auftraggeber und Autoren hagiographischer Texte des Frühmittelalters*, [in:] *Literarische Interessenbildung im Mittelalter. DFG-Symposion 1991*, Joachim Heinze ed., Stuttgart/Weimar 1993 (=Germanistische Symposien Berichtsbände, vol. 14), pp. 145–164.
- Radziwiński Andrzej, *Duchowieństwo kapituł katedralnych w Polsce XIV i XV w. na tle porównawczym. Studia nad rekrutacją i drogami awansu*, Toruń 1995.
- Rädlinger-Prömper Christine, *St. Emmeram in Regensburg. Struktur- und Funktionswandel eines bayerischen Klosters im früheren Mittelalter*, Kallmünz 1987 (=Thurn und Taxis-Studien, vol. 16).
- Ricoeur Paul, *Pamięć, historia, zapomnienie*, translated by Janusz Margański, Cracow 2006 (=Horyzonty nowoczesności, vol. 54).
- Rodzińska-Choraży Teresa, *Wczesnopiastowski zespół pałacowy na Wzgórzu Zamkowym oraz rotunda prosta pod katedrą w Przemyślu w świetle ostatnich badań*, [in:] *Początki sąsiedztwa. Pogranicze etniczne polsko-rusko-słowackie w średniowieczu. Materiały z konferencji Rzeszów 9–11 V 1995 r.*, Michał Parczewski ed., Rzeszów 1996, pp. 133–149.
- Rokosz Mieczysław, *Polskie insygnia koronacyjne w średniowiecznych fabułach*, [in:] *Imagines potestatis. Rytuały, symbole i konteksty fabularne władzy zwierzchniej. Polska X–XV w. (z przykładem czeskim i ruskim)*, Jacek Banaszekiewicz ed., Warszawa 1994 (=Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia, vol. 1), pp. 206–227.
- , *Wawelska włócznia Bolesława Chrobrego. Przegląd problematyki*, "Rocznik Krakowski", 55 (1989), pp. 17–44.
- Rosik Stanisław, *Dokąd sięgają pamięcią słowiańscy starcy z kroniki Helmolda? Refleksje na marginesie dyskusji nad historiografią XI i XII w.*, [in:] *Starość—wiek spełnienia*, Wojciech Dzieduszycki, Jacek Wrzesiński eds, Poznań 2006 (=Funeralia Lednickie, spotkanie 8), pp. 233–236.
- , *"Grzech Samarytan"—epizod z pomorskiej misji św. Ottona z Bambergu*, [in:] *Drogi i rozdroża kultury chrześcijańskiej Europy. Człowiek—Wiara—Kultura*, Urszula Cierniak, Jarosław Grabowski eds, Częstochowa 2003, pp. 139–145.

- , *Interpretacja chrześcijańska religii pogańskich Słowian w świetle kronik niemieckich XI–XII wieku (Thietmar, Adam z Bremy, Helmold)* (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 2235, Historia 144), Wrocław 2000.
- , *Misje i oswobodzenie jeńców—od Cyryla i Metodego do Ottona z Bambergu*, [in:] *Curatores pauperum. Źródła i tradycje kultury charytatywnej Europy Środkowej*, Antoni Barciak ed., Katowice 2004, pp. 330–336.
- , *Sacrum Pomorzan “w oczach” św. Ottona z Bambergu (w kręgu chrześcijańskiej interpretacji religii Słowian)*, [in:] *Z dziejów chrześcijaństwa na Pomorzu/ Aus der Geschichte des Christentums in Pommern. Materiały z konferencji w Kulicach, 19–22 listopada 2000*, Lisaweta von Zitzewitz ed., Kulice 2001 (=Zeszyty Kulickie/Külzer Hefte, nr 2), pp. 43–77.
- , *“Sponsae Christi” oraz “dii manu facti” w “Kronice Thietmara”. Elementy konwencji dziejopisarskiej w służbie historiologii*, [in:] *Viae historicae. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Lechowi A. Tyszkiewiczowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin* (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 2306, Historia 152), Mateusz Goliński, Stanisław Rosik eds, Wrocław 2001, pp. 414–421.
- Rotondo-McCord Jonathan, *“Locum sepulturae meae...elegi”: Property, graves, and Sacral Power in Eleventh-Century Germany*, *“Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies”*, 26 (1995), pp. 77–106.
- Rupp Gabriele, *Die Ekkehardiner, Markgrafen von Meißen, und ihre Beziehungen zum Reich und zu den Piasten*, Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern/New York/Paris/Wien 1996 (=Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe III: Geschichte und Hilfswissenschaften, vol. 691).
- Rutkowska-Plachcińska Anna, *Pasje świętych Wojciecha i Brunona z tzw. kodeksu z Tegernsee*, *“Studia Źródłoznawcze”*, 40 (2002), pp. 19–41.
- Rzeźnik Paweł, Żurek Adam, *Wrocław około roku 1000*, [in:] *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Poznań, listopad 2000*, Szczęsny Skibiński ed., Poznań 2001, pp. 335–352.
- Salamon Maciej, *“Amicus” or “hostis”? Boleslav the Valiant and Byzantium*, [in:] *Byzantium and Its Neighbours From the Mid-9th Till the 12th Centuries. Papers read at the International byzantinological symposium, Bechyně, September 1990*, Vladimír Vavřínek ed., Prague 1993, September 1990, Prague 1993, pp. 114–120.
- Samsonowicz Henryk, *Dynastia, czyli od społecznej struktury plemiennnej do państwowej*, [in:] *Przemysłdzi i Piastowie—twórcy i gospodarze średniowiecznych monarchii. Materiały z konferencji naukowej, Gniezno 5–7 maja 2004 roku*, Józef Dobosz ed., Poznań 2006, pp. 15–22.
- , *Więzi społeczne we wczesnym średniowieczu polskim*, [in:] *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej. Zbiór studiów*, Stefan K. Kuczyński ed., vol. 10, Warszawa 2004, pp. 47–73.
- Santifaller Leo, *Zur Geschichte des ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchensystems*, second edition [first in 1953], Wien 1964 (=Österreichische Akademie des Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 229. Band, 1. Abhandlung).
- Sawicki Tomasz, *Bulla książęca z XII wieku z grodu na Górze Lecha w Gnieźnie*, *“Wiadomości Numizmatyczne”*, 51 (2007), fasc. 1, pp. 109–117.
- , *Gnieźnieński zespół grodowy w świetle najnowszych badań*, [in:] Andrzej Buko ed., *Studia z dziejów cywilizacji. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Jerzemu Gąsowskiemu w pięćdziesiątą rocznicę pracy naukowej*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 207–216.
- , *Z badań nad przemianami topografii i funkcji grodu książęcego na Wzgórzu Lecha w Gnieźnie*, *“Slavia Antiqua”*, 40 (1999), pp. 9–29.
- Schieffer Rudolf, *Fulda, Abtei der Könige und Kaiser*, [in:] Gangolf Schrimpf ed., *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen*, Frankfurt am Main 1996 (=Fuldaer Studien. Schriftenreihe der Theologischen Fakultät, vol. 7), pp. 39–55.
- Schlenker Gerlinda, *Kaiserin und Reichsabtin—Macht und Einfluss von Adelheid und Mathilde von Quedlinburg*, [in:] *Auf den Spuren der Ottonen III. Protokoll des Kollo-*

- quiums am 22. Juni 2001 im Walbeck/Hettstedt*, Halle 2002 (=Beiträge zur Regional- und Landeskultur Sachsen-Anhalts, fasc. 23), pp. 7–16.
- Schlesinger Walter, *Meissner Dom und Naumburger Westchor. Ihre Bildwerke in geschichtlicher Betrachtung*, Münster/Köln 1952 (=Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, fasc. 2).
- Schluck Manfred, *Die Vita Heinrici IV. Imperatoris. Ihre zeitgenössischen Quellen und ihr besonderes Verhältnis zum Carmen de bello Saxonico*, Sigmaringen 1979 (=Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband 26).
- Schmid Alois, *Die Herrschergräber in St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*, "Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters", 32 (1976), pp. 333–369.
- Schmid Karl, *Zur Entstehung und Erforschung von Geschlechterbewußtsein*, "Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins", 134/N.F. 95 (1986): *Staufer—Welfen—Zähringer. Ihr Selbstverständnis und seine Ausdrucksformen*, ed. Karl Schmid, pp. 21–33.
- , *Zur Problematik von Familie, Sippe und Geschlecht, Haus und Dynastie beim mittelalterlichen Adel*, "Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins", 105/N.F. 66 (1957), pp. 1–62.
- Schmidt Rolf, *Legitimum ius totius familiae. Recht und Verwaltung bei Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg*, [in:] *Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken. Festschrift für Raymond Kottje zum 65. Geburtstag*, Hubert Mordek ed., Frankfurt am Main/Bern/New York/Paris 1992 (=Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte. Studien und Texte, vol. 3), pp. 207–222.
- Schmitt Jean-Claude, *Duchy, żywi i umarli w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, przekł. Aleksander Witt Labuda, Gdańsk/Warszawa 2002.
- , *La Raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris 1990.
- Schneider Reinhard, *Karolus, qui est Wenceslaus*, [in:] *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann zum 65. Geburtstag*, Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke, Reinhard Wenskus eds, Sigmaringen 1977, pp. 365–387.
- Schneidmüller Bernd, *Die Welfen. Herrschaft und Erinnerung (819–1252)*, Stuttgart 2000.
- , *Zwischen Gott und den Getreuen. Vier Skizzen zu den Fundamenten der mittelalterlichen Monarchie*, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien", 36 (2002), pp. 193–224.
- , *Ordnung der Anfänge. Die Entstehung Deutschlands und Frankreichs in historischen Konstruktionen des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters*, [in:] *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen. Von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters*, Walter Pohl ed., Wien 2004 (=Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften, vol. 322, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 8), pp. 291–306.
- Schubert Ernst, *Der Westchor des Naumburger Doms. Ein Beitrag zur Datierung und zum Verständnis der Standbilder*, "Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin", Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, 1964, nr 1, pp. 9–52.
- Schulze-Dörrlamm Mechthild, *Das Reichsschwert. Ein Herrschaftszeichen des Saliers Heinrich IV. und des Welfen Otto IV mit dem Exkus: Der verschollene Gürtel Kaiser Ottos IV.*, Sigmaringen 1995 (=Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Monographien, vol. 32).
- Schwarzmann Peter, *Die ehemalige Benediktiner-Klosterkirche St. Michael in Bamberg*, Bamberg 1992 (=Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg, Beiheft 27).
- Szczaniecki Paweł, *Odgadywanie początków*, [in:] *Benedyktyni tynieccy w średniowieczu. Materiały z sesji naukowej Wawel—Tyniec, 13–15 października 1994*, Klementyna Zurowska ed., Cracow 1995, pp. 41–45.
- , *Święty Piotr na Tyńcu*, [in:] *Tradycje i perspektywy nauk pomocniczych historii w Polsce. Materiały z sympozjum w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim dnia 21–22 października 1993 roku, profesorowi Zbigniewowi Perzanowskiemu przypisane*, Mieczysław Rokosz ed., Cracow 1995, pp. 247–251.

- Searle Eleanor, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power (840-1066)*, Berkeley 1988.
- Seibert Hubertus, *Adlige Herrschaft und königliche Gefolgschaft. Die Grafen von Schweinfurt im ottonischen Reich*, "Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte", 65, 2002, pp. 839-882.
- Shils Edward Albert, *Tradition*, London 1981.
- Shopkov Leah, *History and Community. Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Washington 1997.
- Schreiner Klaus, "Nudis pedibus". *Barfußigkeit als religiöses und politisches Ritual*, [in:] Gerd Althoff ed., *Formen und Funktionen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 2001 (=Vorträge und Forschungen/Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für Mittelalterliche Geschichte, vol. 51), pp. 53-124.
- Simon Gertrud, *Untersuchungen zur Topik der Widmungsbriefe mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreiber bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts*, part 1, "Archiv für Diplomatik. Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde", 4 (1958), pp. 52-119; part 2, "Archiv für Diplomatik. Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde", 5/6 (1959/1960), pp. 73-153.
- Sinderhauf Monica, *Die Reform von St. Blasien*, [in:] Ulrich Faust, Franz Quarthal eds, *Die Reformverbände und Kongregationen der Benediktiner im deutschen Sprachraum*, St. Ottilien 1999, pp. 125-140.
- Skibiński Edward, *Biskup i monarcha*, [in:] *Docendo discimus. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Profesorowi Zbigniewowi Wielgoszowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Krzysztof Kaczmarek, Jarosław Nikodem eds, Poznań 2000 (=Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, vol. 32), pp. 99-109.
- Skibiński Szczęśny, *Wokół fundacji artystycznych Piastów*, [in:] *Przemysłdzi i Piastowie—twórcy i gospodarze średniowiecznych monarchii. Materiały z konferencji naukowej, Gniezno 5-7 maja 2004 roku*, Józef Dobosz ed., Poznań 2006, pp. 169-193.
- Skubiszewski Piotr, *Katedra w Polsce około roku 1000*, [in:] *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Poznań, listopad 2000*, Szczęśny Skibiński ed., Poznań 2001, pp. 139-196.
- Skwierczyński Krzysztof, *Custodia civitatis. Sakralny system ochrony miasta w Polsce wcześniejszego średniowiecza na przykładzie siedzib biskupich*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 103 (1996), nr 3, pp. 3-51.
- , *Recepcja idei gregoriańskich w Polsce do początku XIII wieku*, Wrocław 2005 (=Monografie Fundacji na Rzecz Nauki Polskiej).
- Smorąg Różycka Małgorzata, *Bizantyńsko-ruskie miniatury Kodeksu Gertrudy. O kontekstach ideowych i artystycznych sztuki Rusi Kijowskiej XI wieku*, Cracow 2003.
- , *Miniatury w Kodeksie Gertrudy: kilka słów uzupełnienia*, [in:] *Lapides viventes. Zaginiony Kraków wieków średnich. Księga dedykowana Profesor Klementynie Żurowskiej*, Jerzy Gadomski, Adam Małkiewicz, Teresa Rodzińska-Choraży, Andrzej Włodarek eds., Cracow 2005, pp. 115-120.
- Sosnowski Miłosz, *Kategorie związane z misją i męczeństwem w pismach św. Brunona z Kwerfurtu*, [in:] *Cognitioni gestorum. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza dedykowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Strzelczykowi*, Dariusz A. Sikorski, Andrzej M. Wyrwa eds, Poznań/Warszawa 2006, pp. 205-230.
- Spilling Herrad, *Sanctarum reliquiarum pignera gloriosa. Quellen zur Geschichte des Reliquienschatzes der Benediktinerabtei Zwiefalten*, Bad Buchau 1992.
- Stadtmüller Georg, Pfister Bonifaz, *Geschichte der Abtei Niederaltaich. 731-1971*, München 1971.
- Stock Brian, *The Implications of Literacy. Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century*, Princeton 1983.
- Stróżyk Paweł, *Ikonoграфия denarów z imieniem Mieszka. Ze studiów nad ceremonialnym nakryciem głowy pierwszych Piastów*, "Roczniki Historyczne", 66 (2000), pp. 121-134.

- , *Jeszcze o pobycie biskupa Wojciecha na ziemiach polskich w 997 roku*, [in:] *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne*, Danuta Zydorek ed., Poznań 2001 (=Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, vol. 44), pp. 493–502.
- , *Miniatura*, [in:] Brygida Kürbis and colaboradores eds, *Kodeks Matyldy. Księga obrzędów z kartami dedykacyjnymi*, Cracow 2000 (=Monumenta Sacra Polonorum, vol. 1), pp. 84–89.
- , *Śmierć eremitów w relacji Brunona z Kwerfurtu*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 69 (2003), pp. 7–31.
- , *Wizerunek Bolesława Chrobrego na denarze DVX INCLITVS. Ze studiów nad ceremonialnymi nakryciami głowy pierwszych Piastów*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 68 (2002), pp. 57–76.
- Strzelczyk Jerzy, *Bamberg a Polska w średniowieczu*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 62 (1996), pp. 73–88.
- , *Bolesław Chrobry*, Poznań 1999 (=Biblioteka “Kroniki Wielkopolskiej”).
- , *Bolesław Chrobry—osobowość i polityka w opinii współczesnych i potomnych*, [in:] Lech Leciejewicz ed., *Salsa Cholbergensis. Kołobrzeg w średniowieczu*, Marian Rębkowski, Kołobrzeg 2000, pp. 45–66.
- , *Mieszko pierwszy*, Poznań 1992 (=Biblioteka “Kroniki Wielkopolski”).
- , *Niektóre problemy chrystianizacji Europy wczesnośredniowiecznej*, [in:] *Nihil superfluum esse. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, Jerzy Strzelczyk and Józef Dobosz eds, Poznań 2000 (=Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, 33), pp. 61–84.
- , *Unger*, [in:] *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 8, München 1997, k. 1234–1235.
- , *Die Anfänge der polnischen Münzprägung*, [in:] *Europas Mitte um Jahr 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*, Alfried Wieczorek, Hans-Martin Hinz eds, Stuttgart 2000, vol. 1, pp. 195–196.
- , *Ikonoграфия monet Sobiesława Sławnikowica*, “Wiadomości Numizmatyczne”, 50 (2006), fasc. 2, pp. 127–146.
- , *Kult svatého Václava a svatého Vojtěcha prizmatem raně středověkých polských mincí*, “Numismatický sborník”, 20 (2005), pp. 29–42.
- , *Kult św. Waclawa i św. Wojciecha przez pryzmat polskich monet z wczesnego średniowiecza*, [in:] *Kościół, kultura, społeczeństwo. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*, Stanisław Bylina, Ryszard Kiersnowski, Stefan K. Kuczyński, Henryk Samsonowicz, Józef Szymański, Hanna Zaremska eds, Warszawa 2000, pp. 87–102.
- , *Mennictwo polskie w XI i XII wieku*, Wrocław 1973.
- , *Moneta polska w X/XI wieku (Mieszko I. i Bolesław Chrobry)*, “Wiadomości Numizmatyczne”, 11 (1967), fasc. 2–3, pp. 65–194.
- , *Najdawniejsze monety polskie jako źródła dające poznać dzieje pierwszej monarchii*, [in:] *Aetas media, aetas moderna. Studia ofiarowane prof. Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w 70-tą rocznicę urodzin*, Wojciech Fałkowski, Halina Manikowska, Antoni Mączak, Karol Modzelewski eds, Warszawa 2000, pp. 299–312.
- , *Noch einmal über die Anfänge der Münzprägung in Polen*, [in:] Bernd Kluge, Bernhard Weisser eds, *Akten XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress Berlin 1997/Proceedings of the XIIth International Numismatic Congress*, Berlin 2000, vol. 2, pp. 978–982.
- , *Początki rodzimego mennictwa*, [in:] *Ziemia polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy*, Henryk Samsonowicz ed., Cracow 2000, pp. 351–360.
- , *“Rex Bolizlavus”—tzw. królewskie monety Bolesława Chrobrego*, [in:] *Heraldyka i okolice [Profesorowi Stefanowi Krzysztofowi Kuczyńskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin]*, Andrzej Rachuba, Sławomir Górzyński, Halina Manikowska eds, Warszawa 2002, pp. 285–295.

- , *Święty Wojciech w świetle źródeł numizmatycznych*, [in:] Andrzej Źaki ed., *Święty Wojciech i jego czasy. Materiały III Sympozjum Historyczno-Archeologicznego Polskiego Uniwersytetu na Obczyźnie, Saint-Maurice, 12–13 kwietnia 1997 roku*, Cracow 2000, pp. 87–102.
- , *Tadeusza Wolańskiego zwiędstwo z za grobu, czyli nowy typ denara Bolesława Chrobrego*, [in:] *Archeolodzy i starożytnicy. Studia dedykowane profesorowi Andrzejowi Abramowiczowi w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, Łódź 1997, pp. 265–273.
- , *Włócznia świętego Stefana*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 112 (2005), nr 3, pp. 91–110.
- Suckale-Redlefsen Gude, *Regensburger Sakramentar*, [in:] *Kaiser Heinrich II. 1002–1024*, Josef Kirmeier, Bern Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter, Evamaria Brockhoff eds, Augsburg 2002, pp. 268–273.
- Szafrński Władysław, *Otwarcie grobu Piastów w katedrze plockiej w 1972 roku*, “Rocznik Mazowiecki”, 8 (1984), pp. 71–72.
- , *Płock we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Wrocław/Warszawa/Cracow/Gdańsk/Łódź 1983.
- , *Widziałem kości monarchów polskich. Badania naukowe zawartości grobu piastowskiego w katedrze plockiej*, “Notatki Płockie”, 2 (1973), nr 71, pp. 23–32.
- Szczur Stanisław, *Misja cyrylo-metodiańska w świetle najnowszych badań*, [in:] *Chryścianizacja Polski południowej. Materiały sesji naukowej odbytej 29 czerwca 1993 roku*, Cracow 1994, pp. 7–22.
- Sztuka polska przedromańska i romańska do schyłku XIII wieku*, Michał Walicki ed., part 2: *Katalog i bibliografia zabytków*, prepared by Maria Pietrusińska, Warszawa 1971 (=Dzieje sztuki polskiej, vol. 1).
- Świechowski Zygmunt, *Wczesna architektura murowana na ziemiach polskich—jak dawna?*, [in:] *Początki architektury monumentalnej w Polsce. Materiały z sesji naukowej, Gniezno, 20–21 listopada 2003 roku*, Tomasz Janiak, Dariusz Stryniak eds, Gniezno 2004, pp. 7–23.
- Targosz Karolina, *Korzenie i kształty teatru do 1500 roku w perspektywie Krakowa*, Cracow 1995 (=Towarzystwo Miłośników i Zabytków Krakowa).
- Tomaszek Michał, *Klasztor i jego założyciel w utrwalonej na piśmie tradycji początków zgromadzenia. Przykład benedyktyńskiego opactwa w Brauweiler*, [in:] *Causa creandi. O pragmatyce źródła historycznego*, (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 2783, seria Historia, vol. 171), Stanisław Rosik, Przemysław Wiszewski eds, Wrocław 2005, pp. 267–278.
- Trawkowski Stanisław, *Eschatologiczny aspekt biskupiej służby królowi w ujęciu Thietmara*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Opuscula mediävistica. Studia nad historią społeczną Polski wczesnopiastowskiej*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 50–56.
- , *Najstarsze monety polskie*, “Wiadomości Numizmatyczne”, 13 (1969), fasc. 1, pp. 30–43.
- , *Pielgrzymka Ottona III do Gniezna. Ze studiów nad dewocją wczesnośredniowieczną*, [in:] *Polska w świecie. Szkice z dziejów kultury polskiej*, Jerzy Dowiat, Aleksander Gieysztor, Janusz Tazbir, Stanisław Trawkowski eds, Warszawa 1972, pp. 107–123.
- , *Wokół początków arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Opuscula mediävistica. Studia nad historią społeczną Polski wczesnopiastowskiej*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 57–73.
- Třeštk Dušan, *Die Anfänge der böhmischen Geschichtsschreibung. Die ältesten Prager Annalen*, “Studia Źródłoznawcze”, 23 (1978), pp. 1–37.
- , *Von Swatopulk zu Bolesław Chrobry. Die Entstehung Mitteleuropas aus der Kraft des Tatsächlichen und aus einer Idee*, [in:] *The Neighbours of Poland in the 10th Century*, Przemysław Urbańczyk ed., Warsaw 2000, pp. 111–145.
- Tyc Teodor, *Uwagi nad Gallem Anonimem*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Z dziejów kultury w Polsce średniowiecznej*, Poznań 1924, pp. 73–138.

- Tyszkiewicz Lech, *Z badań nad narodzinami stereotypów Słowian w historiografii zachodniej wczesnego średniowiecza*, [in:] *Wokół stereotypów Polaków i Niemców*, Wojciech Wrzesiński ed., Wrocław 1991 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 1136, Historia 79), pp. 27–47.
- U progu chrześcijaństwa w Polsce. Ostrów Lednicki*, Klementyna Żurawska ed., vol. 1–2, Cracow 1993–1994.
- Uhlirz Mathilde, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Otto II. und Otto III.*, vol. 2: *Otto III.*, Berlin 1954.
- Urbańczyk Przemysław, “Europe” Around the Year 1000 as Seen from the Papal, Imperial and Central-European Perspectives, [in:] Jörn Staecker ed., *The European Frontier. Clashes and Compromises in the Middle Ages. International symposium of the Culture Clash or Compromise (CCC) project and the Department of Archeology, Lund University, held in Lund, October 13–15 2000*, Lund 2004 (=Lund Studies in Medieval Archeology, vol. 33; CCC papers, vol. 7), pp. 35–39.
- , *Najdawniejsze stolice państwa piastowskiego*, [in:] *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Poznań, listopad 2000*, Szczęśny Skibiński ed., Poznań 2001, pp. 235–245.
- , *Wczesnośredniowieczna architektura polska w kontekście archeologicznym*, [in:] *Początki architektury monumentalnej w Polsce. Materiały z sesji naukowej, Gniezno, 20–21 listopada 2003 roku*, Tomasz Janiak, Dariusz Stryniak eds, Gniezno 2004, pp. 25–36.
- , “Zamach stanu” w tradycji piastowskiej Anonima Galla, [in:] *Zamach stanu w dawnych społecznościach*, Arkadiusz Sołtysiak ed., in collaboration with Justyna Olko, Warszawa 2004, pp. 219–226.
- , *Zjazd Gnieźnieński w polityce imperialnej Ottona III*, [in:] Wojciech Dzieuduszycki, Maciej Przybył eds, *Trakt cesarski. Ilawa—Gniezno—Magdeburg* (Bibliotheca Fontes Archaeologici Poznanienses, vol. 11), Poznań 2002, pp. 49–90.
- Vries Jan de, *Altnordische Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 1: *Vorbemerkungen. Die heidnische Zeit. Die Zeit nach der Bekehrung bis zur Mitte des zwölften Jahrhunderts*, second amended version, Berlin 1964 (=Grundriß der germanischen Philologie, vol. 15).
- Wagner Anne, *Horze au XI^e siècle. Contribution à l’histoire du monachisme bénédictin dans l’Empire*, forward by Michel Parisse, [Turnhout] 1996.
- Warnke Charlotte, *Ursachen und Voraussetzungen der Schenkung Polens an den heiligen Petrus*, [in:] *Europa Slavica—Europa Orientalis. Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70. Geburtstag*, Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, Klaus Zernack eds, Berlin 1980 (=Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen, Reihe 1, Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens, vol. 100), pp. 127–177.
- Wasilewski Tadeusz, *Czescy sufragani Bolesława Chrobrego a zagadnienia jego drugiej metropolii kościelnej*, [in:] *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej*, Stefan K. Kuczyński ed., vol. 5, Warszawa 1992, pp. 35–44.
- , *Dwa utracone roczniki: Rocznik biskupów dworu polskiego i Rocznik tyniecki (starszy)*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 54 (1988), pp. 1–61.
- , *Zjazd gnieźnieński w roku 1000 i powstanie królestwa w metropolii kościelnej w Polsce*, [in:] *Polska na przełomie I i II tysiąclecia. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Poznań, listopad 2000*, Szczęśny Skibiński ed., Poznań 2001, pp. 103–113.
- Webber Nick, *The Evolution of Norman Identity, 911–1154*, Woodbridge 2005.
- Wegener Wilhelm, *Die Lanze des heiligen Wenzel*, “Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germanistische Abteilung”, 72 (1955), pp. 56–82.
- Wehl Hans-Peter, *Reichsabtei und König, dargestellt am Beispiel der Abtei Lorsch mit Ausblicken auf Hersfeld, Stablo und Fulda*, Göttingen 1970 (=Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, vol. 28).
- Weinfurter Stefan, *Die Zentralisierung der Herrschaftsgewalt im Konflikt. Das Beispiel Kaiser Heinrichs III.*, [in:] *Ibid.*, *Gelebte Ordnung—Gedachte Ordnung. Ausgewählte*

- Beiträge zu König, Kirche und Reich. Aus Anlaß des 60. Geburtstages*, Helmuth Kluger, Hubertus Seibert, Werner Bomm eds, Ostfildern 2005, pp. 213–287.
- , *Kaiserin Adelheid und das ottonische Kaisertum*, “Frühmittelalterliche Studien”, 33 (1999), pp. 1–19.
- Weiland L[udwig], *Chronologie der älteren Aebtissinnen von Quedlinburg und Gandersheim*, “Zeitschrift des Harz-Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde”, 8 (1875), pp. 475–489.
- Weitlauff Manfred, *Das Bistum Augsburg von seinen Anfängen bis zur Säkularisation (1802/1803) und seine spätmittelalterlichen Bischöfe (1184–1423)*, “Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburgs Bistums-geschichte”, 37 (2003), pp. 13–111.
- Wenskus Reinhard, *Studien zur historisch-politischen Gedankenwelt Bruns von Querfurt*, Münster/Köln 1956 (=Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, vol. 5).
- Wenta Jarosław, *Koncepcja memoratywno-liturgiczna funkcjonowania zapisek w tablicy paschalnej a sprawa Rocznika Rychezy*, [in:] *Venerabiles, nobiles et honesti. Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa Polski średniowiecznej. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Januszowi Bieniakowi w siedemdziesiąt rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestopięciolecie pracy naukowej*, Andrzej Radziwiński, Anna Supruniuk, Jan Wroniszewski eds, Toruń 1997, pp. 563–572.
- , *Na marginesie dokumentu legata Humbalda z 2 marca 1146 roku dla Trzemesza*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 53 (1987), pp. 101–114.
- Werner Karl Ferdinand, *Liens de parenté et noms de personne. Un problème historique et méthodologique*, [in:] *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval. Actes du Colloque de Paris (6–8 Juin 1974)*, Georges Duby, Jacques Le Goff eds, Rome 1977 (=Collection de l'École Française de Rome, vol. 30), pp. 13–18; (*Seconde partie*), *ibidem*, pp. 25–34.
- Westra Haijo J., *Literacy, Orality and Medieval Patronage: A Phenomenological Outline*, “The Journal of Medieval Latin. A Publication of the North American Association of Medieval Latin”, 1 (1991), pp. 52–59.
- Węclawowicz Tomasz, *Karolińsko-ottoński kościół grodowy w Gieczu p.w. św. Jana Chrzcziciela*, [in:] *Ziemie polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej mapy Europy*, Henryk Samsonowicz ed., Cracow 2000, pp. 420–421.
- , *Podwójna katedra na Wawelu?*, [in:] *Lapides viventes. Zaginiony Kraków wieków średnich. Księga dedykowana Profesor Klementynie Zurowskiej*, Jerzy Gadomski, Adam Malkiewicz, Teresa Rodzińska-Choraży, Andrzej Włodarek eds, Cracow 2005, pp. 67–82.
- Wieczorek Szymon, *Zwiefalten a Polska w pierwszej połowie XII w.*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 103 (1996), nr 4, pp. 23–55.
- Wiewióra Marcin, *Zespół klasztorny kanoników regularnych w Trzemesznie w świetle badań archeologiczno-architektonicznych*, Toruń 2000 (=Archeologia Historica Polona, vol. 9).
- Wikarjak Jan, [Review:] *Anonim tzw. Gall, Kronika polska, przeł. Roman Grodecki, przekład przejrzał... Marian Plezia, Biblioteka Narodowa... Wrocław... 1965*, “Studia Źródłoznawcze”, 12 (1967), pp. 186–189.
- Wilke Gerard, *Próba interpretacji podwodnych odkryć militariów przy rezydencji pierwszych Piastów na Ostrowie Lednickim*, [in:] *Świat Słowian wczesnego średniowiecza*, Marek Dworaczyk, Anna B. Kowalska, Sławomir Moździoch, Marian Rębkowski eds, Szczecin/Wrocław 2006, pp. 443–455.
- Winterbottom Michael, *The “Gesta regum” of William of Malmesbury*, “The Journal of Medieval Latin. A Publication of the North American Association of Medieval Latin”, 5 (1995), pp. 158–173.
- Wisplinghoffa Ericha, *Die Benediktinerabtei Brauweiler*, Berlin/New York 1992 (=Germania Sacra, Neue Folge 29: Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Köln, vol. 5).
- Wiszewski Przemysław, *At the Beginnings of the Piast Dynastic Tradition. The Ancestors of Mieszko in the “Chronicle” by Gallus Anonymus*, “Questiones Medii Aevi Novae”, 9 (2004) [printed: 2005]: *Family*, pp. 153–182.

- , *Domus Boleslai. W poszukiwaniu tradycji dynastycznej Piastów (do około 1138 r.)*, Wrocław 2008 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis No 3067, Złota Seria Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, vol. 1).
- , *How Far Can You Go with Emotions? The Gniezno Meeting of the Emperor Otto III and Boleslaw the Brave in the year 1000*, [in:] *Meetings with Emotions. Human Past between Anthropology and History (Historiography and Society from the 10th to the 20th century)*, Przemysław Wiszewski ed., Wrocław 2008, pp. 77–87.
- , *Mieszko I jako komes i margrabia w pamięci mnichów z Fuldy. Przyczynek do problemu obecności Piastów w świecie arystokracji ottońskiej Rzeszy*, [in:] *Piastowie śląscy w kulturze i europejskich dziejach*, Antoni Barciak, ed., Katowice 2007, pp. 189–198.
- , *Po co Mieszko wzrok odzyskał, czyli między historią a “wiedzą o człowieku”*. *Kultura Anonima zwanego Gallem i kłopoty interdyscyplinarnych badań pewnej legendy*, [in:] *Mundus hominis—cywilizacja, kultura, natura: wokół interdyscyplinarności badań historycznych*, Stanisław Rosik, Przemysław Wiszewski eds, Wrocław 2006 [printed: 2007] (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis No 2966; Historia, vol. 175), pp. 457–473.
- , *Zemsta, zemsta na wroga...czy wyzwanie? Rzecz o obcinaniu głów zmarłym i społecznym wymiarze emocji (Ebo, III,13)*, [in:] *Cor hominis. Wielkie namiętności w dziejach, źródłach i studiach nad przeszłością*, Stanisław Rosik, Przemysław Wiszewski eds, Wrocław 2007 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No 3049, Historia 176), pp. 61–73.
- , *Źródło, którego nie ma. Przekaz ustny w kształtowaniu wyobraźni historycznej wczesnośredniowiecznych mieszkańców Polski (na marginesie “Kroniki” Anonima zwanego Gallem)*, [in:] *Źródła kultury umysłowej w Europie Środkowej ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Górnego Śląska*, Antoni Barciak ed., Katowice 2005, pp. 22–55.
- Witkowska Aleksandra, *Titulus ecclesiae. Wezwania współczesnych kościołów katedralnych w Polsce*. Historia, Warszawa 1999.
- Wolfram Herwig, *Konrad II. 990–1039. Kaiser dreier Reiche*, München 2000.
- , *Origo et religio. Ethnic traditions and literature in early medieval texts*, “Early medieval Europe”, 3 (1994), fasc. 1, pp. 19–38.
- Wollasch Joachim, *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram als Zeugnis für die Geschichte des Mönchtums im Reich*, [in:] *Das Martyrolog-Necrolog von St. Emmeram zu Regensburg*, Eckhard Freise, Dieter Geuenich, Joachim Wollasch eds, Hannover 1986 (=MGH, Libri Memoriales und Necrologia, n.s., vol. 3), pp. 11–27.
- , *Der Kalendar Bernolds von St. Blasien*, [in:] *St. Blasien. Festschrift aus Anlaß des 200jährigen Bestehens der Kloster- und Pfarrkirche*, Heinrich Heidegger, Hugo Ott eds, München/Zürich 1983, pp. 33–45.
- , *Kaiser und Könige als Brüder der Mönche. Zum Herrscherbild in liturgischen Handschriften des 9. bis 11. Jahrhunderts*, “Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters”, 40 (1984), fasc. 1, pp. 1–20.
- , *Mönchtum des Mittelalters zwischen Kirche und Welt*, München 1973 (=Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, vol. 7).
- , *Muri und St. Blasien. Perspektiven schwäbischen Mönchtums in der Reform*, “Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters”, 17 (1961), fasc. 2, pp. 420–447.
- , *Totengedanken und Traditionsbildung im bischöflichen Eigenkloster Michelsberg zu Bamberg*, [in:] *Das Necrolog des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg*, Johannes Nospickel ed., Hannover 2004 (=MGH, Libri memoriales et necrologia, nova series, vol. 6), pp. 3–20.
- , *Treści ideowe memorii zmarłych w kościołach*, “Roczniki Historyczne”, 55/56 (1989/1990), pp. 7–11.
- Wroniszewski Jan, *Szlachta ziemi sandomierskiej w średniowieczu. Zagadnienia społeczne i gospodarcze*, Poznań-Wrocław 2001 (=Badania z Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych, vol. 60).

- Wyrozumski Jerzy, *Polen und Ungarn um das Jahr 1000*, [in:] *Die ungarische Staatsbildung und Ostmitteleuropa. Studien und Vorträge*, Ferenc Glatz ed., Budapest 2002 (=Begegnungen. Schriftenreihe des Europa Institutes Budapest, vol. 15), pp. 167–176.
- , *Święty Gereon i próba zaszczepienia jego kultu w Polsce*, “*Studia Waweliana*”, 4 (1995), pp. 5–12.
- Wyrwa Andrzej M., *O możliwościach datowania zapraw metodą 14 C w obiektach architektonicznych*, “*Wielkopolski Biuletyn Konserwatorski*”, vol. 1, Poznań 2002, pp. 169–181.
- , *Stan badań nad architekturą ze stanowiska nr 3 w Łeknie*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Pałuk*, vol. 1: *Osadnictwo i architektura w rejonie Łekna we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Andrzej M. Wyrwa ed., Poznań 1989 (=Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, seria Historia nr 160), pp. 137–188.
- Zajączkowski Stanisław, [Review:] *Pierre David, Recherches sur l'annalistique polonaise du XI^e au XVI^e siècle*, “*Revue des questions historiques*”, 116 (1932), pp. 5–58, “*Kwartalnik Historyczny*”, 48 (1934), fasc. 1, pp. 84–99.
- Zakrzewski Stanisław, [Review:] *Max Perlbach, Zur Geschichte einer verlorenen Handschrift. Der Brief der schwäbischen Herzogstochter Mathilde an König Mieszko von Polen*, “*Kwartalnik Historyczny*”, 30 (1916), fasc. 1/2, pp. 131–140.
- Zientara Benedykt, *Populus—gens—natio. Z zagadnień wczesnośredniowiecznej terminologii etnicznej*, [in:] *Cultus et cognitio. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*, Stefan K. Kuczyński, Tadeusz Lalik, Tadeusz Roślanowski, Henryk Samsonowicz, Stanisław Trawkowski, Tadeusz Wasilewski eds, Warszawa 1976, pp. 673–682.
- , *Świt narodów europejskich. Powstawanie świadomości narodowej na obszarze Europy pokałoińskiej*, Warszawa 1985.
- Zimmermann Harald, *Das dunkle Jahrhundert: ein historisches Porträt*, Graz 1971.
- Ziółkowski Jan M., *The Humour of Logic and the Logic of Humour in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, “*The Journal of Medieval Latin. A Publication of the North American Association of Medieval Latin*”, 3 (1993), pp. 1–16.
- Zoll-Adamikowa Helena, *Pochówki dostojników kościelnych i świeckich w Polsce wczesnopiastowskiej (na podstawie źródeł archeologicznych)*, “*Roczniki Historyczne*”, 55/56 (1989/1990), pp. 33–70.
- Znaniński Florian, *Socjologia wychowania*, vol. 1: *Wychowujące społeczeństwo*, wstęp Jan Szczepański, Warszawa 1973 (=Biblioteka socjologiczna; reprint wydania z 1928 r.).
- Zydorek Danuta, *W sprawie tradycji o pochówku Bolesława Chrobrego—raz jeszcze*, [in:] *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne*, Danuta Zydorek ed., Poznań 2001 (=Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, vol. 44), pp. 511–522.
- Zurowska Klementyna, *Dwa zagadkowe groby romańskie w Tyńcu*, “*Z otchłani wieków*”, 40 (1974), pp. 157–160.
- , *Romański kościół i klasztor benedyktyńców w Tyńcu na tle architektury piastowskiej XI wieku*, [in:] *Benedyktyni tynieccy w średniowieczu. Materiały z sesji naukowej Wawel—Tyniec, 13–15 października 1994*, Klementyna Zurowska ed., Cracow 1995, pp. 185–197.

INDEX

- Aachen 12, 371, 436, 498
 Abraham (biblical) 142, 245, 258, 259
 Adalbert, see: Wojciech Slawnik, saint
 Adalbold II of Utrecht, bishop and chronicler 195
 Adam of Bremen, chronicler 396
 Adelaide, abbess of the Nivelles abbey, daughter of Matilda and palatine Ezzo, sister of Rycheza, queen of Poland 372
 Adelaide, daughter of empress Teofanu and emperor Otto II, abbess of the Quedlinburg house 510
 Adelaide of Italy (Adelaide of Burgundy), empress, daughter of Berta of Swabia and Rudolf II of Burgundy, wife of Lothar, king of Italy, after his death wife of the emperor Otto I 405–408, 422 (coins)
 Adelajda, hypothetically a daughter of Mieszko II, king of Poland and wife of Bela, king of Hungary 370
 Ademar of Chabanne, chronicler 189, 416
 Afra, saint 404, 407
 Agnes, daughter of Judith of Swabia and Władysław I Herman, abbess of the Gandersheim and Quedlinburg abbey 510–512
 Agnes, queen, hypothetically wife of Bolesław II Bold, king of Poland 515, 516
 Agnes of Poitou, empress, wife of emperor Henryk III 506
 Agnes (Agnieszka), daughter of Bolesław III and Salomea of Berg, wife of duke of Ruthenians 368, 370, 514–515
 Agnes (Agnieszka), daughter of Leopold III, margrave of Austria, wife of Władysław II the Exile, duke of Poland 377
 Al-Bekri, geographer and historian 9
 Alexander of Malonne, bishop of Płock (Poland, Mazovia) 455
 Al-Kazwini, scientists and historian 9
 Álmos, prince of Hungary, son of Géza I, brother of Koloman, king of Hungary 292
 Anchora, abbot of Benedictine abbey Tyniec, near Cracow (Poland) 475
 Ansbach, town in Franconia (Germany) and the location of famous Benedictine abbey 86
 Aron, bishop of Cracow, abbot of Tyniec xxxviii, 475, 501
 Arpad, dynasty 376, 377, 414
 Aschaffenburg, town in Bavaria (Germany) and the location of Benedictine abbey 499
 Astryk, abbot 20, 21
 Augsburg, city in Bavaria (Germany) 385, 404, 405, 408
 Aventine Hill in Rome (Italy), location of Benedictine abbey 12, 14, 17
 Awdaniec, family 458, 465
 Baldwin, bishop of Cracow 287, 288
 Bamberg, city in Bavaria (Germany) xiii–xv, xxiii, xl, 15, 67, 70, 71, 83–87, 90, 343–347, 349, 353–356, 373, 391, 393, 395, 407, 485, 486–492, 494, 499, 505, 508, 516, 518–520, 522, 523, 525, 533, 537
 Bavaria, duchy 20, 312, 404, 406, 408, 422, 483, 495, 496, 505, 516, 528, 529
 Bela I, king of Hungary xlv, 377
 Benedict IX, pope 382
 Benedict of Nursia, saint 158
 Benedykt, saint, hermit, one of the Five Brothers 23, 460
 Berg, county in Westphalia (Germany) 373, 377, 458, 468, 470, 474, 512, 513
 Bernard, bishop, missionary of the Pomeranians xiii, 347
 Bernard I, Saxon duke 483
 Bernard II, Saxon duke 483, 484
 Bernhard, bishop of Hildesheim 388
 Berthold, monk of Zwiefalten 513, 514
 Bernold of Constance, chronicler 517, 519

- Bezprym (Bezprzym) xxxviii, xlv, 39, 369
- Biała, stronghold in Pomerania 285
- Białogard, stronghold in Pomerania 301
- Bilihilt, servant of Salomea of Berg (Wife of Bolesław III Wrymouth) 513
- Billung, family 483, 484
- Bohemia xxxii, xxxviii–xl, xlii, xlv, 4, 98, 109, 132, 183, 185, 186, 191, 260, 273, 304, 316, 318–320, 323, 345, 369, 382, 387, 422, 434, 453, 454, 461, 498, 505, 513, 519, 528
- Bolesław I the Cruel, duke of Bohemia, father of Dobrawa 30
- Bolesław I the Brave, king of Poland, son of Mieszko I xv, xxix, xxxvii, xxxviii, 4, 6–27, 32, 34, 35, 37–55, 57–68, 70–73, 75, 76, 91, 95, 96, 99, 101–103, 106–108, 111–115, 135, 145, 150–151, 156, 169, 170, 185–216, 222–228, 230, 231, 236, 244, 245, 251, 252, 255, 260, 268, 286, 287, 290, 313, 314, 322, 334, 337–339, 341, 366–373, 375–379, 381, 382, 385–387, 399, 403, 404, 406, 410–412, 414–418, 422–426, 429, 431, 432, 434–436, 438–440, 442–446, 448, 453–457, 459, 460, 462, 471–473, 475–477, 480–484, 488–491, 499, 500, 511, 522–529, 533, 534
- Bolesław II the Pious, Czech ruler 9
- Bolesław II the Bold (the Generous), king of Poland xxxviii–xxxix, 60–61, 80, 89–91, 100, 101, 104–105, 109, 112, 115, 138, 173, 225–241, 243–244, 251, 253, 262, 286, 300, 335, 337–340, 342, 367–369, 377, 380, 383, 386, 410–413, 415, 417, 420–421, 426–429, 431–435, 440, 447–448, 453–454, 457–462, 464–468, 470, 474, 500–501, 503–505, 508, 515–517, 520, 531, 534
- Bolesław III Wrymouth, duke of Poland xiii–xv, xxiii, xxv, xxvi, xxxiii, xxxix–xli, 61, 84, 88, 98, 100, 104–107, 109–112, 114–117, 122–131, 133–140, 145, 149, 151–153, 156–157, 170–171, 185, 191–192, 202–203, 215, 220–221, 244–251, 254–255, 257–360, 367–369, 373–378, 383–385, 387–402, 408–409, 411–413, 415, 427–434, 437, 440–441, 447–448, 450, 453–454, 458–460, 462–470, 474, 476, 491–492, 508, 512–521, 523–526, 530–531, 534–535, 537
- Bolesław IV the Curly, duke of Mazowia, grand duke of Poland, son of Bolesław III 368, 377, 431, 467, 514, 515
- Bolesław I the Tall, son of Władysław II the Exile, duke of Silesia 110
- Bolesław V the Chaste, duke of Cracow 116
- Bolesław, son of Bolesław IV the Curly, duke of Mazowia (Poland) 467
- Boris, son of Vladimir the Great 214
- Boryslaw Kolomanovich 110
- Borzyvoj II, duke of Bohemia, son of Wratislav II, king of Bohemia and Świętosława Swatawa 317, 318, 320, 321
- Brauweiler, Benedictine abbey 60, 460, 497, 499–503
- Bruno of Querfurt, saint, archbishop, missionary 10, 11, 14–20, 23–27, 44–50, 61, 380, 385, 390, 414, 416, 443
- Breisgau, province 74
- Bremen, city 396
- Břetyslav I, duke of Bohemia xxxviii, 98, 213, 382, 411, 417, 442, 444, 448, 472, 500
- Břetyslav II, duke of Bohemia xxxix, 260, 262
- Burchard II, duke of Swabia 405
- Bytom Odrzański, town 310
- Byzantine Empire 52, 53
- Byzantium, see: Byzantine Empire
- Calixtus II, pope 89
- Cana, village (biblical) 194
- Capetian, dynasty 136, 342, 536
- Carolingian, dynasty 407, 530, 536
- Catilina 175
- Cedynia, town xxxvii
- Charlemagne, emperor xxv–xxvi, 134, 136, 175, 186, 194, 208, 371–372, 401–402, 416–417, 424
- Chropy, village 454
- Cologne, city 389, 390, 457, 497, 498, 501, 505
- Conrad I of Carinthia, husband of Matilda of Swabia 67, 68
- Conrad II, emperor xxxviii, 60, 65, 67, 68, 73, 74, 134, 411, 414, 417, 488, 489, 492–494, 498–500
- Conrad III, king of the Romans and Germany 491
- Cosmas of Prague, chronicler 9, 58, 61, 95, 96, 131, 132, 141, 152, 192, 213, 327, 337, 382, 461

- Cotrone 479
 Cracow, city xxxvii, xxxviii, 4, 8, 9, 34, 70, 95, 98, 99, 103–107, 111, 115, 116, 259, 276, 314, 386, 389, 412, 413, 435–438, 440, 447–449, 453–455, 462, 467, 472, 501, 507
 Czarnków 301, 302
 Czaślaw, bishop of Cracow 104
 Czech Judith, see: Judith, daughter of Wratisław II (king of Bohemia)
- Damiani Peter 48, 385
 Dąbrówka, see: Dobrawa
 Denmark 6, 43
 Deusdedit, cardinal 3–8, 370
 Dietrich (Theodoric), grandson of Mieszko I and Oda, duke of Poland 492, 493
 Dietrich (Theodoric) of Haldensleben, margrave of North March, father of Oda, Mieszko I's wife 35
 Dietrich (Theodoric) II, bishop of Naumburg 484
 Dobrawa (Dąbrówka), daughter of Boleslav I the Cruel (duke of Bohemia), wife of Mieszko I xxxvii, 29–35, 39, 41, 43, 53, 57, 75, 95–97, 108, 113–114, 183–185, 369, 370, 376, 453, 472, 500
 Dobromir, father of Emnilda 376
 Dobroniega Maria, wife of Kazimierz the Restorer 106, 109, 396, 503, 504, 523
 Drutwin, superior of the Enseldorf abbey 518
 Dudo of Saint Quentin, monk, chronicler 139, 335, 529
- Eberhard, bishop of Bamberg 489, 490
 Eberhard, cathedral canon of Bamberg 86, 87
 Ebo von Michelsberg, monk, author of *Vita of bishop Otto of Bamberg* xiii, 343–348, 351, 355, 391–395, 397, 398
 Edward the Confessor, king of England 214
 Egypt (ancient) xxvi
 Eilika, daughter of Hezilo (Henry) of Schweinfurt, wife of Bernard II Billung (Saxon duke) 484
 Einhard, author of *Vita Karoli Magni* 134, 136, 208
 Einsiedeln 74, 496
 Ekkehard von Aura 355
 Ekkehard I, margrave of Meissen 68, 483
 Ekkehardinger, family 483
 Elżbieta, wife of Mieszko III 377
 Emnilda, wife of Bolesław I, mother of Mieszko II 39–43, 53, 68, 103, 376
 England 6, 532
 Enseldorf 518
 Erkenbert (Erchanbert), abbot of Niederaltaich 496
 Europe xxvii, xxxiv, xl, 138, 144, 149, 154–156, 186, 219, 287, 329, 365, 367, 370, 373, 379, 394, 402, 423, 424, 429, 434, 451, 458, 525, 528, 531
 Ezzo, pallatine of Lotharingia 60–62, 66–68, 70, 102, 362, 363, 371, 378, 497, 500–502
 Ezzo Erenfryd, see: Ezzo
 Ezzonid, family 389, 497, 499, 502
- France xxvi, xxviii, 342, 521, 528, 536
 Frederick I Barbarossa, emperor 136
 Frutolf of Michelsberg, monk and chronicler 487
 Fruttuaria 517
 Fulco, Polish bishop 245, 247, 249
 Fulda 478, 479, 485, 522
- Gallus Anonymous, probably monk, chronicler xiv, xxiii, xxv, xxxiii, 19–20, 31, 33, 34, 40, 49, 53, 57–59, 61, 64, 92, 95, 112, 113, 116, 121, 122, 124–141, 143–172, 174–220, 222–234, 236–238, 240–246, 248–260, 262–265, 267–275, 277–279, 281–296, 299–305, 308–312, 316–331, 333, 334, 336–338, 340–344, 354, 356, 367, 368, 371, 374, 375, 391, 408, 411, 414–416, 418, 428, 434, 437, 448, 449, 468, 470, 471, 473, 520, 525, 528, 531, 533
 Gandersheim 510–512
 Gdańsk, city 16, 17
 Gembloux 125
 Gereon, saint 389, 390, 447, 498
 Gero, margrave of the Eastern March xxxvii
 Gertrude, saint 372
 Gertrude, daughter of Bolesław III 512, 514–516, 523
 Gertrude, daughter of Mieszko II, wife of Izjaslav (duke of Kiev) 68, 77–82, 86, 109, 113, 372, 376, 380, 385, 386, 389, 390
 Géza, ruler of Hungary 376

- Giecz, stronghold in Great Poland 197, 389, 437, 438, 441–446
- Gizela, empress, wife of Conrad II 74
- Glaber Rudolf (Raul), chronicler 46, 439
- Gleb, son of Vladimir the Great (duke of Kiev) 214
- Głębokie, village 430–432
- Głogów, town 289, 310–312, 317, 319, 455
- Gorze 495, 505, 520, 522
- Gniewomir of Czarnków, godson of Bolesław III 302, 303
- Gniezno, city xiii–xv, xxix, xxxvii–xl, 7–8, 10, 11, 16–18, 20–22, 40, 42, 44, 97, 102, 106, 125, 145, 148, 150, 151, 158, 159, 164, 165, 168, 188–190, 192–195, 197, 200, 204, 218, 219, 264, 327, 329, 343–345, 347, 348, 355, 371, 381, 383, 385, 386, 390, 391, 398, 411, 412, 415, 418, 425, 430–432, 436–442, 447, 448, 453–455, 462, 463, 468, 472, 473, 476, 525, 529, 534, 537
- Godehard, abbot of Niederaltaich 495, 496
- Godehard (Gotard), saint, bishop of Hildesheim 387, 388, 495
- Goslar 394
- Gotard, see: Godehard
- Gotszalk, duke of Obodrites 397
- Graf Wiprecht II von Groitzsch, margrave of Meissen and Lusatia 509
- Grzybowo xxxvii, 437, 441
- Gunhilda, hypothetically daughter of Mieszko I, wife of Sweyn Forkbeard, king of Denmark and mother of Świętosława Sygryda 368, 376
- Gwibert of Gembleux 125, 287
- Hagar (biblical) 259
- Hamburg 396
- Hannibal 322
- Harzburg 394, 395
- Helmold, chronicler, priest in Bossau (Schleswig-Holstein, Germany) 397
- Hemma, wife of Boleslav II (duke of Bohemia) 58
- Hemma, wife of Louis II the German (king of Eastern Francia) 508
- Henry, count of Berg 373, 513
- Henry, bishop of Augsburg 406
- Henry, cathedral canon of Bamberg 87
- Henry of Huntingdon, chronicler 132
- Henry of Schweinfurt, called Hezilo, margrave of Nordgau, count of Altmühl and Redenzgau 484
- Henry II, German king since 1002, Roman emperor in 1014–1024 xxxviii, 13, 22–27, 29, 47, 49, 51–53, 65, 68, 73, 84, 112, 214, 373, 378, 404, 407–408, 411, 414, 416, 456, 481–484, 487–491
- Henry II the Quarrelsome, duke of Bavaria 404, 405, 408
- Henry III, German king Since 1039, Roman emperor in 1046–1056 85, 251, 377, 382, 414, 417, 491, 498, 506, 507
- Henry IV, German king since 1054, Roman emperor in 1084–1105 xxxix, 84, 85, 191, 394–395, 417, 490, 491, 496, 506–507, 509
- Henry V, German king since 1099, Roman emperor in 1111–1125 xl, 304, 308–312, 314–322, 336, 337, 340, 372, 394, 510, 511
- Henryk (Henry) I Bearded, duke of Silesia 537
- Henryk (Henry) of Sandomierz (Sandomierski), son of Bolesław III Wrymouth 373
- Henryków, village in Silesia, cistercian abbey 537
- Herbord, monk, author of *Dialogue on the Life of St Otto (of Bamberg)* 15, 57, 343, 349–356
- Heriman, see: Herman, duke of Swabia
- Herman, duke of Swabia, father of Matilda (duchess of Lotaringia) 68, 74
- Herman Billung 483
- Herman I, margrave of Meissen, son of Ekkehard I, husband of Regelinda 70, 483, 489, 523
- Hermanowic (jr), see: Bolesław Krzywousty
- Hermanowic, sons of Władysław I Herman, see: Zbigniew, duke of Poland; Bolesław III Wrymouth
- Hersfeld 495
- Hezeline (Herman), brother of Ezzo Ehrenfried, pallatine of Lotharingia, probably husband of Adelaide (daughter of Mathilda of Swabia and Konrad of Carinthia) 68
- Hezilo, count, see: Henry of Schweinfurt
- Hildesheim 387, 388, 492, 493, 495
- Hirsau 458, 487, 517–519
- Hodon, see: Odo, margrave
- Holy Roman Empire (the Reich) xxvi–xxvii, xxxii, xxxvii, xxxviii, xl, 15, 18, 25–27, 45, 50, 65, 68, 72, 76,

- 88, 107, 111, 152, 194, 200, 214, 251, 310, 362, 367, 375–378, 382, 395, 400, 405–407, 410, 414, 416, 417, 425, 426, 429, 434, 439, 444, 454, 460–462, 470, 477–485, 488–494, 497, 499, 500, 508, 510, 511, 515–517, 523, 524, 528, 532, 535, 536
- Homburg on the Unstrut 395
- Hungary xxxix, xl, xli, 6, 22, 39, 89, 105, 109, 110, 186, 204, 214, 217, 218, 236, 237, 239–241, 262, 292, 304, 327, 329, 342, 434, 474, 504, 507, 528
- Ibrahim ibn Jakub, merchant 9, 10
- Ida, mother of Rycheza 372
- Ingelheim 407
- Ireland xix
- Isaac (biblical) 245, 249, 258, 259
- Ismael (biblical) 259
- Israel, people of 295
- Italy 13, 52, 76, 194, 372
- Izjaslav Jaroslavich, grand duke of Kiev, husband of Gertruda (daughter of Mieszko II) 77, 80, 109, 376
- Jan Długosz, chronicler 471–473, 475, 516, 521
- Jaropełk, see: Jaropełk-Piotr
- Jaropełk-Piotr 78, 80–82
- Jaroslav, duke of Volhynia, son of Sviatopolk II Iziaslavich (duke of Kiev) 51
- John, saint, hermit, one of the Five Brothers 23
- John the Baptist, saint 245, 249, 444, 469
- John Canaparius 12
- Jordan, bishop of Poland 30, 31, 34, 66, 97, 442, 503
- Judas Maccabeus (biblical) 295
- Judith (biblical) 249, 250
- Judith, one of two of this name, wife of Władysław Herman 83–84, 464, 466–467, 473
- Judith, wife of count Wiprecht II von Grotzsch, daughter of Świętosław (daughter of Kazimierz I Restorer) nad Wratislav II (king of Bohemia) 509, 510
- Judith of Bohemia, daughter of Wratysław II (king of Bohemia), wife of Władysław Herman xxxix, 84, 105–106, 109–110, 115, 128–129, 244–251, 254–255, 377, 408–409, 520, 521
- Judith of Swabia, daughter of Henry III (emperor), wife of Salomon (king of Hungary), after his death wife of Władysław Herman 84–85, 88–90, 251, 254–255, 278–279, 377, 394, 454, 458, 462, 466–467, 491, 506–508, 523, 533
- Kalisz, town 437
- Kałdus, village 444, 446
- Karol (Karl), son of Mieszko II Lambert, see: Kazimierz I Restorer
- Kazimierz (senior), son of Bolesław III Wrymouth 515
- Kazimierz the Great, king of Poland 56
- Kazimierz I the Restorer, duke of Poland xxxviii, 59, 60, 91, 98, 100–103, 105–109, 112, 114–116, 212, 215–225, 229, 238, 240, 251, 255, 334, 335, 338, 341, 342, 365, 367–369, 371–373, 376–378, 380, 382, 383, 389, 390, 391, 411, 414, 417, 424, 436, 439, 446–449, 453–455, 457, 459–462, 468, 471, 472, 475, 476, 496, 500–505, 508–510, 516, 522, 528, 534–535
- Kazimierz II the Just, duke of Cracow (Poland) 110, 367, 368, 467
- Kazimierz Karol, son of Mieszko II Lambert, see: Kazimierz I the Restorer
- Kiev, city 50, 53, 54, 78, 80, 112, 226, 290, 389, 424, 436
- Klotten 499
- Koloman I Booklover, king of Hungary xl, 292, 303, 304, 329
- Kołobrzeg, city xxxvii, 289, 290, 437, 438, 440
- Kostomłoty, town 388
- Koźle, town 302
- Kruszwica 263, 264, 267, 269, 454
- Kunegunda-Zofia, wife of Jaropełk-Piotr 81
- Kuno von Achalm-Wülflingen, *comes* 519
- Kuno von Öhningen 371
- Ladislaus (László) I Saint, king of Hungary 235–242
- Lambert, saint 370, 381, 390
- Lambert, bishop of Cracow 99, 104
- Lambert, monk of Niederaltaich, hypothetical abbot of the Ostrov abbey 520
- Lambert, son of Mieszko I xxxvii, 366, 369, 370
- Lawrence, saint 49, 141, 202, 304, 306, 307, 445

- Łąd, town 441
 Lestek, see: Leszek
 Leszek, son of Bolesław III
 Wrymouth 109, 347, 374, 515
 Leszek, son of Siemowit, legendary ruler
 of Poland xliii, 175–177, 341
 Little Poland xxxvii, xxxviii, xl, 9, 58,
 95, 436, 437
 Liudolf, son of Otto I 405
 Liudolfing, family 157, 371, 510
 Liutpold, bishop of Augsburg 407
 Lothair III, emperor xli, 47, 104, 383,
 387, 388
 Louis the German, king of Eastern
 Francia 508
 Louis the Pious, emperor 8
 Lubin, village in Great Poland 380,
 458, 460, 463–467
 Lüneburg, benedictine abbey 483, 484,
 499
 Lüttich, city 141
 Łekno, town 454
 Łęczyca, town 448, 456–458, 514
- Maccabees (biblical) 295
 Magdeburg, city 5, 9, 31, 42, 47, 49,
 102, 383, 388, 480–483, 490, 492,
 493–495, 522
 Magnus, saint 404, 407
 Magnus, comes of Wrocław 260, 261, 304
 Magnus the Strong, king of Sweden,
 husband of Ryksa (daughter of
 Bolesław Wrymouth) 377
 Mainz, city 5, 98, 382
 Marcin, archbishop of Gniezno 125,
 276, 284
 Marek, saint 141
 Masław, see: Miećław
 Matilda, wife of Ezzo (palatine of),
 daughter of Otto II (emperor) 60,
 372, 497, 500–502
 Matilda of Haldensleben, daughter
 of Ditrich (Theodoric), margrave
 of Nordmark, wife of duke
 Pribislav 36–38
 Matilda of Swabia, duchess of Lorraine,
 daughter of Herman, duke of
 Swabia 61, 66–76, 87, 88, 420, 424,
 425, 461
 Matylda, daughter of Bolesław I Brave,
 wife of Otto of Schweinfurt, duke of
 Swabia 370, 372, 376
 Maurice, saint 190–192, 410, 412–416,
 434, 450
- Meissen, city 5
 Merovingian, dynasty 536
 Merseburg, city 47, 49, 387, 388, 411,
 488, 492–494
 Michał, chancellor 125, 141, 143–146
 Michał, comes, Polish aristocrat from
 Awdaniec family 458, 465–466
 Michelsberg, benedictine abbey 344,
 487, 490, 491, 505, 518, 523
 Miećław (Masław), cupbearer of
 Mieszko II Lambert 223–224
 Mieszko, son of Mieszko I and Oda of
 Haldensleben xxxvii
 Mieszko I, duke of Poland xxiii,
 xxxvii–xxxviii, 3–12, 14, 18, 19, 21,
 25–42, 44, 53–55, 57, 62, 64–66,
 72–76, 83, 91, 95, 96, 97, 101,
 106–108, 111–114, 153, 167, 176,
 178–185, 212, 225, 250, 283, 287, 334,
 336, 341, 342, 367, 370, 376–377,
 379–381, 385, 403–409, 425–426, 429,
 435, 438, 441–444, 446, 449, 453, 459,
 471, 475–480, 510, 522, 526–527, 529,
 533
 Mieszko II Lambert, king of Poland
 xxxviii, xxxix, 59–62, 65–77, 81,
 91, 95, 98, 99, 101–103, 107–108,
 111–114, 212, 215–216, 222–225, 251,
 253, 366, 367, 369–373, 375–378,
 380–381, 389, 403, 410–411, 414,
 417, 420, 423–426, 429, 432, 434–435,
 437, 444–446, 449, 453–457, 461–462,
 471–473, 476–477, 484, 486–499, 505,
 510–511, 522–523, 528–529, 533–534
 Mieszko, son of Bolesław II Bold
 xxxix, 36, 100, 104–105, 109, 238,
 241–244, 262, 334, 367, 376
 Mieszko, son of Kazimierz I Restorer
 100–101, 105, 108, 114–115, 368,
 503–504
 Mieszko, son of Władysław Herman
 368
 Mieszko III Old, grand duke of Poland,
 duke of Great Poland 368, 377, 459,
 514–515
 Mieszko Bolesławowicz—see Mieszko,
 son of Bolesław II Bold
 Międzyrzecz, town 456, 460, 522
 Mogilno, town, benedictine abbey 380,
 457, 458, 468–470, 518
 Monk of Prüfening, author of “Life of
 saint Otto bishop of Bamberg” 343,
 345, 346, 355
 Moses (biblical) 304

- Nakło, town 109, 253, 306, 307,
330–332, 339, 415
- Naumburg, city 484, 485, 490
- Nicholas the Great, saint 140, 141,
389, 390, 436
- Niederaltaich, benedictine abbey 488,
494–496, 499, 509, 520, 522
- Nivelles, monastery 372
- Norbert, archbishop of Magdeburg 388
- Nordhausen, monastery 530
- Notker, bishop of Lüttich 13
- Oda of Haldensleben, daughter of
Dietrich (Theoderic, margrave of
North March), wife of Mieszko I
xxxvii, xxxviii, 4, 5, 7, 8, 29, 31, 32,
35–41, 64, 65, 114, 376, 381, 403, 406,
478, 510, 511, 523
- Odo (Hodo), margrave of Eastern
March xxxvii, 14, 18, 27
- Olaf Tryggvasson, king of Norway 214
- Ortlieb of Zwiefalten, monk, chronicler
512–514
- Ossiach, benedictine abbey 495
- Ostrov, benedictine monastery 495,
519, 520, 522
- Ostrów Lednicki, island in Great
Poland, place of Piast dukes' palace
437, 438, 441–446
- Otto of Freising, chronicler 136, 536
- Otto, son of Ezzo, brother of Rycheza,
queen of Poland, Palatine of Rhein
499, 501–502
- Otto, duke of Moravia, husband of Zofia
of Berg 513
- Otto, son of Bolesław I Brave, duke of
Poland xxxviii, 40, 42, 103, 108, 366,
370–372, 493
- Otto, son of Kazimierz I Restorer 108,
368
- Otto, son of Mieszko I xxxvii
- Otto of Bamberg, bishop, saint xiii–xv,
xxxiii, xl, 15, 134, 343–356, 373,
391–398, 491, 492, 518–519, 525, 537
- Otto White of Schweinfurt, margrave
of Nordgau, duke of Swabia, fiancé
of Matylda, daughter of Bolesław I
Brave 376
- Otto I, emperor xxxvii, 25, 405, 422
(coins), 479
- Otto II, emperor 48, 49, 404, 482
- Otto III, emperor xiii–xiv, xxxvii,
12–14, 16–18, 23–29, 36, 42, 45, 60,
64–65, 68, 108, 145–146, 150–152,
189, 190, 191, 193–197, 215, 330,
366, 370–372, 407, 408, 410–412,
415–420, 424, 425, 429, 436, 456,
478, 481–483, 525, 529, 530
- Ottonians, dynasty 34, 35, 149, 214,
372, 416, 424, 443, 480, 510
- Pegau, town, benedictine abbey 191,
509
- Płock, city xxxix, 276, 393, 431, 432,
440, 441, 447, 448, 455, 458, 471, 473,
474, 476, 477
- Pomerania, northern province of Poland
xxxvii, xxxix–xli, 131, 138, 139, 152,
187, 225, 253, 254, 266, 295, 299,
301–303, 306, 308, 313, 330, 331, 333,
344, 345, 347, 354, 355, 387, 391, 437,
440, 460, 463, 491, 493, 521
- Ponthien 401
- Poznań, city xxxvii, xxxix, 31, 55, 57,
59, 60, 97, 197, 218, 380, 381,
430–432, 435–442, 447, 448, 453, 461,
471, 472, 475–477, 534
- Przemysł, town 438, 445, 446
- Pascal II, pope 286–287
- Paul the Apostle, saint 144, 145, 212, 507
- Peredesława see Przedysława
- Peter, saint xxxvii, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 26,
63–65, 81, 82, 346, 379–381, 390, 403,
406, 415, 438, 499, 508
- Peter Urseolo of Venice, king of
Hungary 218, 414
- Piast (legendary), predecessor of the
Piast dynasty 157–168, 170, 172,
174, 176, 177, 178, 180–182, 197, 212,
253, 255, 283, 286, 333, 342
- Peter of Venice, king of Hungary, see
Peter Urseolo of Venice
- Popiel (legendary), ruler of
Gniezno 146–148, 158, 159, 164,
167–173, 176–178
- Popielids (dynasty) 172, 178
- Poppo, bishop of Cracow 106
- Prague, city 7, 13, 14, 16,
- Prussia 16, 17
- Przedysława (Peredesława), Rus' duchess,
daughter of Vladimir I Great, mistress
of Bolesław I Brave 195, 196
- Premyslids (dynasty), Czech
rulers 203, 337, 370, 376, 377, 387
- Quedlinburg, town, benedictine nuns
abbey 478, 510–512, 530

- Racibór, town 302
- Radzim Gaudentius, brother of
St Wojciech, archbishop of Gniezno
14, 21, 22, 97, 106, 220, 456, 472, 473
- Regensburg, town, benedictine abbey of
St Emmeram 78, 408, 462, 495–497,
503–508, 516, 522, 523, 524
- Regelinda, daughter of Bolesław I the
Brave, wife of Herman (margrave of
Meissen) 41, 68, 70, 370, 376,
483–485, 489, 490, 523
- Reich, see: Holy Roman Empire
- Reichenau 73
- Reims 388, 407
- Retra, West Slav pagan cult centre
397
- Richinza, daughter of Henry (count of
Berg) 513
- Robert II the Pious, King of
France 214
- Rollo, duke of Normandy 335
- Rome 12, 44, 63, 64, 102, 195,
286–288, 309, 367, 380, 385, 407, 414,
482
- Romuald, hermit, saint 48, 456
- Rupert, bishop of Bamberg 84, 86, 490
- Rurikid (dynasty) 117, 369, 375–377
- Russia 6, 50, 78, 202, 298–300, 353
- Rycheza, wife of Mieszko II xxxviii, 60,
62, 70, 97, 98–103, 107, 114, 217, 251,
368, 371–373, 376, 378, 389, 390, 411,
417, 460, 497–503, 510, 523, 528, 533
- Ryczyn, stronghold in Silesia, temporary
episcopal see 439
- Rydgag, margrave of Meissen, father-in-
law of Bolesław I the Brave 376
- Ryksa, daughter of Bolesław III
Wrymouth 376, 377
- Rzepka (legendary), wife of Piast
160–167
- Saale, river 186
- Saint Étienne see. Stefan, św.
- Saint Gilles, benedictine abbey xl, 80,
90, 127, 134, 135, 140, 245–249, 384,
385, 388, 390, 408, 409, 520, 521
- Saint Quentin, benedictine abbey 139,
335, 529
- Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus) 175
- Salomea of Berg, wife of Bolesław III
Wrymouth 377, 384, 388, 458, 459,
468–470, 474, 512–516, 518, 521, 523,
533
- Salomon, king of Hungary 236, 251,
507
- Sankt-Gallen, benedictine abbey 73
- Sandomierz, town 276, 381
- Santok, town 279, 280, 285
- Sarah (biblical) 245, 259
- Sarnouecz (Żarnowiec), stronghold in
Pomerania 275
- Saxony 8, 20, 38, 259, 312, 493, 494,
509
- Scandinavia xxx, 381
- Schaffhausen, abbey 517
- Schinesghe 5, 6, 7, 438
- Schwanhilda, wife of Ekkehard I
(margrave of Meissen) 483
- Schwarzach, abbey 509, 516, 517, 519
- Schweinfurt, town 376, 484
- Scotland xix
- Sebastian, saint 61, 407
- Severus, bishop of Prague 382
- Sędziwoj of Czechło 110
- Sieciech, palatine of Władysław Herman
xxxix, xl, 171, 220, 254, 259–263, 267,
270, 272–278, 283, 325, 341, 342,
521
- Siemomysł, son of Leszek, legendary
duke of Poland 176–180, 212, 338,
341, 342
- Siemowit, son of Piast, legendary duke
of Poland 147, 148, 165–172,
174–178, 182, 183, 244, 247, 250, 253,
333, 336–338, 341
- Skarbimir, voivode 294, 318
- Slavnik (Slavnikids, family) 18, 387
- Sobiebor Slavnik, brother of St Wojciech
13, 14, 15
- Somogyvár, abbey 384
- Spain 6
- Stanisław, bishop of Cracow, saint
xxxix, 234, 235, 337, 340
- Stauf (dynasty) 536
- Stephen I, saint, king of Hungary 156,
214, 217, 218, 416, 418, 514
- Stephen II, pope 401
- Sufa-Lambert, bishop of Cracow 99
- Sven Forkbeard, king of Denmark 369
- Sygryda Świętosława, daughter of
Mieszko I, see: Świętosława Sygryda
- Sylvester II, pope 150–152
- Székesfehérvár, abbey xl, 385
- Szymon, bishop of Płock 304
- Świętobór, kin of Bolesław III
Wrymouth 291

- Świętopelk, grand duke of Kiev, son in law of Bolesław I the Brave 41, 288, 316–319, 376
- Świętopelk, duke of Pomerania 332
- Świętosława (Swatawa), daughter of Kazimierz I the Restorer, wife of Wratisław II, king of Bohemia 509
- Świętosława Sygryda, wife of Sweyn Forkbeard, daughter or granddaughter of Mieszko I 368, 376
- Tagino, archbishop of Magdeburg 31, 46, 47
- Tegernsee, benedictine cloister in Bayern 19–21, 27, 75
- Theodoric, bishop, see: Dietrich II, bishop of Naumburg
- Theodoric of Haldensleben, see: Dietrich of Haldensleben
- Theophano, empress 25
- Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg, chronicler 7, 8, 16, 28–55, 65–66, 73–75, 91, 92, 96, 101–102, 114, 425, 439, 480, 489, 529
- Trzemeszno, town, cloister of regular canons 459
- Tuni, abbot 52, 460
- Tusculum 89, 464
- Tyniec, Benedictine abbey, near of Cracow 90, 380, 457, 458, 464, 474, 475, 501
- Udalryk, saint, bishop of Augsburg 385, 403–408
- Ujście, stronghold in Pomerania 302
- Unger, bishop of Poznań 31, 32, 42, 43, 54, 66, 102, 107, 439
- Utrecht, city 195
- Vaclav, saint see Wenceslaus, saint Venice 140, 141, 218
- Vladimir I the Great, duke of Kiev 42, 108, 113, 214
- Vladimir Vsievolodovich, duke of Novgorod, son in law of Bolesław Wrymout, husband of Rycheza 376–377
- Vsievobod of Murom, duke of Rus, father in law of Bolesław III Wrymouth 376
- Vsievobod of Novgorod, duke of Rus, father in law of Bolesław IV Curly 377
- Wales xix
- Walo, papal legate 288
- Welf (dynasty) xx, 534
- Weltenburg, abbey 495, 506
- Wenceslaus, Saint, duke of Bohemia 192, 386, 387, 390, 447
- Widukind of Corvea, monk, chronicler 134, 157
- Wieleń, stronghold in Pomerania 301, 303
- Wierzchosława, daughter of Vsievolod of Novgorod, wife of Bolesław IV the Curly 377
- Wilhelm, archbishop of Mainz 98, 382
- Wilhelm of Jumieges, chronicler 529
- William z Malmesbury, chronicler 136
- Wincenty Kadłubek, bishop of Cracow, chronicler xxv, 34, 58, 170, 174, 232, 233, 415
- Wincenty of Kielcza, chronicler 417, 418
- Windolf of Corvey 509
- Wipert, companion of St Bruno of Querfurt 48
- Wipo, chronicler 134
- Wittelsbach (dynasty) 528
- Władysław I Herman, duke of Poland xxxiii, xxxviii, xxxix, xl, 83–91, 100, 103, 104, 106, 109, 111, 115, 116, 127, 128, 130, 171, 173, 191, 237–239, 242, 244, 246–248, 250–252, 254, 255, 258, 261–264, 266–269, 270, 271, 275–285, 287, 292, 296, 298, 299, 301, 334, 335, 338, 341–343, 345, 365, 367–370, 377, 383, 384, 388, 390, 391–403, 408, 409, 411, 420, 426–429, 432, 436, 440, 441, 447, 448, 454, 458–462, 464–468, 471, 473, 474, 477, 490–492, 506, 508, 510, 520, 523
- Władysław I, duke of Bohemia 513
- Władysław II the Exile, grand duke of Poland, duke of Silesia 89, 109, 110, 115, 367, 368, 377, 431, 465
- Włocławek, town 197, 454
- Wojciech Slawnik (Adalbert), saint, bishop of Prague xiv, xxxvii, xxxviii, 7, 11–23, 26, 27, 35, 44, 45, 48, 61, 96–99, 103, 145, 150, 187–190, 219, 220, 264, 265, 329, 379, 381–385, 387, 390, 391, 398, 399, 407, 411, 413, 415, 418, 427–431, 434, 436, 438–441, 447, 460, 462, 463, 472, 473, 476, 500, 531, 534

- Wojsław, comes 459
 Wolin, stronghold on Pomeranian
 island 440
 Wratisław II, king of Bohemia xxxix,
 61, 377
 Wrocław, city xxxvii, xxxix, 170, 171,
 260–263, 266, 267, 272–275, 312, 381,
 437–440, 447, 448, 464, 466, 470
 Würzburg 499
 Wyszogród, stronghold in Pomerania
 331, 332

 Zacharias (biblical) 245
 Zähringen (family) 517
 Zawichost, stronghold in Pomerania
 454
 Zbigniew, duke of Poland, illegitimate
 son of Władysław I Herman xxxix,
 xl, 84, 115, 136, 138, 140, 145, 146,
 171, 220, 221, 258–267, 269, 271, 272,
 274–280, 284, 285, 291–294, 296–301,
 304, 308, 309, 318, 320–330, 332,
 340–342, 377, 383, 428, 441, 448, 458,
 462
 Zbysława, wife of Bolesław III
 Wrymouth 376
 Zeitz (Życz, Żytyce), town in Saxony,
 temporary episcopal see 485
 Zwiefalten, benedictine abbey 384,
 388, 470, 512–516, 518, 519, 521, 523,
 524, 533
 Żelisław, comes, Polish aristocrat
 and collaborator of Bolesław III
 Wrymouth 289
 Żytyce, see: Zeitz
 Życz, see: Zeitz